



J. Vander Gucht Sculp.



THE  
ROMAN  
HISTORY:

WITH  
NOTES

Historical, Geographical, and Critical;

AND

Illustrated with COPPER PLATES, MAPS, and a great  
Number of AUTHENTICK MEDALS.

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Done into ENGLISH, from the Original FRENCH of  
The Rev<sup>d</sup> Fathers CATROU and ROUILLÉ.

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VOLUME IV.

From the Year of ROME DLII. to the Year of ROME DCVIII.

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To which is prefix'd,

A New and Connected SUMMARY of the WORK.

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M.DCC.XXX.





T H E  
C O N T E N T S :

O R,  MUSEUM.

A New and Connected SUMMARY of the WORK.

B O O K XXXVII.

Year of § 1. **T**HOUGH *Rome*, by the Reduction of *Carthage* in the second *Punic* 251<sup>st</sup> Con-  
ROME War, was freed from those continual Alarms she had long been under *fulship*.  
552. from that profess'd Rival of her Power, and most dangerous Enemy,  
yet was she far from being in such a State of Peace and Security as to  
shut the Temple of *Janus*. Whilst the Treaty with the *Carthaginians* was execut-  
ing, the Consul *Ælius Pætus* was oblig'd to take the Field against the *Boii*, who  
had enter'd and laid waste the Territories of the Allies of *Rome*. *Oppius*, whom he  
detach'd with two *Legions* and some Auxiliaries to go before him, was surprized and  
surrounded by the Enemy near *Mutilum*, in *Cisalpine Gaul*, and lost seven thousand  
Men, with his own Life. The Consul advanced to revenge this Defeat; but the  
*Gauls* disappearing upon his Approach, he only pillaged their Country, and returned  
home loaded with more Spoil than Glory. §. 2. At his Arrival, he found the  
Senate busied with the Affairs of *Macedon*. They had just received Advice, by Am-  
bassadors from the *Rhodians*, and from *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, that King *Philip*  
was solliciting the Cities of *Asia* to unite with him against the *Roman* Republick;  
nor had the Senate forgot the Injuries which the *Macedonian* had done the *Ætolians*,  
and other *Greeks* in Alliance with *Rome*, nor the Succours he had formerly sent  
with *Sospater* to *Carthage*. A Decree therefore was pass'd, empowering *Ælius* to  
name a General to go with a Fleet of thirty eight Gallies into *Macedon*; and *Læ-*  
*vinus* being chosen for the Expedition, he sailed thither without Delay, from the  
Port of *Hipponium*. As soon as he appeared off the Coast, *Aurelius* the *Roman*  
Commander in *Greece* came to join him, and receive his Orders; and when they  
had consulted together, they agreed to write to the Senate, 'That they thought it  
necessary, in order to prevent *Philip* from making a Descent upon *Italy*, and bringing  
upon the Republick all the Forces of the East, immediately to declare War against  
him. §. 3. But their Letters did not arrive at *Rome* till new Consuls had been  
553. chosen, *P. Sulpicius Galba*, and *C. Aurelius Cotta*, who, the very Day they enter'd 252<sup>d</sup> Con-  
upon Office, made a Report to the Senate of the State of Affairs in *Greece* and *Ma-* *fulship*.  
*cedon*. The *Conscript Fathers*, thinking a War with *Philip* to be a Matter of great  
Importance, suspended their Determination, till Sacrifices were first offer'd to the  
Gods, and their Will consulted. And now, when they were again assembled, the  
Letters from *Greece* arrived; and at the same time a Deputation from the *Athenians*,  
demanding Succours against the Attempts of the King of *Macedon*. The Consuls  
took this Opportunity to declare that the Gods accepted the Sacrifices which had  
V O L. IV. a been



been offer'd, and that the *Aruspices* found nothing in the Entrails of the Victims but what was favourable to the Republick. So that all these Circumstances together made a strong Impression on the Assembly; and they pass'd a Decree, That Thanks should be return'd to the *Athenians* for their Fidelity; That the *Consuls* should immediately draw Lots for their Provinces, and that he to whose Lot *Macedon* should fall should get the War with *Philip* approved by the People convened by *Centuries*. *Macedon* fell to *Sulpicius*, and the *Centuries* were assembled; but there the new War was rejected by a Plurality of Voices. One *Bæbius*, a *Tribune of the Commons*, had revived the old Complaint, and had persuaded the People that the Nobility, from Party-Views, endeavour'd to hinder *Rome* from enjoying any Repose. The Senate were highly displeas'd; but as it was the Prerogative of the Commons to determine concerning Peace and War, there was no Remedy, but for *Sulpicius* to assemble the People once more, and endeavour to persuade them by force of Argument. He put them in mind of the fatal Consequences which had follow'd upon their delaying to send Succours to the *Saguntini*, when threatned by *Hannibal*, as the *Athenians* were now by *Philip*. That their Negligence in the former Case had encouraged the *Carthaginian* to pass the *Alpes*, and invade *Italy*; that considering the Friendship between him and *Philip*, they might perhaps see him again at the Head of another Army, laying waste their Provinces; that tho' he had been five Months coming from *Spain* to *Italy*, five Days would be sufficient to bring *Philip* upon their Coasts; and, that tho' *Hannibal* should not accompany him, yet the *Macedonian* alone was a much more powerful Prince, and more to be dreaded than *Pyrrhus*, who yet had made their Forefathers tremble, even behind their Bulwarks. He further reminded them, That their present Security was owing to *Scipio's* being suffer'd to carry the War into *Africa*; and in short, that the great Secret of State-Policy was to keep Hostilities at a Distance, and make War only in an Enemy's Country. The Arguments of the Consul prevailed, and the Tribes all voted for War. §. 4. And now the chief

The Ro-  
mans re-  
solve upon a  
War with  
Macedon.

Concern of the Senate was to settle the several Armies which were to act this Year, and no more than seven Legions were rais'd in all. *Sulpicius* was allowed to strengthen the two Legions assign'd him for the *Macedonian* War, by as many Volunteers as he could raise out of the Troops which *Scipio* had brought from *Africa*; but he was not to force any of them into the Service. Ambassadors arrived at this time from *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, King of *Egypt*, now thirteen Years of Age, who having escaped in his Minority the wicked Designs of his Guardians, had (according to *Justin*) put himself under the Protection of the *Romans*, and received from them one *Marcus Lepidus* to be his Guardian and Defender against the threatned Invasions of the Kings of *Syria* and *Macedon*. *Ptolomy* was inclined to send Succours to *Athens*, which *Philip* was marching to besiege; but he durst not undertake any thing till he had ask'd the Consent of the *Roman* Republick. The Senate returned him Thanks for the Deference he had shew'd them, and gave this Answer to his Ambassadors, That *Rome* was resolv'd to support the Greeks against *Philip*; that she would give *Ptolomy* Notice when she wanted his Assistance; and that she was fully convinc'd of his Affection to her. §. 5. The Consul *Sulpicius*, not a little pleas'd with the Honours which the Dignity of his Office procur'd him at *Rome*, and which he could not have in the Field, was very dilatory in setting out for *Macedon*, and continually found Pretences to postpone it. He would needs vow publick Games, and a Present to *Jupiter*, as other Generals had done before him, when they enter'd upon important Expeditions: But in this, he met with Opposition; for the Republick had not at present the Sum necessary for the Expence of the Games; and the *Pontifex Maximus* declared that no Promise could be made to the Gods but of ready Money; and that the Sum vow'd must be set apart at the time of the Vow. However, this Sentence of the *Pontifex* was over-ruled by the *Pontifical* College, to whom *Sulpicius* appeal'd. It was decreed that the Senate should be free to determine the Expence of the Games, and the Value of the Present; and this was the first time that ever a Vow was made at *Rome* of an indeterminate Sum.

Hamilcar  
raises an In-  
surrection in  
Cisalpine  
Gaul.

After this, a sudden Insurrection of the *Gauls* detain'd *Sulpicius* some time longer at *Rome*. *Hamilcar* the *Carthaginian*, whom *Asdrubal* had left in *Italy*, after his Defeat, was at the Head of them. He seized *Placentia*, put many of the Inhabitants to Death, and advanced towards *Cremona*, to sack it; but the *Cremonese* shut their Gates against him, and gave Notice of their Danger to *Furius Purpureo*, the *Roman* *Prætor*, who commanded five thousand Men of the Allies in the Neighbourhood of *Ariminum*. *Furius*, before he march'd to their Relief, wrote a Letter to the Senate, desiring Succours, and acquainting them that the *Gauls* were forty thousand strong. Upon the Receipt of this Advice, the Fathers decreed, that either the Consul *Aurelius* should put himself at the Head of his Legions which were encamped in *Ætruria*, and go to the Relief of *Cremona*; or, in case he declined it, that those Legions should march to *Ariminum* without him, and be commanded in that Expedition by *Furius*, who should send his five thousand Men into *Ætruria*.



Year of *Aurelius* chose to continue at *Rome*.

§. 6. The Senate appointed likewise a *ROME* Deputation to *Carthage*, to complain of *Hamilcar*; and the Ambassadors were order'd to require that he should be recall'd home, in order to be punished there, or delivered up to the *Romans*. The same Ambassadors were also directed to go into *Numidia*, with Presents and a Compliment to *Masinissa* on the Recovery and Enlargement of his Dominions; and they were to signify to him, that as *Rome* was entering upon a new War with *Macedon*, it would be very acceptable, if he would send the Republick some Squadrons of *Numidian* Horse. *Masinissa* was now in Possession of the Capital, together with a great Part of the Kingdom of *Syphax*, who, with his eldest Son, had been carried into Captivity. *Vermina*, the second Son of that dethroned King, sent an Embassy to *Rome*, to solicit a Reconciliation with the Republick. But tho' the Ambassadors did not ask any thing to the Prejudice of *The Son of Masinissa*, and only desired that *Vermina* might receive from the Senate the Title Syphax *sol-* of King, and be ranked among the Allies of *Rome*, they received this haughty Answer, *An Enemy of the Roman People has no Right to demand of them the Title of King, and the Honour of an Alliance with them. Let him first obtain a Peace, and a Pardon, and then endeavour to make amends for the Unfaithfulness of Syphax, and the Title of the Attempts of his Son. The greatest Kings do not obtain an Alliance with Rome, but by long and important Services.* Nevertheless, it was signify'd to the Ambassadors, that *Vermina* might have Recourse to the *Roman* Deputies who were going into *Africa*; that the latter would be empower'd to declare the Conditions upon which the Republick would enter into a Treaty with him; and that if he would have any Alteration made in the Terms they offer'd, he must again have Recourse to the Senate. Such was the Haughtiness which the *Romans* assumed, after the Victories of *Scipio*!

§. 7. But this Pride was accompanied with many Virtues; and the Senate gave at this time a signal Instance of their Equity. The Publick Creditors, who had lent their Money without Interest, and were to be reimburs'd at three several Payments, complained loudly for want of the last, which had been delay'd on account of the Expences of the *Macedonian* War. The Senate, to do these Creditors Justice in the best manner they could, assigned over to them certain Lands, which belong'd to the Republick, and were near the City, at the Rent of one *As* per Acre, subject nevertheless to a Redemption, whenever the State should think fit. And this was the first Instance we have in Story of Leases granted for long Terms.

§. 8. These Transactions being at an End, *Sulpicius* left *Rome*, embark'd at *Brundisium*, and arrived safe in *Macedon*. *Philip*, whose Designs were not only upon all *Greece*, but a good Part of *Asia* and *Egypt*, had made a League with *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, gained *Achaia*, *Lacedaemon* and *Corinth* to his Interest, and had already invaded *Attica*, without any previous Declaration of War. His only Pretext was a Complaint made by the *Acarnanians*, That two young Men of their Nation, who happen'd to be at *Athens* when the Mysteries of *Ceres* were celebrated, and had thro' Ignorance of the Laws intruded into the Temple, without being initiated into those Mysteries, had been put to Death for it by the *Athenians*.

§. 9. The *Macedonian* was at the same time at Variance with the *Rhodians*, and *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*; they had chased him, in his Return with his Fleet to *Macedon*, and had come to an Anchor under the Island of *Aegina*. From thence they march'd by Land to the Port of *Athens*, call'd *Pyræus*, which stood at a small Distance from the City. The *Athenians* came out to meet them, renewed the Treaty of Alliance with them, and, to express their excessive Joy on this Occasion, created a new Tribe, which they call'd *Attalis*, from the King's Name, and made all the *Rhodians* free of *Athens*. After this the latter returned to their Island, and *Attalus* to his Fleet, where he lost Time in Negotiations to bring the *Aetolians* and others into the new Alliance, instead of pursuing the King of *Macedon* with his Fleet, and shutting up the Ports of *Greece*.

§. 10. *Philip*, who knew how to make Advantage of his Enemy's Neglects, lost no time; but sending a Part of his Troops under *Philocles* to ravage the Territory of *Athens*, he himself, with the other, over-ran all Southern *Thrace*, and the *Thracian Chersonesus*.

§. 11. From thence he pass'd over the *Hellepont* into *Asia*, and laid Siege to *Abydos*, a strong Town on the Streight over-against *Sestos*. But the Inhabitants, assisted by three hundred *Pergamians*, made as brave a Defence against him, as the *Saguntins* had formerly done against *Hannibal*, in *Spain*; and when *Philip*, after he had beat down a Part of the Wall, refused them their Lives and Liberty, as the Terms of a Capitulation, they came to the same desperate Resolutions with those *Spaniards*. They resolved to massacre their Wives and Children, set Fire to the Town, burn their Effects, and die themselves in the Breach. Animated with this Fury, they made so obstinate a Resistance on the first Day's Assault, that *Philip* was terrify'd at it, and retir'd from the Attack before Night. And now the Chiefs of the *Abydenians* having Time to reflect on the inhuman Orders they had given, entertain'd Thoughts of

*The famous Siege of Abydos.*



of applying to the Clemency of the Conqueror, rather than imbrue their Hands Year of  
in the Blood of so many defenceless Women and Children. But whilst they were ROME  
deliberating upon it, *Attalus* appear'd with his Fleet at *Tenedos*, not far from the 553.  
besieged Town, and this revived their Hopes. The *Romans* had sent three Am-  
bassadors to King *Ptolomy*, with Orders to coast along *Greece*, in their Way to *Egypt*,  
and if possible to come to a Conference with *Philip*, and persuade him to desist  
from his Hostilities. *Æmilius*, the youngest of them, was on Board the King of  
*Pergamus's* Fleet at *Tenedos*, and from thence he went to *Philip's* Camp, and had an  
Interview with him, just as he was upon the Point of taking *Abydos*. *I am or-  
der'd by my Republick*, said *Æmilius* to him, *to demand an Account of your Proceed-  
ings. You have attack'd the King of Pergamus and the Rhodians our Allies, not-  
withstanding the Peace concluded between us and you. You extend your Pretensions even  
to Egypt, and the Places belonging to it. Nor is this all: You are come from Europe  
into Asia, and are besieging Abydos. Attica is become a Prey to your Soldiers, and you  
have form'd Designs against Athens. Are you for Peace or War? If for War, we  
are ready. If for Peace, submit your Interests and your Pretensions to the Arbitration  
of the Romans.* This haughty Speech surpriz'd the King of *Macedon*; and at first  
he excused his Conduct, and threw the Blame of the present Hostilities on *Attalus*  
and the *Rhodians*. *Be it so*, reply'd *Æmilius* interrupting him, *with regard to At-  
talus and the Rhodians; tell me, what have the Athenians done to you? What Inju-  
ries have you received from the Inhabitants of Abydos? Your Ambition alone has been  
the Cause of their Misfortunes.* *Philip* was not used to bear Reproaches, he grew  
haughty in his Turn, and made *Æmilius* this Answer. *You are young, you have a  
noble Mien, and you are a Roman. These Considerations suspend my Resentments, which  
you have deserved. Go; I pardon you. But take this my last Answer, and report it  
to your Senate. I am for Peace, and I wish that Rome may not violate the Treaty.  
But if her Ambition makes her my Enemy, I shall have the Gods on my Side, and shall  
know how to defend myself.* After this Audience, which put an End to all Thoughts  
of Peace, *Æmilius* was dismiss'd, *Philip* renew'd his Attack, took the Place by As-  
sault, and the *Abydenians* executed their first desperate Resolutions, of killing their  
Wives, Children, and one another; so that the Conqueror made not one Slave.  
It is observable, that the Declaration of War by the *Macedonian* was made in Cir-  
cumstances very like those in which *Hannibal* had declared War with the *Romans* in  
*Spain*. It was after he had broken a Treaty of Peace that the *Carthaginian* besieged  
*Saguntum*; the *Saguntins* defended themselves to the last Extremity, as the *Aby-  
denians* had now done; both the one and the other signaliz'd their Fury by a Reso-  
lution of the same kind, and perish'd in the Ruins of their native City.

§. 12. The Season was now far advanced; and *Philip*, after this prosperous Cam-  
paign, retired into *Macedon*. *Sulpicius* was come too late in the Year to attempt  
any thing against him on that Side; but he had immediately upon his Arrival sent  
*Claudius Centho* to *Athens* with twenty Gallies and some *Roman Legionaries* to  
cover the *Athenian* Territories from the Ravages of *Philocles*. *Centho* not only put  
a Stop to the Hostilities of the *Macedonians*, but took Revenge on the *Chalcidian*  
Pirates for their Robberies. He sail'd with the best Part of his Squadron, surpriz'd  
*Chalcis*, pillaged it, beat down the Statues of King *Philip*, burnt all his Magazines,  
Arsenals, and Engines of War, and then return'd with the Spoil to *Athens*. These  
were all the Exploits perform'd by the *Romans* this Year in *Greece*.

*The Gauls defeated in Italy.* §. 13. But in *Italy*, the *Prætor Furius*, at the Head of the Army which the *Consul*  
*Aurelius* should have commanded, had he not chosen rather to continue at *Rome*,  
gained much Glory against the *Gauls*. He defeated them in a \* pitch'd Battel, near  
\* Vid. p. 18. *Cremona*. Of forty thousand of the Enemy, scarce six thousand escaped. *Aure-  
lius's* Jealousy was awakened, by this Success. He was vex'd at the having lost so  
favourable an Opportunity of acquiring Glory, and hoped to repair his Loss in some  
measure by putting himself now at the Head of the Troops, and finishing the War:  
But *Furius* had left him nothing to do. The victorious *Prætor* return'd to *Rome*,  
and in the Absence of the *Consul* obtain'd a Triumph, by a Decree of the Senate.  
But this was contrary to the Judgment of the oldest Senators; because the Army  
with which he had conquer'd had not been his own, nor had it fought under his  
*Auspices*.

§. 14. The Campaign drew now to an End, and the Time for the  
Grand Elections approached. Till the *Centuries* met, the Thoughts of the *Romans*  
were wholly taken up with the Celebration of the *Great Games* which *Scipio* had  
formerly vow'd, with rewarding the Veterans who had served under that Hero, and  
with the Affairs of *Spain* and *Africa*. *Lentulus*, who had only been appointed *Pro-  
Consul* in *Spain* by an extraordinary Commission, and without *Auspices*, was never-  
theless decreed an Ovation, for his important Services. He was the first who ob-  
tain'd this Distinction at *Rome*, when not in any *Curule Magistracy*. The Senate  
next gave Audience to the Ambassadors who had been sent to *Carthage*, and into  
*Numidia*; and found no Reason to be dissatisfy'd with the *Carthaginians*, tho' they  
gave



Year of gave no Answer to the Demands made in relation to *Hamilcar*. Indeed it was re-  
 ROME ported that he had fallen in the Battel of *Cremona*. They sent a Present of two  
 553. hundred thousand *Modii* of Wheat to *Rome*, and as much to the *Roman Army* in  
*Macedon*. *Masinissa* offer'd the Republick a Reinforcement of two thousand Horse:  
 The Senate accepted only of one thousand, and these the King transported into  
*Macedon* at his own Expence, and sent with them two hundred thousand *Modii* of  
 Wheat, and as many of Barley. As for *Vermina*, he submitted himself to the Con-  
 ditions of Peace which the Ambassadors propos'd; and it is probable that he then  
 assum'd the Title of *King*, and govern'd that Part of *Masæsyia* which *Masinissa* had  
 not conquer'd from *Syphax*.

554. §. 15. And now the *Centuries* being at length assembled, they elected that *Corne-* 253d Con-  
*lius Lentulus* who had signaliz'd himself in *Spain*, and *P. Villius Tappulus* to be Con-  
*suls*. The Great *Scipio* was chosen at the same time one of the *Censors*; and, as he  
 deserved, he was likewise placed at the Head of the Senate, and declared *Prince* of  
 it. When the *Prætors*, *Curule Ædiles*, &c. were all appointed, the *Consuls* drew  
 Lots for their Provinces. *Italy* fell to *Lentulus*, and the War of *Macedon* to *Villius*:  
 But these two Heads of the Republick imitated their Predecessors, continued long  
 at *Rome*, and did not take the Field till it was very late. The *Prætor Bæbius* was  
 sent to command against the *Gauls*, and *Sulpicius*, who from being *Consul* was now  
 become *Pro-Consul* in *Greece*, was more intent on signalizing himself there than he  
 had been the last Year. §. 16. As for *Philip*, as soon as the Season would  
 permit he assembled his Sea and Land Forces at *Demetrias*, a maritime City of  
*Thessaly*, which he had made the Capital of his Dominions. He had attempted in  
 the Close of the last Campaign to revenge himself on the *Romans* for the seizing  
 of *Chalcis*, and had endeavour'd to surprize them there, but he came too late;  
 they were gone. From thence he turn'd his Arms against *Athens*, hoping to *Philip*  
 find it as ill guarded as the *Romans* had found *Chalcis*; but the *Athenians* had re- makes a  
 ceived Notice of his coming, and were prepared. They opened one of their Gates, fruitless At-  
 and marched out to meet him. *Philip*, over-joy'd at an Opportunity of joining tempt upon  
 Battel, gave his Men only this short Exhortation, *Fix your Eyes on me, and do as Athens.*  
*I do*. He then fell upon the *Athenians* with incredible Fury, struck Terror into  
 them, made them retire, and pursued them to the very Gate; however he was re-  
 pulsed in this rash Enterprize, and obliged to sound a Retreat. The next Day the  
 Besiegers made another Sally with greater Advantage, so that he decamped and  
 posted himself about three Miles from *Athens*; and before he departed thence he  
 signally vented his Rage in that Neighbourhood, he spared neither Temples nor  
 Tombs, nor sacred Groves, nor the Images of the Gods. §. 17. After this,  
 understanding that the Diet of *Achaia* was assembled at *Argos*, to deliberate on a  
 War with *Nabis*, the second Usurper of the *Lacedæmonian* Throne, he hastened *The Achæ-*  
 thither and offered them his Assistance, upon Condition that they would furnish ans reject  
 Garrisons for the Cities of *Chalcis*, *Oreos* and *Corinth*. But the *Achæans* perceiving his Offers of  
 that his Views were to embroil them with the *Romans*, declined his Offers. Upon Service a-  
 this he return'd into *Attica*, renewed his Devastations there, and then retired into gainst the  
*Boeotia*. §. 18. About this time the *Pro-Consul Sulpicius* came out of his Tyrant of  
 Winter-Quarters, and encamped between *Apollonia* and *Dyrrhachium*, on the Banks Lacedæ-  
 of the *Apfus*, a River of *Macedon*. *Apustius*, whom he sent out with a Detach- mon.  
 ment to ravage the Enemy's Country, took several Places by Assault; and when  
 the *Romans* had thus penetrated into *Macedon*, several petty Kings in the Neigh-  
 bourhood, who had been formerly in Alliance with them, came to visit the *Pro-*  
*Consul* and offer their Services; amongst the rest, *Pleuratus*, *Bato* and *Animander*.  
 The last was order'd to engage, if possible, the *Ætolians*, who stood neuter, to  
 join the Forces of the Republick. *Attalus* had Orders sent him to wait at *Ægina*  
 for the *Roman Fleet*; and the *Rhodians* were order'd to arm with all Speed, and  
 join in the common Cause. §. 19. The Irruption of the *Romans* into *Macedon*  
 brought *Philip* home to defend his own Country. At his Return he took all the  
 Measures for that Purpose which became an able General; and as a Diet of the  
*Ætolians* was now actually assembled at *Naupactus*, he sent Ambassadors thither to *The Ætoli-*  
 procure an Accommodation with them. *Furius Purpureo* went thither on the Part ans refuse to  
 of the *Romans*, and some Envoys from *Athens* repaired likewise to the same Place. join with  
*Damocritus* presided in the Diet as first Minister of the *Ætolians*. It is supposed *Philip* or  
 that he was bought by *Philip*, and that for this Reason he directed that the Mace- the Ro-  
 donians should be heard before the *Romans*; but his Pretext was, that the Alliance mans.  
 between *Philip* and *Ætolia* was yet fresh, and had been but lately concluded. The  
 Speech made by the *Macedonian* Ambassadors was full of Invectives against the *Ro-*  
*mans*, whom they treated as perfidious Barbarians of an insatiable Ambition; they  
 enlarged upon their Proceedings at *Rhegium*, *Capua*, and *Tarentum*, as Instances of  
 their Treachery and Cruelty; and they press'd the Diet to renew their Friendship  
 with *Philip*. The *Athenians*, who spoke next, effaced the Impression of this Dis-  
 course.



course. They expatiated upon the Inhumanity and unpardonable Impiety of the Year of *Macedonian*, who in his barbarous Method of making War had shewn no Regard *ROME* even for the Sanctuaries of the Gods, or the Sepulchres of the Dead. They then 554.

extolled the Bravery and Piety of the *Romans*; and in Conclusion exhorted the Assembly to join in the common Cause of the two most formidable Powers, that of Heaven, and that of Rome. After this *Furius Purpureo* was heard. His Speech turn'd chiefly on a Justification of the *Roman* Conduct, with regard to the three Cities mentioned by the *Macedonians*. He insisted on the Moderation and Lenity of the Republick in the Affair of *Carthage*, and return'd the Reproaches of Cruelty upon *Philip*; and lastly, he advised the Assembly to lay hold of the present Opportunity of renewing their Confederacy with the *Romans*, unless they chose rather to perish with *Philip* than conquer with Rome. The Diet were upon the whole inclined to favour the *Romans*; but *Damocritus* suspended their Determination, by declaring that nothing which related to Peace or War could be determined out of a general Diet, which this was not. The artful *Greek* made a Merit with his Countrymen of his Address in this Affair, pretending that his Design was only to gain Time till the War was begun, that they might have an Opportunity of joining the strongest Side. §. 20. These Negotiations did not retard the military Expeditions of *Sulpicius*, nor the Preparations of *Philip*. All the Forces of the latter were now at *Demetrias* in *Theffaly*. He gave the Command of his Fleet to *Heraclides*, with Orders to guard the Coast, and he marched himself with the Land-Forces to meet the *Pro-Consul*, who had entered his Territories in that Part which lay next to *Illyricum*. Skirmishes soon happened between some flying Squadrons of both Armies. *Philip*, to encourage his Troops, by shewing them that his Regard for them extended beyond their Death, would needs take particular Care of the Burial of those of his Men who were slain in the Action; and he order'd them to be brought to the Camp. But this had a quite contrary Effect to what the King propos'd; the Soldiers were terrify'd when they beheld the large and dreadful Wounds made by the *Roman* Sabres in the Bodies of their Companions. *Philip* is said to have been surprized at the Sight himself. He was sensible of the Difference between the Weapons of the *Romans*, and those of the *Greeks*, which generally made but small Wounds. To make up for this Disadvantage in point of Arms, by Numbers of Men, he recall'd to his Camp a Detachment he had sent under his Son *Perfes* and his Governours, to guard the Passes of *Pelagonia*, and hinder *Pleuratus* and the *Dardani* from entering *Macedon*.

§. 21. *Philip's* Army was now considerable, consisting of twenty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; and he came and posted himself within two hundred Paces of the *Roman* Camp. The third Day *Sulpicius* offer'd him Battel; but the *Macedonian* judg'd it not proper to venture a decisive Action, till he had study'd the Enemy, and their Manner of fighting. To this Purpose, he first detached a small Party to skirmish, and these being worsted, the next Day he sent out all his Cavalry and light-armed Infantry, under *Anaxagoras*, but with no better Success.

Philip defeated by Sulpicius.

\* Vid. p. 30.

§. 22. In a third Action\*, near *Ottolophum*, whither *Sulpicius* had removed his Camp, the King, pursuing too eagerly his Advantages in the Beginning of the Fight, had like to have lost his Life. §. 23. This ill Success, and the Intelligence he receiv'd, that *Pleuratus* King of the *Dardani* had enter'd *Macedon*, in order to join the *Romans*, made him resolve to leave his Post; he decamp'd in the Night, without the *Pro-Consul's* perceiving it. *Sulpicius* pursued him, forced his Way into *Lordæa*, thro' some narrow Passes, where the *Macedonian* endeavoured to stop him; having lived there a while upon free Quarter, and gained some new Advantages, he return'd to *Apollonia*, from whence he first set out, and there deliver'd up the Army to the *Consul* *Villius Tappulus*, who was arrived from Rome. But now the Veteran Soldiers who had served under *Scipio*, and had enter'd the present Service as Volunteers, grew impatient to return to Italy, and enjoy some Repose; and they demanded in a very mutinous Manner to be dismiss'd. The *Consul* could not deny their Request to be reasonable; but he reprov'd them for their seditious Manner, bid them return to their Colours, and promised to procure the Senate's Consent to their Discharge. The Season of the Year, which was far advanced, and the Discontent of the Soldiers, would not suffer *Villius* to undertake any thing of Moment this Campaign.

The Aetolians take Part with the Romans.

§. 24. When *Philip* found that he was no longer pursued by *Sulpicius*, and that the *Consul* gave him time to breathe, he took Advantage of the Opportunity, and marched against the *Aetolians*, who at length had taken Part with the *Romans* as the strongest, and, jointly with *Animander* King of the *Athamanes*, had made an Irruption into *Macedon*. He defeated them, and obliged them to retire into their own Countries. *Anaxagoras*, whom he had detach'd against the *Dardani*, commanded by their King *Pleuratus*, had the same Success.

§. 25. As to Sea-Affairs, *Apustius*, to whom the *Pro-Consul* *Sulpicius* had given the Command of the *Roman* Fleet, had early in the Year sailed from *Carthage*, joined the Naval Force of

King



Year of King *Attalus* off the Coast of *Argolis*, and sailed thence to the Port of *Athens*; *ROME* which so elevated the *Athenians*, that they behaved themselves in the most ridiculous manner. To express their Resentments against King *Philip*, they passed a Decree to destroy the Statues of him and his Ancestors, which they had before worship'd, break down their Altars, degrade their Priests, and abolish the Festivals which had been sacrilegiously instituted to their Honour, ordering that the Priests for the future should pronounce Curses against *Philip* and the *Macedonian* Armies, in their religious Assemblies, &c. §. 26. The united Fleets, after some successful Expeditions on the Coasts of *Macedon*, *Thessaly* and *Eubœa*, and having receiv'd a Reinforcement of twenty *Rhodian* Galleys, sailed back to the *Pyræus*. *Apustius* left thirty of his Ships there, and with the rest returned to *Corcyra*, as *Attalus* did to *Asia*, after some Stay in *Attica* to celebrate the Feast of *Ceres*. §. 27. *Philip* alone continued still to keep the Field, but after a fruitless Attempt to take *Thaumacia* in *Thessaly*, an exceeding strong Town situated on a Rock, he return'd to *Macedon*, to make Preparations for the next Campaign; and the Consul *Villius* spent the Winter in *Apollonia*.

§. 28. The other Consul, *Lentulus*, who remained in *Italy*, and should have headed the *Legions* appointed him against the *Gauls* who were not yet quell'd, chose rather to stay at *Rome*, tho' there was then no Business before the Senate of sufficient Moment to detain him. All was quiet on the Side of *Africa*. The *Carthaginians* indeed, who at this time made their first Payment according to the Stipulation, gave a fresh Instance of their ill Faith, by sending Money which had too much Alloy. It wanted a fourth Part. The *Quæstors* discover'd the Deceit, and obliged the *Carthaginian* Agents to borrow Money at Interest to make good the Deficiency. But neither this, nor the punishing some Robbers who had plundered a Temple of *Proserpine*, were Affairs of Consequence enough to require the Presence of the Consul. Nevertheless he did not stir from the City until *Bæbius* the *Prætor* of *Gaul*, who with the Senate's Consent had put himself at the Head of the *Consular* Army and march'd against *Hamilcar*, had in a rash Enterprize lost seven thousand Men. He then hastened to the Camp, reproach'd *Bæbius*, and dismiss'd him with Ignominy. In the first Ages of the Republick so bad a General would not have escaped unpunished: But *Rome*, since her Grandeur and Conquests, was become more indulgent; she even connived at the Negligence and Dilatoriness of the present Consuls.

## B O O K XXXVIII.

§. 1. **I**T was not customary at *Rome* to raise any Person to the *Consulate* till he had previously pass'd thro' the three *Curule* Magistracies; these were thought to be Offices the Exercise of which form'd Men for the supreme Dignity, and gave them an Opportunity of shewing their Capacities for it. Great Opposition was therefore made by two *Tribunes of the People* to the Proceeding of the *Comitia* for the grand Elections, which were now held by *Lentulus*. Two of the Candidates were *Quintius Flamininus*, and *Sext. Ælius Catus*. They had neither of them been in the *Prætorship*, and the former, who was but thirty Years of Age, had never been so much as *Ædile*. The Affair at length devolved upon the Senate, who knew the Merit of the two Candidates. *Flamininus* had signaliz'd himself in War, and *Ælius* was an able *Civilian*. As therefore the *Tribunes* had only Custom and no Law on their Side, the *Fathers* decreed that the *Centuries* should be free to chuse the two Candidates in question; and they were accordingly elected and proclaim'd Consuls. §. 2. The first Business of these new Magistrates was to introduce into the Senate the Ambassadors of King *Attalus*. They came to complain of *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, who had invaded the Territories of their Master; and they requested that the *Romans* would either send some Troops to guard his Dominions, or allow *Attalus* to carry back his own Fleet to defend them. *Antiochus* was secretly in League with *Philip*, and the Senate were not ignorant of it; but they thought it advisable in the present Juncture to dissemble their Resentment. They answered therefore, that the *Romans* being in Alliance with *Antiochus*, they could not assist one Friend against another, neither would they forbid *Attalus* to employ his own Fleet in his Defence; that the Republick did not pretend to exercise a tyrannical Power over her Allies; and that to serve *Attalus* they would send an Embassy to the King of *Syria* to dissuade him from pursuing the War. Accordingly this was done, and *Antiochus* comply'd. §. 3. The War of *Macedon* fell by Lot to *Flamininus*, and that of *Italy* to *Ælius*. *Cato*, who was at the same time appointed *Prætor* of *Sardinia*, made himself remarkable for his Frugality, Austerity of Life, and strict Justice in punishing Offenders. His only Amusement was that of hearing the Instructions of the Poet *Ennius*, from whom he learnt the *Greek* Sciences.

He



He banished the Usurers from his Province, and reduced the Interest upon Loans Year of almost to nothing. §. 4. *Flamininus* did not imitate his Predecessors by delay- ROME

555.

ing to set out for his Province; he was a Man of great Bravery, Probity and Politeness, and had taken *Scipio* for his Model. If there was any Fault in his Conduct it was in endeavouring after too exact a Copy of that Hero. With eight thousand Foot and eight hundred Horse, all chosen out of the Troops which had served under *Scipio*, he sailed from *Brundisium*, and landed safely at *Corcyra*. §. 5. *Philip*

had already left his Winter-Quarters, and having taken Measures to pacify his own discontented Subjects and secure the *Achaëans* in his Interest, had posted himself very advantageously on a River which ran thro' a narrow Valley between two Mountains, about ten *Stadia* from *Apollonia*. The Situation of his Camp was so strong, both by Art and Nature, that it seem'd impossible to force him there.

§. 6. *Charops*, one of the Chiefs of the *Epirots*, who was in the Interest of *Rome*, had given the *Pro-Consul* an Account of the Place where the *Macedonians* were posted; and *Villius*, who was advanced with his Army within five Miles of the King's Camp, had gone in Person with a Guard to take a View of it. He was deliberating whether it would not be better to march about and enter *Macedon* the same Way *Sulpicius* had done the last Year, when *Flamininus* arrived and took upon him the Command of the Army. A new Council of War was then held, and the brave *Consul* determin'd to drive the *Macedonian* out of his Entrenchments. The great Difficulty was, how to put his Design in Execution. Forty Days were already spent in fruitless Contrivances; and this Respite gave *Philip* Hopes of procuring a Treaty of Peace. By the Means of some Chiefs of the *Epirot* Nation he obtain'd an Interview with the *Consul*. *Flamininus*, who first made his Pretensions, demanded nothing in favour of the *Romans*: He only required that *Philip* should restore to the *Greeks* all the Cities he possess'd of theirs, with an Equivalent for the Effects he had taken out of them. The King did not refuse to surrender the Cities which he himself had taken from the *Greeks*, but was unwilling to part with those which his Ancestors had conquered; and he offer'd to submit himself to the Arbitration of neutral Powers, who should judge of the Injuries the *Greeks* had suffer'd from him. The *Consul* briskly replied, That there was no Need of such an Arbitration; That as he was the Aggressor, he ought to repair all Damages. *What Cities then*, said *Philip*, *would you have me restore?* *All Thessaly*, answer'd the *Roman*. At these Words the King could no longer restrain his Passion, and reply'd, *What more*, *Consul*, *could you have demanded of me if you had conquered me?* This said, he immediately broke off the Conference, and went away. Nay he was strongly inclin'd to play his Machines on *Flamininus*, and overwhelm him with Darts.

The Consul  
Flamininus  
forces the  
Entrench-  
ments of  
Philip.

§. 7. The next Day Hostilities began, but with little Advantage to either Side. At length the *Consul* detach'd a Party of four thousand Foot and three hundred Horse, under the Guidance of a Shepherd whom *Charops* had sent to him for that Purpose. This Fellow knew all the Paths and By-Roads over the Mountains into *Macedon*; and he undertook to lead the Detachment, which was to march only by Moon-light, in three Days time to the Top of a Mountain which over-look'd the *Macedonian* Camp. They had Orders to give the Signal by Fires, when they had gained the Post appointed them. The Stratagem succeeded, the *Consul* the third Day boldly enter'd the narrow Passes, and attack'd the Enemy's Lines in the Valley, while the Detachment came down like a Torrent from the Mountain, and took them in Flank. The *Macedonian* Army was routed, and *Philip* was one of the first that fled. He at length stop'd upon a little Hill about five Miles from the Place of Action, and finding the Ways so close and difficult that the *Romans* could not pursue him further, he there waited for his fugitive Troops, and when he had rallied them retired into *Thessaly*, having lost only two thousand Men. Thus the *Romans* opened themselves a Way into the flat Country; and this Victory produced other ill Consequences to *Philip*. The *Ætolians* and *Athamanes* renew'd their Ardour against the *Macedonians*, and entering *Thessaly* different Ways, made great Havock and Devastation in that unfortunate Country.

He capti-  
vates the  
Greeks by  
his Virtues.

§. 8. *Flamininus*, followed by his victorious *Legions*, took his Way through *Epirus* in Pursuit of the King, and by his Humanity and Moderation captivated the Affections of the People, and entirely effaced the Impressions they had receiv'd of the *Roman* Cruelty and Avarice. The Report likewise of the disinterested Behaviour of the *Consul*, who in his Conference with *Philip* had demanded nothing in favour of the *Romans*, convinced the *Greeks* that *Rome* was not their Enemy. *Flamininus* at length enter'd *Thessaly*, and took several Towns there garrisoned by *Macedonians*. *Philip* had retired to the famous *Vale of Tempe*, from whence he sent Succours to the Cities in his Interest.

§. 9. Whilst the *Consul* was bringing the Northern Part of *Thessaly* into Subjection to the Republick, his Brother *L. Quintius*, whom he had made Admiral of the Fleet, being join'd near the Island of *Andros* by *Attalus's* Fleet of twenty four Ships from *Asia*, and that of the *Rhodians* consisting of twenty, laid

Siege



Year of Siege to *Eretria* and *Carystus*, maritime Cities of *Eubœa*, and when he had carried *ROME* these Places, enter'd the *Saronic Gulph*, and appear'd before *Cenchrea*, one of the Ports of *Corinth*.

§. 10. The *Consul* was already come from *Thessaly*, and had invested this proud City. The two Brothers carried on the Siege both by Sea and Land. *Cenchrea* was taken by *Quinctius's* Marines; but *Corinth* itself being garrisoned by some of the choicest of the *Macedonian* Troops, and by those *Roman* Deserters who had formerly gone over to *Hannibal*, (and whose Escape he had secured when the Peace was made) the *Consul* was forced to raise the Siege after he had made a Breach in the Walls. It was now time to think in what Part of *Greece* he should pass the Winter; and he pitched upon *Phocis*, as being not far from *Ætolia* and *Thessaly*; the Port of *Anticyra* on the Gulph of *Corinth* seemed a proper Harbour to receive his Fleet, and he resolved likewise to winter his Troops in that City. He turned his Arms therefore that way, and *Anticyra* surrender'd, after a slight Defence. He took likewise *Ambrysas*, *Hyampolis* and *Daulis*; and whilst he lay before *Elatia*, he formed a Scheme to bring over *Achaia* to the *Roman* Interest.

§. 11. The Government of the *Achæans* was now in the Hands of *Aristæus*, a Man well-affected to *Rome*. The *Consul* therefore judg'd this a favourable Opportunity to gain that Nation, and committed the Execution of the Design to his Brother *Quinctius*, who was yet at *Cenchrea*. *Quinctius* sent a Deputation to them, with Offers to put *Corinth* under the Jurisdiction of *Achaia*, as it had formerly been. This was a tempting Proposal, and the Diet was assembled. *Cleomedon* appeared there as Ambassador from *Philip*, and press'd them to a Neutrality; *L. Calpurnius* spoke on the Part of the *Romans*; the Envoys from King *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, and the *Athenians*, were likewise heard. The next Day the Assembly met to debate the Matter without admitting the foreign Ministers. But they could not come to any Resolution; they fear'd both the *Romans* and *Philip*, and they were under Obligations to the latter. They had not even the Courage to declare their Sentiments, tho' press'd to it by *Aristæus* the President. There was universal Silence in the Assembly. At length *Aristæus* in a long Harangue represented to them the Situation of their Affairs, and urged the Necessity of their joining the *Romans*, who he said were in a Condition to force them to the Compliance they had condescended to request.

§. 12. But this Discourse did not bring the *Achæans* to any Agreement among themselves. The Disputes grew warm, mutual Reproaches were utter'd, and the ten Chiefs of the Deputies were equally divided. The Diet was to sit but one Day longer, and that was spent in Contention. In the End the Deputies from *Dymæ*, *Megalopolis*, and some of those from *Argos*, rose up, and left the Assembly. These three Cities were under particular Obligations to *Philip*. The rest of *Achaia* follow'd the most prudent Advice; they made an Alliance with the *Athenians*, *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, but deferr'd declaring their Confederacy with *Flaminius* till the Return of some Ambassadors sent to *Rome* to get it approv'd.

§. 13. Nevertheless the *Achæans*, for their own Interest, immediately lent Assistance to the *Romans* to reduce *Corinth*. The City was attack'd on the Side of *Cenchrea* by *Quinctius*, at the Gate *Sicyon* by the *Achæans*, and on the Side of the Port *Lechaum* by *Attalus*. It was at first hop'd by the Confederates that a Difference would arise between the Garrison and the Inhabitants, and that they should thereby become Matters of the Place: But *Androsthenes* who commanded the Place for *Philip* had gained the Affections of the *Corinthians*, and being powerfully supported by the *Roman* Deserters, and by a Reinforcement of fifteen hundred Men, under *Philocles*, one of King *Philip's* Generals, he obliged the Besiegers to drop their Enterprize. After this, *Philocles* did not remain unactive, but march'd away and appeared before *Argos*, where the *Achæan* Diet had placed a Commander named *Ænesidemus*, who was faithful to the *Roman* Interest; but the Inhabitants being in the Interest of *Philip* took Arms, and obliged the Governour to capitulate. *Ænesidemus* obtain'd Leave for the Garrison, consisting of five hundred Men, to march out; but he continued there himself, with a few Clients about him, after the Soldiers were gone. *Philocles* sent to ask him why he tarried, and what he intended to do? To which the brave *Achaian* answer'd, *To die in the Place committed to my Care*. Upon this, *Philocles* order'd some *Thracians* to shoot their Arrows at him, and he fell dead upon his Buckler.

§. 14. During the fruitless Attempt of *Quinctius* upon *Corinth*, the *Consul* was busy in the Reduction of *Phocis*; and at length took *Elatia*, and retired for the Winter to *Anticyra*. *Philip* sent thither to demand a second Interview with him. Some Attempts were made in the Conference towards an Accommodation; but as *Flaminius* insisted resolutely on the Re-establishment of the Liberty of all *Greece*, the *Macedonian* again flew off. We are not told the Particulars of the Terms propos'd by *Philip*, but thinking that he offer'd enough, he sent an Embassy to *Rome*, in Hopes that the Senate would be satisfy'd with them. The *Consul* sent a Deputation thither likewise to prevent an Accommodation, and to get himself continued in the Management of the War, and

*He gains over the Achæans to the Interest of Rome.*



he succeeded in both, as we shall see hereafter. §. 15. The time of the Election now drew near, and *Ælius*, who had done no great Matter in *Cisalpine Gaul*, was called home to assemble the *Centuries*. A little before his Return a Conspiracy was form'd at *Setia* in the Country of the *Volsci*, by the *Carthaginian* Hostages who resided there, and the Slaves that attended them. They laid a Scheme to seize this Place and two more Towns, having first drawn the Slaves who lived in those Towns, and were very numerous, into their Measures. But the Secret was discovered; and the unexpected Arrival of *Cornelius Merula* the *Prætor* of *Rome*, with two thousand Men, put an effectual Stop to their Designs. Year of ROME 555.

255th Consulship.

Flaminius continued General in Greece.

A Conference between Philip and Flaminius.

§. 16. The *Comitia* being assembled, *C. Cornelius Cethegus* and *Q. Minucius Rufus* were chosen *Consuls*. The Republick thought fit at this time to increase the Number of *Prætors* to six, by creating two new ones for the Government of *Spain*, which she now divided into two Provinces, by the Names of *Hither Spain* and *Further Spain*. The *Consuls* being both ambitious of conducting the War in *Macedon*, were very desirous of drawing Lots for that Province. But this Motion was opposed by two *Tribunes of the Commons*, who represented to the People the ill Consequences which might attend the recalling *Flaminius* from *Greece* in the midst of his Successes, as well as the Unreasonableness of letting another reap the Fruit of his Labours. These Discourses made such an Impression upon the People that the *Consuls* themselves consented to leave the Matter to the Determination of the Senate. The *Fathers* ordered that he should continue in his Employment in Quality of *Pro-Consul*, and that no other Commander should be sent to act against *Philip*, till the People thought fit to recall him. They granted him also a Recruit of five thousand Foot, three hundred Horse, and three thousand Seamen and Rowers; and left him his Brother *Quintius* to command the Fleet under his Direction. Lastly, *Sulpicius* and *Villius* were sent to serve in his Army as Lieutenant-Generals. As for the two *Consuls*, they were both order'd into *Cisalpine Gaul* against *Hamilcar*, who still headed the Revolt there. §. 17. *Flaminius*, who knew nothing of what was doing at *Rome*, and had some Apprehension of being recall'd, was very desirous of concluding a Treaty with *Philip*, that he might have the Glory of advantageously finishing the War before he left his Province. The King demanded a Conference, and tho' the *Roman* pretended at first an Unwillingness to grant it, he at length consented, and the Place of Conference was appointed. On the *Maliac Gulph* stood a City, call'd *Nicæa*, near which was a Strand where the Water was deep enough for Gallies to come very near the Shore. *Philip* came to this Place by Sea, in one of his Ships of War, convoyed by five *Felucca's*; and he had on board with him his two Secretaries of State, and some of the greatest Lords of his Court. With *Flaminius* came the Ambassador of King *Attalus*, *Aminander* King of the *Athamans*, *Agessimbrotus* Admiral of the *Rhodian* Fleet, *Phæneas* General of the *Ætolians*, and the two chief Magistrates of *Achaia*, *Aristæus* and *Xenophon*. *Flaminius* came on foot to the Sea-shore; and *Philip* continued in the Prow of his Ship, which lay at Anchor. *Why don't you come ashore*, said the *Pro-Consul*? *we shall hear one another better. Which of us do you fear?* *The Gods only*, reply'd the Monarch haughtily, *can terrify me. But I suspect those about you, particularly the Ætolians.* *The Danger is equal on both Sides*, rejoined *Flaminius*, *there is always some Hazard in Conferences with Enemies.* *No*, reply'd *Philip* briskly, *the Danger is not equal. Would the Loss of a Phæneas be equal to that of a Philip?* *Another Prætor for Ætolia might easily be found; but the Want of a Great King in a State is not so easily supplied.* After this both Parties remained in a profound Silence. The *Pro-Consul* expected that *Philip* would have first explain'd himself, and have declared what he was willing to give for a Peace. But the *Macedonian* said to him, *It is your Business to begin; Peace is a kind of Merchandize, and you are to set your Price upon it.* Then *Flaminius* answer'd, *I have but one Word to say with regard to the Interests of my Republick, Restore to her all the Places you have invaded in Illyricum since the last Peace made in Epirus. Surrender up our Deserters. Evacuate the Cities you have conquered from the Egyptians since the Decease of King Ptolomy Philopator. Satisfy all the just Pretensions of our Allies, and immediately leave Greece. If you refuse to comply with any one of these Conditions, all the Miseries of War will be the Consequence.* Then the Minister of the King of *Pergamus*, and the Deputies of the Allies made severally their Demands. *Phæneas* and *Alexander* spoke on the Part of the *Ætolians*. The former insisted, as the *Pro-Consul* had done, on *Philip's* evacuating all *Greece*. But *Alexander*, who was esteem'd a fine Speaker, went further, and addressing himself to the King reproach'd him with *Insincerity in Treaties, Cowardice in War, and Cruelty in ravaging Thessaly and other Places which had submitted to him.* The *Macedonian* was highly exasperated at this Discourse, and bringing his Ship nearer the Shore, made this angry Reply. *What an Orator and what Rhetoric have we here? The audacious Alexander may have been taught to harangue in a Theatre, but he knows nothing of the cruel Exigencies to which Kings and Generals are sometimes reduced, with respect to their*



Year of their Subjects and Allies. Sometimes the Circumstances of Affairs oblige them to ROME sacrifice much to the common Good. It was with Regret that I ravaged Theſſaly, 556. but I had Reasons of State for ſo doing. The King was going on when Phœneas interrupted him and ſaid: Let us have fewer Words and more Buſineſs done, you muſt either conquer, or obey us. To which the King replied with a contemptuous Smile, You are very clearſighted for a blind Man. Phœneas had indeed weak Eyes; but this Jeſt was very unbecoming the Dignity of a King. Philip naturally loved Raillery, a Fault which Education had not been able to correct. At length he aſſumed a more ſerious Air, and having given a diſtinct Answer to each of the Deputies, which conſiſted chiefly of Recriminations, he deſired that they would give him their ſeveral Pretentions in writing, and he promiſed to conſider them. I am alone, ſaid he, and have none to aſſiſt me with their Counſels. To which the Pro-Conſul answer'd, I am not in the leaſt ſurpriſed at it, you have deprived yourſelf of all your Friends. The King was ſtung with this Reproach, and could only put on a forced Smile. Mutual Promiſes were given, that the Conferences ſhould be continued the next Day in the ſame Place. Philip retired with his Fleet, and Flamininus returned to his Camp.

§. 18. The next Day Philip deſired, that in order to cut off a thouſand frivolous Diſputes, the Conference might be between him and Flamininus only. This was agreed to, and then Philip came aſhore with two of his Confidants; and went a little apart from the reſt with the Pro-Conſul. The King offer'd to give up Pharſalus and Lariffa to the Ætolians, but refus'd to reſtore Thebes to them. He offer'd likewiſe to reſtore Parœa to the Rhodians, but reſerved Jaffos and Bargylia. He promiſed to ſurrender Argos and Corinth to the Achæians, and to reſtore to King Attalus the Ships and Priſoners he had taken from him. But when Flamininus upon his Return to the Deputies made this Report, they all raiſed a great Clamour, which Philip hearing, concluded that his Propoſals were rejected. He deſired therefore a third Interview the next day, at another Place not far from Nicœa. They met accordingly, and then the King exhorted the Heads of the Nations not to be averſe from a Peace, and propoſed to refer all Differences to the Arbitration of the Roman Senate. The Ætolians oppoſed this Motion, but it was at length agreed to, and Deputies were ſent to Rome from the King, the Pro-Conſul and all the Confederates.

§. 19. All the Deputies arrived at Rome much about the ſame time. Thoſe of the Allies were firſt heard in the Senate, and they inſiſted chiefly on the Neceſſity of obliging Philip to give up Demetrius in Theſſaly, Corinth in Achæia, and Chalcis in Eubœa. Theſe three Places he had called, The Fetters of Greece. The Senate were ſtrongly prejudiced by what was urged on this Head, ſo that when Philip's Deputies were admitted, and their Orator began a ſtudied Harangue, the Fathers interrupted him and ſaid, without ſo many Preambles, tell us in two Words, will the King of Macedon give up Corinth, Chalcis and Demetrius? The Ambaſſadors were ſurpriſed at this Queſtion, and in Confuſion answered, that their Maſter had given them no Inſtructions as to that matter. Upon this they were diſmiſſed, and a Decree was paſſed giving full Powers to Flamininus to purſue the War with the utmoſt Vigour, unleſs the Macedonian would yield thoſe three Places.

*The Senate rejects the Propoſals of Philip for a Peace.*

§. 20. Philip finding his Hopes fruſtrated, turned his Thoughts wholly to the War; and as it was of great Importance to him to preſerve Argos, and yet difficult to do it, becauſe it was in the Heart of Achæia, he treated with Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedæmon upon this Head. Philip agreed to put Nabis into Poſſeſſion of the City upon Condition of its being reſtored to him in caſe he ſurvived the War. But Nabis was no ſooner Maſter of the Place, than he plundered all the Inhabitants, committed the moſt barbarous Cruelties; and in order to preſerve his new Poſſeſſion entered into a Treaty with Flamininus (who at his Requeſt came from Phocis for that Purpoſe) and furniſhed the Pro-Conſul with ſix hundred Cretans to act againſt Philip.

*The Treachery and Cruelty of Nabis Tyrant of Lacedæmon.*

§. 21. With this Reinforcement, Flamininus appeared before Corinth, and affected to ſhew his Cretan Troops to the Corinthians. This was to let them underſtand that the Lacedæmonians were come over to him; and Philocles the Commander of the Place gave him Hopes in a Conference, that he would ſoon ſurrender it to him, and join the Confederates. The Pro-Conſul therefore well ſatiſfied with his Expedition, returned to Anticyra, and ſpent the reſt of the Winter there. As for Nabis, being proud of his Alliance with Rome, and his Affairs calling him home, he reſolved to evacuate Argos; but before he left it he brought his Wife Apega thither to practice a new ſort of Robbery upon the Women, which he could not ſo well execute himſelf, becauſe they did not appear among the Men. When they came to Court, ſhe admired their Jewels and rich Clothes, and by uſing good Words with ſome, and threatening others, entirely ſtripped them of all their Finery.

§. 22. As ſoon as the Return of the Spring invited the Armies to take the Field Flamininus left his Quarters, and under a Guard of only one Manipulus advanced towards Thebes in Bœotia, accompanied by King Attalus. The Pro-Conſul however had order'd two thouſand Haſtati to follow him at ſome Diſtance. Theſe were hid

by



by the Hills about *Thebes*. *Antiphibus* the Governor of the Place seeing the Roman Year of General approach with so small a Guard came out to meet him; and all the Inhabi- ROME  
tants, out of Curiosity to see what past, ran either to the Ramparts or out of the 556.

Gates, mostly without Arms. When they saw the two thousand *Hastati* appear, they thought themselves betray'd, but dissembled their Uneasiness, and *Flamininus* caressed the Inhabitants, and gave them leave to hold the Assembly of the People which had been appointed for the next Day, to deliberate whether they should adhere to *Philip*, or take Part with the *Romans*. There was now indeed no room for Choice; for the *Romans* were by this time in Possession of the Ramparts. *Attalus* spoke first, but in the midst of his Harangue fell into an apoplectick Fit. The *Pro-Consul* ordered him to be taken Care of, and put on board a Galley which carried him to *Asia*, where he died at seventy one Years of Age, leaving his Crown to his eldest Son *Eumenes*. This unforeseen Accident suspended a little the Deliberations of the *Thebans*; but in the End they enter'd, with all *Bæotia*, into a Confederacy with *Rome*.

§. 23. The *Pro-Consul* having now no Enemies behind him, marched into *Thessaly*, in Pursuit of *Philip*;

§. 24. And the two Armies coming near each other in the Neighbourhood of *Pheræ*, a City of *Magnesia*, a Skirmish ensued, in which the *Romans* had all the Advantage. The two Generals seem'd as it were by Consent to judge this a very improper Place for a pitch'd Battel, it being cover'd with Trees, ruined Houses and Gardens, and therefore both march'd, tho' by different Roads, and without meeting or seeing one another, to the Plain of *Cynocephalæ*.

Philip de-  
feated by  
Flamininus  
in the Plain  
of Cynoc-  
ephalæ.

\*Vide p. 73.

§. 25. Here they came to a general Action\*, *Philip's* Army consisted of about twenty one thousand Men, and that of the *Romans* was not much more numerous. The *Macedonians* were entirely defeated, eight thousand of them being killed on the Spot, and five thousand taken Prisoners. The *Romans* lost but seven hundred Men. After this Victory the *Pro-Consul* marched away and encamped under *Larissa*, and *Philip* sheltered himself in the *Vale of Tempe*.

§. 26. What increased the Misfortune of the King's Defeat, was another Battle which his General *Androsthenes*, whom he had left in *Corinth* with six thousand Men, lost just at the same time in *Achaia*, against *Nicostratus* the *Prætor* of that Nation.

§. 27. But now while the *Pro-Consul* lay with an Army near *Larissa*, the *Ætolians* by their Vanity gave him great Uneasiness. They had indeed bore a good Part in the late Action of *Cynocephalæ*, but in their Songs which they dispersed over all *Greece* they ascribed all the Glory of the Success to themselves. *Flamininus* took it ill to have his Reputation lessened among the *Greeks*; and while his Resentments were yet Warm, three Envoys came from *Philip* under Pretence of asking a Truce to bury the Dead, but in reality to solicit a Peace. The *Pro-Consul* received them, and gave them their Answer without consulting the Chief of the *Ætolians*. He was glad of such an Opportunity to mortify their Vanity, and they were so provoked, that they spread a Report that he was bribed by *Philip*, and was betraying the common Cause; but in Truth the *Pro-Consul* had more honourable Motives than Avarice to hearken to *Philip's* Proposals. *Antiochus*, surnamed the Great, King of *Syria*, who had been always a Friend to *Philip*, was preparing to come into *Europe*, and *Flamininus* was therefore willing to conclude a Peace with the *Macedonians* before his Arrival.

§. 28. The Place appointed for the Conference was the Pass which leads into the *Vale of Tempe*: And now the *Pro-Consul* shewed so much Regard for his Allies as to desire all the Chiefs of them to be present at it. Nay before he entered upon a Treaty he called them together in Council, and asked them upon what Terms they thought it might be proper to grant the *Macedonians* a Peace. *Amynder* King of the *Atbamanes* modestly desired nothing more than Protection for his Dominions. But the *Ætolians* with great Warmth and Haughtiness insisted on the dethroning of *Philip* and ruining his Dominions, as the only Means to secure the Liberty of *Greece*. The *Pro-Consul* answered, that it was never the Intention of the *Romans* to carry things to such Extremity; that upon the first Appearance of Submission their Anger always ceased; that brave Men are courageous in Action, but lose their Animosity after Victory: And he concluded with declaring in the Name of all the Officers of the *Roman* Army, that, with the Consent of the Senate, he would grant a Peace to *Philip* on the Terms which had been offered him. The next Day the King of *Macedon* appeared at the Congress with an Air of Submission suitable to his present Circumstances, and without any Preamble declared: That he accepted the Articles he had hitherto rejected, and referred all other matters to the Arbitration of the *Roman* Senate. Upon this a Truce was granted him for four Months to negotiate a Peace at *Rome*; but *Flamininus* demanded his Son *Demetrius*, and some other Lords of his Court for Hostages, and also two hundred Talents, upon Condition nevertheless, that both the Money and the Hostages should be restored to him if the Peace did not take Place. The *Macedonian* complied, sent away his Ambassadors, and retired into his own Dominions.

Philip sub-  
mits to the  
Terms of  
Peace pro-  
posed by  
Flamini-  
nus.



- Year of §. 29. In *Italy* the War with the *Gauls* being in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*,  
 ROME and carried on by the *Consuls*, gave the People more Concern than that of *Macedon*,  
 556. but their Fears were soon quieted. §. 30. For *Cetbegus*, who marched against  
 the *Insubres* and *Cœnomani* obtained a complete Victory over them on the Banks of  
 the *Mincius*. Thirty five thousand of those *Gauls* were slain in the Action, and five  
 thousand seven hundred made Prisoners, among the rest their General *Hamilcar*. The Cisal-  
*Minucius* the other *Consul* had no Opportunity of coming to a pitched Battle with pine Gauls  
 the *Ligures* and *Boii*, against whom he commanded, but he over-ran their Country defeated.  
 and laid it waste. §. 31. The News of these Successes was brought to  
*Rome* to the *Prætor Sergius*, who communicated it first to the Senate, and then to  
 the People, and both Tribunals ordered publick Thanksgivings in all the Temples  
 of *Rome* for four Days. This *Sergius* was a Man remarkable for his Bravery, and  
 had raised himself to his present Dignity by it. When a private Legionary he lost  
 his right Hand in his first Campaign, and afterwards the Use of one of his Legs,  
 yet he did not quit the Service, but fought on Horseback with his left Hand, and  
 is said to have given mighty Strokes with it. He was the Great Grandfather of the  
 seditious *Cataline*.  
 §. 32. But the News which came from *Spain* at this time was not so advanta-  
 geous. The *Spaniards* being much displeased to see their Country reduced to the The Spa-  
 State of *Roman* Provinces had taken Arms. In hither *Spain* the *Prætor Sempri- niards Re-*  
*nus* had been defeated by the Rebels, and lost his own Life in the Action; and in volt.  
*Further Spain* several Towns had been seized by two petty Kings who revolted.  
 There was almost a general Disposition to shake off the *Roman* Yoke. Indeed the  
*Spaniards* never submitted quietly to it till the time of *Augustus*.  
 §. 33. *Cisalpine Gaul* seemed now to be totally subdued, and both the *Consuls* expected  
 to have been honoured with a Triumph on their Return from the Campaign; but  
 it was granted only to *Cetbegus*. *Minucius* enraged at this Distinction, and being  
 authorized by Precedents, triumphed at his own Expence on the Hill of *Alba*.

## B O O K XXXIX.

- §. 1. AFTER the Battle of *Cynocephalæ*, and the Promise which *Philip* had  
 made to accept of whatever Terms the Senate should offer him, he  
 waited peaceably in *Macedon* for the Return of his Ambassadors. When they ar-  
 rived at *Rome* the Republick had just chosen new *Consuls*, *L. Furius Purpureo*, and  
 557. *M. Claudius Marcellus*. §. 2. The latter being ambitious of going him- 256th Con-  
 self into *Macedon* to finish the War, strenuously opposed the Peace desired; and be- sulship.  
 ing seconded by the *Ætolians* in this Opposition, had like to have prevailed in the  
 Senate, notwithstanding that *Flamininus* in Imitation of *Scipio* solicited in behalf  
 of *Macedon*, as the other had done in favour of *Carthage*. The Senators being di-  
 vided in Opinion, the Tribunes brought the Affair before the People; and then  
 the Tribes unanimously voted to grant *Philip's* Request. §. 3. Thus *Mar-*  
*cellus* to his great Mortification was forced to continue in *Italy* with his Colleague  
*Furius* to renew the War against the *Gauls*, who were not yet totally subdued, as  
 had been imagin'd. *Flamininus* by a new Decree was appointed to act as General *Flamininus*  
 in *Greece* till such time as the Treaty with *Macedon* should be concluded, and for continued  
 this last Purpose ten Commissioners were sent thither accompanied by *Philip's* Am- General in  
 bassadors. Greece.  
 §. 4. In the mean time the *Pro-Consul* had spent part of the  
 Winter at *Athens*, engaged in numberless Affairs; and he shewed himself to be as  
 great a Statesman as he had before shewn himself a Warrior. He was perhaps in-  
 ferior to *Scipio* in all other Respects, but he certainly equalled if not surpassed him  
 in Address, and the Art of governing Men's Passions. He was now to guard against  
 all the Artifices of the *Greeks*, to calm their Distrusts, appease their mutual Jealous-  
 ies, stifle their Revolts, humour their Capriciousness and fix their Levity. The  
*Bœotians* were the first who after this Victory over *Philip* shewed him the Temper  
 of the *Greeks*. In the first Election they made of a Governor they ungratefully  
 preferred *Brachyllas*, a sworn Enemy of *Rome*, to *Zeuxippus* and *Pisistratus*, who had  
 openly declared for her, and they made this Choice even in Sight of the *Roman* Camp.  
 The two latter believing their Ruin certain as soon as the *Roman* Forces should be  
 withdrawn from *Greece*, conspired with the other Partizans of *Rome* to assassinate  
*Brachyllas*; and the *Pro-Consul* connived at it. The *Bœotian* Governor was mur-  
 dered as he was coming from an Entertainment, attended by some of the Company:  
 These were at first the only Persons suspected; but in a little time the whole mat-  
 ter was discovered by a Slave. *Zeuxippus* made his Escape, but *Pisistratus* was ex-  
 ecuted, and all the Odium of the Assassination fell upon the *Romans*. §. 5.  
 The *Bœotians* in Revenge destroyed as many of the *Roman* Soldiers as fell into their  
 Hands,  
 VOL. IV. d



Hands, and threw their Bodies into a Lake to prevent a Discovery. The *Pro-Consul* being inform'd of what pass'd, sent some Officers of his Army to require the Murderers to be deliver'd up; and as he had lost five hundred Men, he demanded of the *Bæotians* five hundred *Talents*, by way of Reparation. But they would not submit to any of his Orders till they were forced to it by some Troops which he sent to ravage their Country. They then engaged the *Achæans* to intercede for them; and the Assassins being deliver'd up to Justice, he remitted four hundred and seventy of the *Talents* he had required.

*The Articles of the Peace with Philip.* §. 6. At length the ten Plenipotentiaries arrived in Greece with the Articles of the Peace, as they were drawn up by the Senate. They were as follow, 1. *All the Cities of the Greeks, both in Europe and in Asia, shall enjoy perfect Liberty, and be governed only by themselves.* 2. *Philip shall evacuate all the Places he stands possessed of, and draw his Garrisons out of them before the Celebration of the Isthmian Games.*

3. *Philip shall surrender into the Hands of the Romans the Cities of Euromus, Padafia, Bargylia, Jassos, Thassos, Myrina, Abydos and Perinthus; and all these Cities shall be free, and under no foreign Subjection.* 4. *As to the Restitution of Ciam, the Pro-Consul shall notify the Intentions of the Senate to King Prusias.* 5. *Philip shall restore to the Romans all the Cities he has taken from them, and all their Deserters.* 6. *He shall deliver up all his Ships that have Decks, except five, and one Hexaremis, which is too heavy to be of any use at Sea.* 7. *He shall never have above five thousand Men in Pay, never make use of Elephants in his Armies, nor wage War out of Macedon, without the Consent of the Romans.* 8. *He shall pay the Republick a thousand Talents, one half presently, and the other half in ten Years, at ten equal Payments.* 9. *He shall not make War against Eumenes the King of Pergamus.* 10. *Upon these Conditions, Philip shall continue in peaceable Possession of Macedon, and shall enjoy the ancient Throne of his Forefathers.*

These Articles were soon communicated to all the States of Greece, and they were all pleas'd with them, except the *Ætolians*. These observed, that while other Towns were particularly specify'd, no Mention was made of *Corinth*, *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*; and they insinuated that *Rome* had an Intention to appropriate those Places to herself, and thereby become Mistress of Greece. Indeed these Suspicions were not ill founded: The Senate had purposely omitted them in the List, in order to leave it in the Breast of *Flamininus* and the Council of Ten to keep or surrender them. Some of these Plenipotentiaries were for putting strong Garrisons into them, to be a Curb upon the Natives, and a Guard against *Antiochus*: But *Flamininus* oppos'd this Motion, and represented to the Council that it was for the Glory of the *Romans* to give up a little Interest, and gain the Hearts of the People; and his Opinion at length prevailed. It was decreed that all the Greek Cities, both in *Europe* and *Asia*, should be restor'd to perfect Liberty; and that the *Romans* should have Possession of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias* and the Citadel of *Corinth* only till the Apprehensions of *Antiochus's* coming into *Europe* were over.

§. 7. This Decree was soon after proclaim'd by a Herald in a vast Assembly of the *Greeks*, met together from all Parts to celebrate the *Isthmian Games*. Their Amazement and Joy upon this Occasion was inexpressible, and they admired beyond measure the Disinterestedness of the *Romans*, who propos'd no other Fruit from the Labours and Expences of the War they had carried on in a foreign Country, than the Pleasure of making others happy.

§. 8. Nor did *Flamininus* leave this glorious Work unfinished. The Members of the Council of Ten, which was now dissolved, took each his District, to put the Decree in execution. They restored the several Cities and States to their Liberty and Independency, and reinstated the Allies of *Rome* in the Possession of all those Places which *Philip* had usurped from them. The *Ætolians* were the only People dissatisfy'd with the Peace, they had been refused some Towns which they claim'd, they frequently complain'd of it, and in the End had Recourse to *Antiochus*.

*Antiochus the Great invades Thrace.* §. 9. *Antiochus*, surnamed *the Great*, was one of those Princes called *Seleucides*. The Founder of this Family, and the first who took the Title of *King*, was *Seleucus Nicator*, the Son of *Antiochus*, an Officer in the Army of *Alexander the Great*. *Seleucus* was succeeded by his Son *Antiochus Soter*, and he by his Brother *Antiochus the God*. This *God* being poisoned by his Wife *Laodice*, was succeeded in the Throne by his Son *Seleucus Callinicus*, who left two Sons, the elder of which was named *Antiochus Ceraunus*, and the younger was this *Antiochus* who now engages our Attention.

§. 10. His Pretence for coming into *Europe* was to recover Possession of *Thrace*, which his Great Grandfather *Seleucus Nicator* had conquered from *Lyfimachus*, and he intended to rebuild *Lyfimachia* which the *Thracians* had destroyed, and to make it the Capital of a great Kingdom, which he design'd for one of his Sons. Upon the News of his Arrival, and of the Enterprize he was upon, some of the *Roman* Council of Ten, who had dispers'd themselves in Greece, hastened to *Lyfimachia*, to dissuade the *Syrian* from settling in *Europe*. He received them at first with great Politeness, and entertain'd them hospitably; but the *Romans* soon provok'd



Year of provok'd his Pride by those Airs which they assumed wherever they came. They *A Confe-*  
*ROME* told him that his Conduct since his coming into *Europe* was displeasing to the Re-*rence be-*  
557. publick, demanded the Restitution of those Cities and Provinces to *Ptolemy* which *twcen An-*  
he had taken from him during his Minority, and above all insisted on his relin-*tiochus and*  
quishing those Places in *Philip's* Dominions which he had usurped, and which the *the Roman*  
*Romans*, as the Conquerors of *Philip*, had the sole Right to dispose of. *What*, said *Deputies.*  
they, *shall Rome have been at the Expence of the War, and shall Antiochus reap all*  
*the Advantages of it? We might perhaps have conniv'd at your Conquests in Asia; but*  
*shall we suffer those which you are come to make in Europe? Is not this a Declaration*  
*of War against the Roman Senate and People? You may indeed deny it; but you might*  
*as well come into Italy and deny that you have any Design against the Republick. To*  
this *Antiochus* answer'd, *I have long observ'd, That Rome is very watchful of my*  
*Steps, and very regardless of her own. Know then, that you have as little Business to*  
*examine what I do in Asia, as I have to controul you in any of your Undertakings in Italy.*  
He then asserted the Justice of his Claim to *Thrace*; and the Disputes grew warm.  
They would have lasted a great while, if the *Syrian* had not been obliged to leave  
*Lyfimachia* for another Enterprize which was of more Consequence to him than this.  
§. 11. A Report was spread that *Ptolomy Epiphanes* was dead. There is Reason to  
suspect that *Antiochus* was in secret Intelligence with one *Scopas*, an *Aetolian* Com-  
mander in the *Egyptian* Service, who had laid a Plot to take away the King's Life;  
and that it was his depending on the Success of this Design that made him so much  
in Haste to leave *Thrace*, and sail towards *Egypt*. But putting in with his Fleet at  
*Patara* in *Lycia*, he was there informed that *Ptolomy* was living, and that the Trai-  
tor *Scopas* had been put to Death. After this, having narrowly escaped the Ship-  
wreck of his Fleet near the Mouth of the *Sarus* in *Cilicia*, he return'd to *Antioch*,  
the Capital of his Dominions, and spent the Winter there. Nevertheless, he did  
not drop his Design of recovering *Thrace*. He had left his Son *Seleucus* at *Lyf-*  
*machia* with a Land Army to finish the rebuilding of the City, and defend it. As  
for the *Roman* Plenipotentiaries, having finished the Peace with *Macedon* they re-  
turned to *Rome*, where they found the Affairs of *Italy* in a good Condition; but  
learnt that the Revolt in *Spain* had been continued with more Warmth than ever.  
§. 12, 13. As for *Italy*, the two *Consuls*, *Marcellus* and *Furius*, had carried on the  
War with great Success against the *Cisalpine Gauls*, and had entirely destroyed  
two considerable Armies of them. §. 14. After this the Republick was em-  
ploy'd only in punishing some revolted Slaves in *Hetruria*, and publishing some new  
Edicts. The *Pontifices* and *Augurs* were now required, for the first time, to pay a *The Ro-*  
Tax towards the Expences of the War; but they were at the same time eased of *man Priests*  
one burdensome Part of their Functions. The *Romans* erected a new Sort of sacer- *obliged to*  
dotal College, under the Name of *Epulones*, whose Office was confined wholly to *pay Taxes.*  
the Care of the religious Feasts; the Number of these Priests in the Beginning was *The Epu-*  
only three, and all chosen out of *Plebeian* Families. *Porcius Læcas* was one of the *lones insti-*  
first three. This was he who when he was *Tribune* two Years before got the fa- *tuted.*  
mous *Porcian* Law pass'd, which forbid the *Liētors*, under very severe Penalties, to  
whip a *Roman Citizen*: But this Privilege did not extend to the Armies, where the  
Generals had an absolute Power of Life and Death. §. 15. The *Romans*, in *Porcius*  
the ensuing Elections, shewed their Gratitude to the *Porcian* Family for this new *Cato chosen*  
Law in their Favour. As *Porcius Cato* had countenanced the passing of it, they *Consul.*  
58. raised him to the *Consulship*, with *L. Valerius Flaccus*; and *Porcius Læcas* was made *257th Con-*  
one of the six *Prætors*. And now the Senate applied themselves to the Affairs of *fulship.*  
*Spain*, which grew very urgent, and resolved to send thither one of the *Consuls* with  
an Army. The Conduct of it fell by Lot to *Cato*. But while Preparations were  
making for his Departure the *Roman Ladies* took a Step which was a perfect No-  
velty in the Republick. About eighteen Years before, when *Hannibal* was ravag-  
ing *Italy*, and the Treasury was exhausted, a *Tribune of the People* named *Oppius* had *The Roman*  
got a Law passed to restrain the Luxury of Women. It enacted, *That the richest Ladies ob-*  
of the *Roman Ladies* should not wear above half an Ounce of Gold in Trinkets; that *tain the re-*  
they should no longer wear Habits of various Colours; and that they should not make use of *pealing of*  
*Chariots*, either at *Rome*, or in the neighbouring Villages, unless they were to assist at *the Oppian*  
a publick Sacrifice in some Place a Mile off. The Ladies had with great Reluctance *Law.*  
conformed themselves to this Law in a time of publick Calamity, but they thought  
it intolerable to be under the Restraint of it now that the Republick abounded with  
Riches; and they made a great Stir to get it repeal'd. The *Consulship* of the austere  
*Cato* seem'd a very improper Time to gain their Point; but their Passion for Finery  
would bear no Delay. They prevail'd with *Valerius* and *Fundanius*, two of the  
*Tribunes*, to present their Request to the *Comitia*, and never was an Assembly more  
divided. The *Capitol* where it was held was full of People crying out for and  
against the Law. Even the Women ran thither contrary to Custom. Neither  
the Orders of their Husbands, nor the Rules of Decency, nor publick Authority,  
could



could keep them at home. They beset the Passages which led from the Capitol to Year of the voting Place, solicited the Men as they passed, and urged the Justice of their Pretensions. As the Affair was more than one Day under Deliberation, the Women 558.

\* Vide p.  
103.

flocked to Rome from all the neighbouring Colonies and Towns, and the Number of those in the City hourly augmented; they offered their Petitions even to the Consuls and Prætors. But Cato was inexorable, he made a long \* Harangue to the Assembly in behalf of the Law and against the Women; on whom he cast many satyrical Reflexions for their appearing in Publick to solicit Votes. *In a little time, said he, we shall see them take their Places in the Comitia, determine Affairs of State, and aspire to the Government of the Republick. Does not their present Conduct give Cause for these Fears? Does it belong to them to intercede for the Preservation or Abolition of our Laws? They are a Sort of Animals which ought to be chained up. If you give Women the least Liberty, they become insatiable.* Two of the Tribunes, who were of the Junian Family, and bore the Name of Brutus, seconded Cato and spoke against the Petition; but then Valerius, who had undertaken to be the Ladies Advocate, pleaded \* in their behalf, and urged the Reasonableness of abolishing the Oppian Law. After having excused the Womens appearing in Publick to solicit their own Cause, he thus proceeded. *In Oppius's time, said he, all Orders of Men shewed their Zeal by lending their Money to the Publick; and they have been all repaid. The Women were likewise forced to Part with their Jewels: And shall they be the only Persons who shall have suffered by the Miseries of the Times, without Hope of Relief? Were their Ornaments taken from them never to be restored? Shall their Husbands shine in Purple, and shew their different Offices and Dignities by their different Habits? Shall Children wear the Prætexta? Shall the Magistrates of our municipal Cities wear it finely laced? Shall the Dead wear it to the funeral Pile, and be burnt in it? Nay shall even our Horses be harnessed in Purple, and our Wives only forbidden the Use of it? And why must not they be suffered to wear Gold in their Head-dresses? Will it sink the Value of that Metal to see it on their Heads or Fingers? Will it not be a Fund of Riches against any pressing Wants of the Publick? It is urged that the mutual Jealousies which Pomp and Luxury raises among Women should by all means be prevented. But what can be a stronger Excitement to Jealousy, than for our Roman Ladies to see the Women of the neighbouring Cities dressed in what Colours they please, and riding at ease in their Chariots, whilst they are forced to go a foot? The weaker the Sex is, the less able to bear this Difference with Temper. All Marks of Honour are for the Men, Fasces, Licitors, Curule Chairs, Triumphs. Is it not just that the Women should have something to set them off? They place their Glory in fine Clothes and Trinkets, a trifling Ambition I'll grant you, but this is their Taste. A rich Dress is to them what a Triumph is to one of our Hero's, and it would be inhuman not to gratify them, &c.* The Debate lasted all the Day, so that the Question was not put till the next, and then the Women were more earnest than ever. They beset the Houses of the two Brutus's, who were the only Tribunes of the People that opposed the Abrogation of the Law, and at last by their Importunities prevailed upon them to desist. Then the Comitia being at full Liberty repealed the Oppian Law, and Cato was the only Man who dissented.

The artful  
Conduct of  
Cato in  
Spain.

§. 16. But now a nobler Career presented itself to the rigid Consul than a War with Women. He set out for Spain with a Consular Army, embarked at Luna in *Hetruria*, and landed at Rhoda [now Roses] in *Catalonia*. From thence he marched by Land to *Emporiae*, where he was met by the Pro-Prætor Helvius, who had just obtained a Victory over the Spaniards.

§. 17. Whilst the Consul was waiting the Return of the Season to take the Field, Ambassadors came from the King of the *Ilergetes*, a Nation well affected to the Romans. The King's Son was at the Head of the Deputation, and he demanded only a Detachment of five thousand Romans to secure his Father's Dominions against the Rebels, who threatened them with a general Devastation. Cato was perplexed at this Demand. He knew not how to refuse it, nor yet was it safe to divide his Troops and weaken them. He took a whole Night to consider of it, and at length thought of this Expedient, which has been much applauded by the Ancients. He told the Ambassadors he would sacrifice his own Safety to the Interest of their Master, and accordingly gave Orders for equipping some Gallies to transport the Succours desired. The Rumour of these Preparations was spread far, the Enemy was seized with Terror, and hastily left the Country of the *Ilergetes*. As for the Detachment which he had embarked, they sailed a little way, then according to Orders return'd to the Port from whence they set out, under pretence of contrary Winds. But thus he gained his Point without dividing his Forces.

§. 18. Cato's Troops consisting for the most Part of raw Soldiers, it was necessary to take some Pains to discipline them, especially since they had now to do with the Spaniards, who were naturally brave and resolute, and by their Wars with the Carthaginians and Romans had learnt the military Art. And indeed the Consul was just such a General as his Army wanted. He was

himself



Year of himself a Pattern to the Soldiers of Vigilance, Sobriety and Assiduity in Labour.

ROME His Dress was always Plain, and he readily exposed himself to the Inclemencies of the

558. Seasons. His Provisions were the same which the common Soldiers had. When he was to pitch a Camp, he took a Spade and helped to remove the Earth. He was of a sweet affable Behaviour, and inexorable only to those who disputed or neglected his Orders. By this Management he quickly put his Troops on the Foot he desired. When the time came that he thought it proper to march against the Enemy, and try the Fate of a general Action, he sent away his Fleet to *Marseilles*, that his Soldiers might have no Hopes but in their Bravery. And in this same View, when he was come near the Enemy, he took a Compass and posted his Army behind them in a Plain, so that the *Spaniards* were between him and his Camp. In the general Action which ensued, he made his admirable Conduct appear by detaching two of his *Manipuli* to shew themselves only in the Flank of the Enemy and keep them in Terror during the Engagement, and by reserving a whole Legion for an Emergency. With this Legion he forced the Enemy's Camp, after he had first routed them entirely in the Field. He then took the Road to *Tarragona*, and was met by great Numbers of Deputies from the neighbouring Cities with Submissions. But he pardoned none till they had first given Hostages. And it was probably at this time that *Cato* employed an Artifice, which put it out of the Power of several rebellious Cities to take up Arms again. As the Dread of his Name made him respected in many Provinces beyond the *Ebro*, he wrote the same Day private Letters to the Commanders of several fortified Towns to demolish their Fortifications. This he ordered to be done immediately, and promised Favour to none, but according to the Readiness of their Obedience. Every one of the Commanders was ignorant of the Orders sent to the rest; and the Inhabitants immediately beat down their Walls and Towers, so that all the Places in whole Provinces beyond the *Ebro* were left defenceless, and the *Romans* took Possession of them. *§. 19.* But tho'

the *Romans* obtained easy Victories over the other *Spaniards*, the *Celtiberians* in *Further Spain*, whom the *Turdetani* had hired into their Service, were more formidable. *Manlius* the *Prætor* who commanded in those Parts did not think himself strong enough to engage with them, and therefore desired the *Consul* to march his Army thither to his Assistance. *Cato* was himself a little afraid of the *Celtiberians*. He sent Deputies to their Camp to propose three things to them. He offered them, 1. A Pardon from the *Romans* if they would quit the Rebels, and retire into their own Country. Or 2<sup>dly</sup>, to come to a pitched Battle with them, leaving them the Choice of Time and Place. Or 3<sup>dly</sup>, to give them double the Pay that they received from the Rebels if they would join the *Romans*. Some of *Cato's* Officers were offended at this last Proposal, as thinking it shameful to buy them off with Money; but the *Consul* answered, *If we are Conquerors we shall pay the Celtiberians with our Enemy's Money, and if they are overcome with us, they will have nothing to demand.* The *Celtiberians* held a Council upon the Matter, but could come to no Determination; so that when *Cato* had once more endeavoured in vain to bring them to a Battle, he returned to his old Camp upon the *Ebro*. In his way he took several Towns and a prodigious Booty. Besides the Spoils with which the Soldiers enriched themselves, the General gave each of them a Pound Weight of Silver; and when some of the Officers seemed surprised at this Liberality, he answered, *It is better that many of the Romans should return home with Silver, than a few only with Gold.* Of all this Wealth he appropriated nothing to his own Use, but continued to live in as low and frugal a Manner as the meanest Soldier. *§. 20.* The News of this

Success gave great Joy at *Rome*; but caused some Uneasiness to *Cato's* Enemies, and particularly to *Scipio*, who intended to stand for the *Consulship* the next Year, in hopes of being sent to *Spain* to finish the Pacification of that Country, which he had formerly conquered. *Cato* was informed of these Designs, but spoke of the Emulation between himself and *Scipio* like a Man of Sense. *A little Rivalship*, said he, *between the first Officers of the Republick will only increase its Lustre. So long as the Patricians shall endeavour to surpass the Plebeians, and the Plebeians ardently aspire to equal the Patricians in glorious Actions, Rome will be well served.* In short he settled *Spain* by his Exploits in such Tranquillity and Order, that the Senate did not think it necessary to send a new *Consular* Army thither. He sailed back with his Troops to *Rome*, and the next Year had the Honour of a Triumph. Upon his Return he became a private Man again, and spent his Leisure in hard Study: he enquired into the Origin of the Cities of *Italy*, and wrote an Account of them; he took Pleasure in Agriculture and laid down Rules for it: he often pleaded before the Senate and People, and was always ready to serve his Country in Arms even as a private Soldier.

*§. 21.* But now to return to *Flaminius*: Upon the Report of the Plenipotentiaries who had concluded the Peace with *Macedon*, the Senate judg'd it necessary that the *Pro-Consul* should continue in *Greece*, because they saw plainly, that sooner or later



they must have a War with *Antiochus*. And as there was Reason to suspect that *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon* would join him, Orders were sent to *Flamininus*, immediately to attack and ruin *Nabis* if he thought it for the Interest of the Republick. At the same time many Letters came from *Carthage*, giving Advice that *Hannibal* was in secret Intelligence with the King of *Syria*, and was forming Designs against *Rome*. These Letters were sent by some of the *Barcan* Faction, whose Enmity to *Hannibal* was of late increased. He was now chief Magistrate at *Carthage*, and had, by some popular Acts of Justice, highly ingratiated himself with the People. The Great Men who had the Care of the publick Money had embezzled it, so that there was not sufficient to pay the *Romans* their Tribute; and a new Tax was going to be laid for this Purpose: But *Hannibal* prevented the Oppression. He represented to the People, that if they would make an Enquiry after the embezzled Money, they would find enough to pay the *Romans*, without the Burden of a new Imposition. This was just; and hence *Scipio* took Occasion to defend *Hannibal* in the Senate of *Rome*. The *Calumnies*, said he, which are cast upon this illustrious *Carthaginian*, are only the Effects of those Resentments his Wisdom has drawn upon him. It is beneath the Dignity of the *Roman People* to hearken to them. Is it not enough to have overcome *Hannibal*, without suffering him to sink under the unjust Accusations of those who envy him? This Discourse did Honour to *Scipio*, but it did not efface the Prejudices against the *Carthaginian*, whose eternal Hatred to *Rome* was well known. The Senate sent an Embassy to *Carthage*, under Pretence of adjusting some Differences between the *Carthaginians* and *Mastinissa*, but in Reality to watch *Hannibal's* Conduct. The latter was too sagacious not to penetrate into the Designs of the *Romans*, and therefore contrived to make his Escape the very Evening after he had had a Conference with their Ambassadors. He sailed first to *Tyre*, thence to *Antioch*, and thence to *Ephesus*, where he found *Antiochus*, who was yet wavering between Peace and War. §. 22. In the mean time, the *Pro-Consul* in *Greece* receiv'd the Senate's Orders to turn his Arms against *Nabis*, with a particular Injunction to drive him out of *Argos*, of which the Tyrant had by some Surprise got Possession a second time. However, *Flamininus* either could not or would not do this without the Consent of the Allies. He assembled a Diet at *Corinth*, whereat the Deputies of all the *Greek Nations* were present; and they all consented to the Enterprize he propos'd to them, except the *Ætolians*, who threw out some bitter Invectives against the *Romans* for not evacuating *Greece*, and refused their Contingent of Troops. §. 23. When all things were got ready for marching, Ambassadors arrived from *Antiochus*, to propose a Treaty of Alliance with *Rome*. He had doubtless been inform'd at *Ephesus* of the *Pro-Consul's* Preparations for a new War, and was apprehensive lest the united *Greeks* and *Romans*, should fall upon his Son *Seleucus*, whom he had left with an Army in *Thrace* to rebuild *Lyfimachia*. *Flamininus* would enter into no Engagements, but referred the Ambassadors to the Senate, and immediately advanced towards *Argos*. He expected that upon his near Approach there would have been an Insurrection in the Town, by which he should easily become Master of it. Finding these Hopes disappointed, he resolv'd instead of besieging that Place to march strait to *Lacedæmon*, and crush the Tyrant at once. All Preparations were made for this Attempt, and his Brother *Quintius* the Admiral of the *Roman Fleet* appear'd off the *Lacedæmonian Coasts* with forty Ships of War. §. 24. *Nabis* was struck with Terror at the Approach of these Sea and Land Forces against him. He augmented the Number of his Troops, fortified his Capital, and massacred fourscore of the principal Men in it, whom he suspected of Disaffection to him. §. 25. *Flamininus* having encamp'd his Army at *Amyclæ*, a little Town very near *Lacedæmon*, continued unactive for some time, waiting the Success of his Brother *Quintius's* Expeditions on the Coasts of *Laconia*. This Admiral had already seiz'd some Towns there, and at length laid Siege to *Gythium*, a strong City which might be call'd the Port of *Lacedæmon*, and the Receptacle of all its Riches: But here he met with so vigorous a Resistance that he began to despair of Success; and he would have rais'd the Siege, if the *Pro-Consul* had not seasonably come to his Assistance with four thousand Men. Upon their Appearance the Besieged immediately capitulated. The Surrendry of *Gythium* broke *Nabis's* Measures, and made him sue for a Peace; he sent some Caduceatores to desire a Conference with the *Pro-Consul*; which was granted. §. 26. The Place of meeting was in a Plain which lay between *Lacedæmon* and the *Roman Camp*. Each came with only a small Train of Attendants. The King spok first, and having express'd a Surprise that the *Romans* should turn their Arms against him, when he was not conscious of having provok'd them, he then endeavour'd to justify himself with regard to the Tyranny with which he was charg'd by the *Greeks*. The *Pro-Consul* answer'd him roughly, and reproach'd him with Usurpation, Cruelty, and Breach of Faith. The whole Day was spent in Conferences, without coming to any Conclusion. The next Day they were renewed, and then *Nabis* made some Proposals



Year of Proposals for a Peace; he consented to give up *Argos*, and restore all the Allies their *ROME* Deserters; to which he added, that if the *Pro-Consul* had any other Pretensions they should be given him in Writing, that he might consult with his Friends about them: 558.

And thus ended the Interview.

§. 27. As soon as *Flamininus* was return'd to his Camp, he assembled the Chiefs of the Confederates; and the greatest Part of them were for pursuing *Nabis* to the last Extremities. But the *Pro-Consul* had other Views; he wanted to finish the Affair with the Tyrant, that he might return to *Rome* with the Glory of having completed the Deliverance of all *Greece*; he was afraid lest a Successor should come and rob him of some Part of the Honour he aspired to. However, as the Chiefs of the Allies were very obstinate and importunate, he at length pretended to come into their Opinion; but told them that as the Siege would probably be very long, great Sums would be wanting for Machines, &c. to carry it on; and press'd them to send immediately to their respective Cities for what was necessary, before the Roads grew bad. This cool'd their Ardour for the Siege at once; they knew the Difficulty they should have to raise the Sums proposed, without alienating the Minds of their People from them by new Taxes, and they left the *Pro-Consul* at full Liberty to settle the Terms of Peace.

He then sent for *Nabis's* Ambassadors, and; among other Articles, proposed that the Tyrant should evacuate *Argos*; surrender immediately to the *Romans* all the Places he had in *Crete*; equip no more than two Brigantines of sixteen Oars each; build no Cities nor Castles in the Territories of another, nor even in his own; give the *Pro-Consul* five Hostages, such as he should chuse, of whom his own Son should be one; and *Flamininus* lastly, pay down a hundred *Talents*, and fifty more at equal Payments in eight Years. *The hard Terms of Peace proposed by Flamininus.*

§. 28. These Terms were hard, but *Flamininus* hoped to have them accepted. He was very impatient to return to *Rome*, not only for the Reasons before mentioned, but because his Reputation began to be eclipsed by that of *Philopœmen*, the then Captain-General of the *Achæans*. This great Man was looked on as the Reformer of Military Discipline in *Achaia*; he had changed both the offensive and defensive Arms used there; he had taught the Soldiers a new Way of forming themselves, and had accustomed them to stand firm and keep their Ground in fighting; and above all, he had made the Cavalry invincible. No one ever better understood how to draw up Armies, seize advantageous Posts, suit his Disposition to his Ground, order Evolutions at a proper Moment and in a regular Manner, make an Attack seasonably, or judge of the critical Time for a Retreat. *Philopœmen* was now in the Confederate Camp; the Soldiers in their Discourses often compared the two Generals together, and the *Roman* had always the Disadvantage upon the Comparison. They imputed the *Pro-Consul's* Successes to the Bravery of his *Legions*, but they all agreed that *Philopœmen* owed his Victories only to himself. But after all, if *Flamininus* was inferior to the *Achæan* in the Art of commanding Armies, he certainly surpassed him in Justice, Eloquence, Moderation, and all the civil Virtues which are the Bands of Society; nor had ever any Man more Address in keeping Nations of different Characters in such a Union as is necessary to support a Confederacy. Nevertheless, the *Roman* was not easy to see himself out-shined by a *Greek* in those Qualities which most dazzle the Eyes of the Multitude; and this made him so zealous to finish the War, and get the Terms he had sent to *Nabis*, accepted. But when the Tyrant read the Conditions to the *Lacedæmonians* assembled in the Market-Place, and asked them what Answer he should give the *Pro-Consul*, the Multitude cried out, *Give him no Answer at all, let us run to Arms. War! War!* These Clamours were very agreeable to *Nabis*, and he immediately prepared to sustain the Siege. *Lacedæmon* was not entirely surrounded by a Wall. *Lycurgus* who built it, would have no Fortification for the City but the Bodies of his Subjects. The *Spartan* Tyrants afterwards raised some Pieces of a Wall at certain Distances, yet there were many Openings. In a second Sally which the *Lacedæmonians* made upon the Enemy they were repulsed, and the *Romans* enter'd the Town with the Fugitives thro' those Openings. *Nabis* was so terrify'd at this that he thought only of making his Escape, but his Son-in-law *Pythagoras* having more Presence of Mind, ordered the Houses to be set on Fire in all Places where the *Romans* had entered; and this obliged the Besiegers to retire. *He is jealous of Philopœmen's Reputation.*

§. 29. Nevertheless, the Tyrant was so frightned at his Danger that he immediately sent *Pythagoras* to the *Pro-Consul*, with an Offer to submit to those Conditions of Peace which he had before rejected with Scorn. *Nabis submits to the Conditions of Peace.* *Flamininus* at first received the Ambassador with Scorn, and ordered him out of his Tent; but *Pythagoras* return'd, threw himself at his Feet, and by many Intreaties obtain'd what the other was very desirous to grant him. As for *Argos*, which was the Cause of the War, it had already recover'd its Liberty. The *Argians* had taken Arms, and driven the Garrison out of the Town. And now *Quintilius* the *Roman* Admiral sail'd for *Rome* without Delay, to carry the News that *Greece* was entirely rescued from Slavery. The *Pro-Consul* spent the Winter in *Greece*, and was honoured with the Office of President at the *Nemean Games*, and with many other Marks of



of Distinction. But after all, the Joy of the Greeks was not complete and universal. Year of  
*Nabis* was still left Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, and this Grievance sunk deep in the Heart of *Ageſipolis*, the true Heir to that Throne, and of the other *Spartan* Exiles. The  
*Ætolians* took Advantage of these Discontents, and attacked the *Pro-Conſul's* Repu- ROME  
tation in all the Diets. The *Roman* in vain replied, that he could not deſtroy 558.  
*Nabis* without ruining the *Lacedæmonians*; his Mildneſs and Humanity were thought unſeaſonable. However, he was feared and obeyed. When he was about to return to *Italy* he called a Diet at *Corinth*, and there declared, that before his Departure he would evacuate *Demetrius*, *Chalcis*, and the Citadel of *Corinth*, and thereby remove the Suſpicion which the *Ætolians* had entertained of his deſigning to take *Philip's* Place and lord it over *Greece*. He concluded his Harangue with exhorting the Chiefs of the ſeveral Nations to Concord, as the beſt Security againſt Kings and Tyrants. Your Paſſions and Partialities, ſaid he, are your greateſt Enemies. Obſtinacy in Opinion produces Diviſions. Then Aſſiſtance is called in from abroad, to prevent being forced to give way; and thus through ſlight Contentions the People fall a Prey to Foreigners. Let me then have the Satisfaction of hearing when I come to *Rome*, that I have not been obliging ungrateful Men, and that the Tranquillity I have ſettled among you proves a laſting one. Theſe laſt Words, which ſeemed to flow from a paternal Affection, drew Tears from the Eyes of ſome of the Aſſembly. The *Greeks* mutually exhorted one another to retain a grateful Remembrance of their Protector, and to reverence his Advice; and as the laſt Teſtimony of their Affection, they ſought for all the *Romans* who were reduced to Slavery in *Greece* and delivered them up to him, to the Number of twelve thouſand; the greateſt Part of them had been Priſoners of War, whom *Hannibal* had ſold.

\* Vide p. 130. 258th Conſulſhip. §. 30. After this *Flamininus* returned to *Rome*. [His triumphal \* Proceſſion which laſted three Days is deſcribed.] §. 31. 32. 33. The following Year, in which *Scipio Africanus* and *Tiberius Sempronius Longus* were Conſuls, proved barren of Action; excepting a Victory which the latter gained over the *Ciſalpine Gauls*. *Scipio* had hoped either to ſucceed *Cato*, and finiſh the *Spaniſh* War, or to be ſent to the *Levant* againſt the King of *Syria*; but *Spain* was already quieted, and *Antiochus* had not yet openly declared againſt

259th Conſulſhip. §. 34. In the Beginning of the next Year, when *Cornelius Merula* and *Minucius Thermus* were raiſed to the Conſulate, three Am- 560.  
bassadors came to *Rome* from *Antiochus* to propoſe an Alliance with the Republick.

*Antiochus* asks an Alliance with *Rome* and is reſuſed. There was at this time no Sovereign in the World better able to vie with the *Romans*. He had three Sons old enough to ſucceed him, and four Daughters marriageable, by whom he might procure formidable Alliances. All the rich Countries in *Aſia* from the Eaſtern Borders of *Media* to *Æolis* and *Ionia* were ſubject to him; and he had lately made himſelf Maſter of *Cælo-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judea* and *Samaria*, and in ſhort of all the *Aſiatick* Provinces quite to *Egypt*. Nay his Pretenſions to *Thrace*, where his Son had juſt rebuilt *Lyſimachia* in the *Cherſoneſus*, were well founded. So powerful a Prince was certainly not to be deſpiſed; yet the Senate would give his Ambaſſadors no immediate Anſwer, but referred them to the ten Commiſſioners who had been formerly ſent to *Macedon*. *Flamininus* was at the Head of this Council, and when the Deputies had repreſented that they did not come from a vanquiſhed and diſtreſſed Prince or People, and demanded a plain and direct Anſwer concerning the Alliance deſired, he told them with an imperious Air, That *Antiochus* ſhould not be the Friend and Ally of *Rome*, but upon one of two Conditions; that he muſt either refrain from ever ſetting his Foot in Europe, or muſt conſent that the *Romans* ſhould ſend Troops into *Aſia* to protect the Liberties of the *Greek Cities* there. This Demand was very unjuſt, and ill ſupported by *Flamininus*. *Antiochus* had a Right to *Thrace*, *Æolis* and *Ionia* by ancient Conqueſt, and the *Romans* had no Right to ſet Subjects free from their Obedience to their lawful Sovereign. Accordingly the *Syrians* would not acquieſce, and it is not improbable that *Antiochus* made theſe Advances, purely to throw all the Blame of a War upon the Republick. *Hannibal*, with whom he adviſed, undoubtedly inſpired the *Syrian* with a Hatred to *Rome*, and heightened his Confidence.

*Hannibal* endeavours to draw *Carthage* into a Revolt. §. 35. This *Carthaginian* had long been endeavouring to engage his Countrymen in Meaſures againſt the *Romans*; and he now made a freſh Attempt to bring them into a Revolt, by the Means of one *Ariſto* a *Tyrian* Merchant whom he ſent to *Carthage*. This Agent was to inform the Friends of *Hannibal*, that *Antiochus* intended to ſend him into *Italy* to revive the War there. *Ariſto* carried no Letters, by which his Buſineſs could be diſcovered, yet his frequent Viſits to the Chiefs of the *Hannibal* Faction made him ſuſpected, and he was cited to appear before the Senate. Some were for imprifoning him as a Spy, but others repreſented the ill Conſequences of ſuch a Proceeding, when they had no Evidence againſt the accused; it would be a Diſcouragement to Traders; the *Tyrians* might make Reprisals, and all Foreigners would be offended. Theſe Conſiderations ſuſpended their Determination, and in the mean time *Ariſto* made his Escape. But before he went off he uſed a Stratagem to extricate *Hannibal's* Friends, and render the *Carthaginian* Senate ſuſpected



Year of suspected by the *Romans*. In the Dusk of the Evening he stole into the Hall where *ROME* publick Audiences were given, and over the President's Seat affixed up a Writing  
560. which contained these Words, *Aristo had no Orders to treat with private Persons,*

*but with the Senate of Carthage.* This Writing caused a great Ferment, and the *African Republick* thought it proper to send an Embassy to *Rome*, to inform the *Consuls* and Senate of what had happened, and at the same time to complain of some Usurpations of *Masinissa* on the Lands of *Carthage*. §. 36. *Masinissa* believing

he might turn to his own Advantage the Discontents between *Rome* and *Carthage*, had invaded that fine maritime Country called *Emporia*, which lay between *Carthage* and his own Territories, and which yielded the *Carthaginians* the Tribute of a Talent a Day. And to obviate the Complaints of the latter at *Rome*, he was before-hand with them in sending Ambassadors thither; to whom he gave particular Orders to increase the Suspicions of the *Romans* with regard to *Aristo* and *Hannibal*. His Ministers succeeded to their Wish in this Design, insomuch, that though the Senate were convinced of the Right which *Carthage* had to *Emporia*, they would not determine the Affair; they thought it good Policy to leave a Matter undecided, which would be a Ground of perpetual Quarrels between the two Parties.

§. 37. The *Prætor* of Further Spain, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, surnamed *Nasica*, ob- The Ro-  
tained this Year a considerable Victory over the *Lusitanians*. *Flaminius* the other man Arms

§. 38. In *Italy* there was this Year, what the *Romans* call'd a *Tumultus*, that is a Spain and  
sudden Insurrection of all the *Cisalpine Gauls*. On these Occasions no Citizen of in *Cisalpine*  
*Rome* was excused from taking the Field if required. *Thermus* who marched against Gaul.  
the *Ligures* acted only on the defensive. §. 39. 40. 41. 42. But his Colleague

*Merula* obtained a complete Victory over the *Boii* near *Mutina*. However he was refused a Triumph at his Return to *Rome*, on Account of some Misconduct in the Action. He had not given his Horse Orders to charge in due time, nor sent them soon enough to pursue the Fugitives. *Marcellus*, one of his Lieutenant Generals, with whom he left the Command of his Army to keep him out of the way, gave the Senate this Information by a Letter. Nevertheless the *Conscript Fathers* would have yielded to the Importunity of the *Consul*, if two *Tribunes of the People* had not protested against any Decree in his Favour. *Merula* therefore turn'd his Thoughts wholly to the Business of the ensuing Elections. It had fallen by Lot to his Colleague to preside at them, but he had represented in a Letter, that he could not leave his Post near *Pisa* without endangering the Army. There never was a stronger or more just Competition between the Candidates for the *Consulship* than now. Of the *Patricians*, *Scipio Nasica*, so famous for his Virtue, and who had lately signalized himself in *Spain*, was supported by the Credit of his Cousin German the *Great Scipio*; and *Quintius* the late successful Admiral in *Greece* was recommended by his Brother *Flaminius*: Of the *Plebeians*, *Lælius* the dear Friend of *Scipio Africanus* was one of the Candidates, and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus* another. It was natural to suppose that the greatest Man in the Republick should gain all the Suffrages in favour of those he espoused. But strange as it may appear, *Flaminius* had a better Interest than *Scipio*. Time had a little lessen'd Men's Zeal and Veneration for the Conqueror of *Hannibal*. He had long been Resident at *Rome*, and his continual Appearance there had sunk the Admiration of the Publick to bare Esteem. His last *Consulship* had not been very shining, and he had besides disobligh'd the Commons by the invidious Distinction he had procured the Senators, of sitting in the *Orchestra* at the *Scenic Shews*, apart from the other Spectators. *Flaminius* on the contrary had of late been but little seen at *Rome*; his Victories and his Triumph were fresh; he solicited in behalf of a Brother who had served well; and besides all this he had neither asked nor obtained any Favour since his Return from *Greece*. In short *Quintius* was declared 260th Con-  
11. *Consul* with *Domitius Ænobarbus*, and the *Great Scipio* had the double Mortification fulship.  
of not succeeding either for his Cousin or his Friend.

About this time the Senate put a Stop to a sort of Knavery which was grown very common at *Rome*. The Interest of Money lent by one *Roman* Citizen to another had been reduced to one *per Cent*. but this Law did not reach the Municipal Towns nor the Allies: So that almost all the Traffick of borrowing and lending at *Rome* pass'd under the Names of Foreigners. The *Conscript Fathers*, to destroy so mischievous a Practice, summoned all the Foreigners who had Contracts of this Kind with the *Roman* Citizens, to bring them before the Judges, and then they left the Debtors at Liberty to pay Interest according to the *Roman* Laws, or according to their Agreement with the Creditors; and thus they defeated this Artifice invented to palliate Usury.

§. 43. The new *Consuls* were scarcely entered upon their Office when News came of the Defeat of the *Ligures* by *Thermus* now *Pro-Consul*. He had been drawn by the Enemy into a kind of *Caudian Forks*, and had been rescued out of the Danger by a Stratagem of the *Numidian* Horse in his Army. They broke thro' the Enemy,



and by setting Fire to their Corn Fields and Houses caused such a Diversion, that one Pass was left unguarded, and the *Romans* seized the Opportunity, and got out of the Wood. After this *Rome* sent the *Pro-Consul* a Reinforcement of four thousand Foot and two hundred Horse, and then he obtained a complete Victory over the Enemy.

*The Ætoli-ans and Nabis raise a new Commotion in Greece.* §. 44. But these Advantages in *Italy* over the *Gauls* did not lessen the Attention of the *Romans* to their Affairs in the *Levant*. Ever since the Departure of the *Roman* Troops from *Greece* the *Ætoli-ans* had been endeavouring to stir up new Enemies against *Rome*; and now having chosen one *Thoas*, a factious Man, for their Chief, they resolved, in a general Diet of the Nation, to shake off their Alliance with the Republick, and form a new Confederacy against her. To this End they sent Deputies to *Philip*, *Nabis* and *Antiochus*.

*The Romans send an Embassy to Antiochus.*

§. 45. The *Macedonian* and *Syrian* were not hasty in coming to a Determination; but *Nabis* immediately took Arms and besieged *Gythium*. Upon this Beginning of a general Commotion in *Greece* the *Conscript Fathers* sent three Ambassadors, *Villius*, *Sulpicius* and *Ælius* to the King of *Syria*, and *Scipio Africanus* accompanied them without a Commission. His Design was perhaps to confer with *Hannibal*, and draw him off from *Antiochus*. The *Syrian* about this time saw the Nuptials celebrated between his Daughter *Cleopatra* and *Ptolomy Epiphanes*; he married his second Daughter to *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*; and offer'd his third to *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, in hopes to draw him thereby from the Interest of *Rome*. But *Eumenes* rejected the Proposal, and chose rather to adhere to the *Romans*, whom he believed would sooner or later be the Conquerors. The *Roman* Ambassadors landed at *Elea* in his Kingdom.

*Scipio goes to Ephesus to confer with Hannibal.*

§. 46. From thence *Scipio* and *Villius* went to *Ephesus*, where *Hannibal* was waiting for *Antiochus*. Their Business was either to gain the *Carthaginian* General by Carresses, or to make the King of *Syria* suspect him on account of the good Intelligence that should appear to be between them and him. In the first Visit they reproach'd him tenderly for having left *Carthage* out of fear of the *Romans*, who, they said, had the highest Esteem for him, and they press'd him to return Home. After this they were continually with him, prais'd him, and sooth'd his Vanity. *Hannibal* was pleas'd to have so much Court paid him by such Great Men, but he was not caught by it. However, he and *Scipio* convers'd frequently together, and always with much Civility on both Sides. One Day in a publick Place, where many Persons crowded about them to hear their Conversation, the Discourse happened to turn upon Great Commanders, and *Scipio* ask'd the *Carthaginian*, Whom he thought the greatest? *Hannibal* immediately declared for *Alexander*. And who do you think deserves the second Place, continued the *Roman*? *Pyrrhus*, replied the other; no Man ever better understood how to encamp, or how to draw up an Army; and he was remarkable for Boldness above any General in the World. Thus *Scipio* was twice mortify'd; but still he went on, And whom do you place next to those two Heroes? *Hannibal* named himself; and he gave his Reasons for it. *Scipio* was much surprized, yet he only smiled, and with great Composure said, In what Place then would you have put yourself if you had conquered me? To which the *Carthaginian* readily replied, Above *Alexander*. This Answer was thought an ingenious Stroke of Flattery, and *Scipio* was pleas'd with it. From that time he and *Villius* lodged in the same House with *Hannibal*, and their mutual Civilities were improved into a Familiarity. But the *Carthaginian* did not, in this Particular, act with his usual Sagacity. His Familiarity with the *Romans* must naturally give *Antiochus* Umbrage; and accordingly, he no longer confided in him. However, the King did not lay aside his Projects; hearing that the *Roman* Deputies were waiting for him at *Apamea* in *Phrygia*, he went thither, and gave them Audience.

§. 47. The *Romans* were too proud to abate any thing of their first Pretensions; so that the Conference between the King and them was warm but not long. The sudden News which the *Syrian* receiv'd of his Son *Antiochus's* Death put an End to it. The young Prince was suspected of having been poisoned by his Father's Orders, who was thought to be jealous of his rising Merit; and tho' this Calumny had no good Foundation, it was necessary for the King to destroy it by the Appearances of an extraordinary Grief. The Ambassadors were therefore dismiss'd without concluding any thing, and return'd to *Pergamus*. The King went to *Ephesus*, and soon after sent for them thither, at the Instigation of his Favourite *Minio*, who undertook to answer them. What he chiefly urged in Behalf of his Master's Pretensions was, That he had as good a Right over the Liberties of the Eastern *Greeks*, whom he or his Ancestors had conquered, as the *Romans* had over those of the Western *Greeks* in *Italy* and *Sicily*. However, he offer'd to restore Freedom to the Island of *Rhodes*, to *Byzantium*, and to *Cyzicus*. But the Ambassadors were not satisfy'd, they still insisted on the Liberty of *Æolis* and *Ionia*; and this being absolutely refused, they returned to *Rome* in as great Uncertainty as they came.

§. 48. *Antiochus* soon after call'd a Council of War of the chief Officers of his Army, as well Foreigners as *Syrian*: *Hannibal* only was excluded.



Year of excluded. The Council knew the King's Inclinations, and were therefore all zealous for a War with the Romans. Alexander of Acarnania, who had formerly served Philip, and was now in great Favour with Antiochus, assured the King that the Macedonian would join him as soon as he landed in Greece, and that as the Ætolians and Nabis had taken Arms, and were ready to assist him, he could not fail of Success. But he advised him to send away Hannibal to his own Country. His Presence there, said he, will alone be sufficient to keep the Romans in Awe, and increase their Diffidence.

561.

It is probable that the Hopes of commanding the Army himself was what induced the Acarnanian to give this Advice. But be that as it will, the Syrian from this time resolved to declare War against Rome. §. 49. In the mean time, Hannibal plainly saw by the King's Behaviour to him, that he had taken Umbrage at his Conduct; and it was necessary to undeceive him. To this End, in a private Audience which he obtain'd with Difficulty, he express'd himself to Antiochus in the following manner. *I was scarce nine Years old when I began to be an irreconcilable Enemy to the Romans. Hamilcar my Father made me swear upon the Altars, that I would never lay aside my Hatred to Rome, but with my Life; and I have ever acted suitably to that Oath. I have made War with these Republicans for thirty Years together, and had not now left my Country, but to keep up the more strictly to my Engagements. It was the earnest Desire of fighting with the Romans that brought me to you. If you disdain my Assistance I will go and offer my self to any King upon Earth, that will but employ me against the Republick which I detest. I will be gone from you, my Lord, and leave the Place I ought to have near you, to Courtiers who seek my Ruin only to aggrandize themselves. But at the same time I swear by the Gods, and by the Manes of Hamilcar my Father, that I most sincerely hate the Romans, and they me. If you want a Flatterer who shall advise you to Peace, you must not consult me. I seek for nothing but War, and if I can't find it here I will be gone.* He then told the King, that he did not approve the Advice which Alexander the Acarnanian had given him. No, said he, it is not in Greece, but in Italy that you should make yourself formidable. The Romans are invincible every where but on their own Continent. You must employ the Forces of the Italians against the Masters of Italy. Indeed any other Nation but the Roman would find it difficult to transport Troops into the East. But this Republick will tire you out even here, by her Constancy. Her Troops will overrun these Countries like a Torrent in a few Months. Have not I some Right to teach your Generals how to make War against the Romans? They could never reduce me so long as I kept Footing in their Territories. But Carthage recall'd me, and I met with a Conqueror in Africa who would not have been so fatal to me in Italy. This Discourse would have made a lasting Impression on Antiochus, if the many Flatterers about him, who were jealous of Hannibal, had not destroyed it. And it was happy for Rome that Hannibal's Design was thus opposed. He would have found some Brutii, Salentini, Lucani and Samnites very ready to join him. The greatest Part of the East of Italy would have follow'd his Standards, whilst the Gauls in the West would by continual Attacks have obliged the Romans to divide their Forces; so that the Republick would have relaps'd into the same Dangers from which Scipio had delivered her.

Antiochus  
resolves up-  
on a War  
with Rome;

Hannibal's  
Advice to  
him.

§. 50. The Romans not knowing what Part Antiochus would act, made no Preparations for War till the Return of Scipio and the three Ambassadors. But then they began to stir; they sent a Body of Troops under the Prætor Babius to guard the Eastern Coast of Italy, and to be in a Readiness to embark for the Levant, if there should be Occasion; and they order'd two Fleets to be fitted out, one for Sicily, and the other for Greece, whither Flamininus, with three Collegues, were likewise dispatch'd, in Quality of Envoys. When they arrived there Nabis was yet engaged in the Siege of Gythium; and he was continually making Incursions on the Lands of the Achæans. Flamininus advised them, in a Diet of the Nation, to wait for the Arrival of the Roman Fleet, before they took Arms to repulse the Aggressor. Upon this the Assembly were divided in Opinion, and waited impatiently for the Decision of Philopæmen who presided in it. But he answered, *It is a wise Institution of ours that our Prætors shall not declare their Opinions when the Assemblies are deliberating about War. It is your Business to determine what to do; mine to execute your Orders. And I will take all possible Care that you shall not repent of your Choice, whether it be for War or Peace.* These Words more powerfully inclined the Diet to War, than if the President had openly declared for it; and they made a Decree ordering Troops to be raised immediately, and leaving the Conduct of them to Philopæmen.

§. 51. And now the first Enterprize of this brave Man was to relieve Gythium, and he sailed for that Port with what Gallies he could get together, but not being used to Sea-Affairs, he failed in this Attempt, being defeated within Sight of the Place by the Lacedæmonian Fleet. However, he soon repaired his Honour, by two \* Victories which by his dexterous Conduct he obtained over the Ty-  
rant at Land.

\* Vid. p.

§. 52. Whilst the Achæans were carrying on the War against 155, 156.  
the



the *Lacedæmonians*, the Envoys of the *Roman Republick* were busy in visiting the chief Year of Cities of *Greece*. The Inhabitants of *Demetrias* had been informed that the *Romans* intended to restore *Philip's Son Demetrius* to him, and to put him again into Possession of their City, in order to prevent his entering into League with *Antiochus*; and this Rumour was not without Ground. It was with some Difficulty therefore, that *Flamininus* could pacify them. He went thence to the Diet of *Ætolia*, where *Menippus* the Ambassador of *Antiochus* was introduced by *Thoas* the chief Instrument of the *Ætolian* Revolt. The *Roman* in vain endeavoured to dissuade the Assembly from calling the *Syrians* into *Greece*, they passed the following Decree in his Presence. *Let Antiochus be invited to come into Europe and recover the Liberty of Greece, which is oppressed by the Romans.* *Flamininus* demanded a Copy of it, but the *Prætor* refus'd it him with Pride and Insolence; upon the Banks of the *Tyber*, said he, we will tell you the Purport of it, with all the Forces of *Syria*. After this they took Measures to surprize three Cities which were deemed the Bulwarks of *Greece*, *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*, *Lacedæmon* in the Heart of *Peloponnesus*, and *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*. *Diocles*, *Alexamenes* and *Thoas* were the Persons appointed for these Expeditions. §. 53. The first got Possession of *Demetrias* by a Stratagem. §. 54. But *Lacedæmon* was not to be so easily surprized. *Alexamenes* therefore with a thousand Foot, and some young Horsemen pretended to come as Succours to *Nabis*. The Tyrant received them graciously; and the *Ætolian* Commander telling him that it would be for his Honour to have his Troops well disciplined, and make a good Appearance when *Antiochus* should arrive, he every Day drew them out and exercised them in a Plain near the Capital; and at one of these Reviews *Alexamenes* assassinated him. Had the Murderer immediately harangued *Nabis's* Army during their first Surprize, it is probable they would have approved of the Action, because the Tyrant was hated; but the *Ætolians* hastened to plunder the Royal Palace, and the *Lacedæmonians* having time to recover themselves entered the City, massacred all the Pillagers they met, and among the rest the infamous *Alexamenes*. *Philopœmen* took Advantage of this Event, appeared before the Town, and persuaded the Inhabitants to recover their Liberty. Accordingly, *Lacedæmon* from being a Monarchy became a Republick, and was part of the *Achaian* Body. §. 55. As for *Thoas*, he failed in his Attempt upon *Chalcis*; the *Eubœans* were upon their Guard, and having nothing to complain of adhered steadily to *Rome*. §. 56. He went therefore strait to *Antiochus*, and pressed him to delay no longer his coming into *Europe*; and he dissuaded him at the same time from sending *Hannibal* with an Army into *Italy*. He insinuated to the King, that the *Carthaginian* would assume to himself all the Benefit and all the Glory of such an Enterprize; and this falling in with the *Syrian's* suspicious and jealous Temper, he entirely dropped that Design, to which he was before pretty well disposed. §. 57. And now it being resolved that *Greece* should be the only Seat of the War, the King pitched upon *Demetrias* for the Place where he would first land. Thither he transported himself with only ten thousand Foot, five hundred Horse and six Elephants, an Army very unsuitable to so great a King; but these were all the Troops he had ready. He ordered *Polixenedas* one of his Generals into *Asia*, to fetch thence the rest of his Forces and lead them into *Europe*. Soon after his landing he went to *Lamia* in *Ætolia*, whither he was invited, and a Diet of the Nation was called to receive him. He excused to the Assembly the small Number of his Troops by the Haste in which he came to serve them, and promised fully to answer their Expectations the next Spring. On the other Hand the *Ætolians* complimented him with the Title of *Generalissimo* of all the *Grecian* Armies against *Rome*, and appointed a Council of thirty Persons to whom the King might have Recourse on all Occasions. The first Attempt he made by their Advice was to gain over *Chalcis*. But when the *Ætolians* in a Conference with *Mistio* the Chief of the *Chalcidians* talked of *Antiochus* as a Prince come to deliver *Eubœa* from Slavery, the latter seemed astonished; *What Slavery do you speak of, said he, and what are the Evils from which you promise us Deliverance? Eubœa enjoys the Benefit of her own Laws in Tranquillity, and is under no foreign Yoke, &c.* These Words made the King sensible that this his first Enterprize was fruitless. §. 58. Nor did he succeed better in his Endeavours to bring the Diet of *Achaia* to a Neutrality. His Ministers extolled the irresistible Power of their Master, and talked much of *Cuirassiers* in impenetrable Armour, Horsemen who could fight as well when they turn'd their Backs as when they faced the Enemy, and of a prodigious Multitude of Warlike Nations; whose Names had never been heard of in *Greece*. They represented the Fleets of *Antiochus* as so numerous that all the Ports of *Greece* could not contain them, and that his Wealth was immense. Then the *Ætolians* boasted of their Feats, and of the wonderful Things they had done in the *Macedonian* War, reproaching the *Roman* General with minding nothing but Sacrifices and making Vows, while they only were exposed to Danger. To all this *Flamininus* who was present answer'd with Pleasantry, *Attempts have now been made, Achæans, to dazzle your Eyes by the*

*Nabis is assassinated; and Lacedæmon becomes a Republick.*

*Antiochus lands with ten thousand Men in Thessaly.*



Year of Enumeration of those Nations which are to pour in like a Torrent upon Greece. I will  
ROME tell you what happened once to me. A Friend of mine, a Chalcidian, invited me to an

561. Entertainment, in a Season when Game was most scarce, and yet there seemed to be a vast Plenty of it at his Table. I was surprized at it. Upon which my Friend bid me not deceive my self, for that what I saw was nothing more than common Pork. My Cook, said he, has indeed disguised it, and given it different Tastes and different Names. The Case is just the same with regard to this pompous Enumeration of the Nations that are arming against you. In a word, they are all Asiaticks, and however disguis'd, they are all but one Sort of Men. And as for the Ætolians, brave only in Words, can they think to impose upon the Achæans who know them? But it seems nothing is demanded of Achaia but a Neutrality. That is, you are invited to become a Prey to both Parties, and to suffer all the Evils of War, without sharing the Advantages of Victory. This Discourse determined the Achæans to adhere to their first Confederates, and they declared for the Romans without Hesitation. §. 59. Then Antiochus and the Ætolians sent an Embassy to Bœotia, but without Success. However, they gained over the Athamanes, by the Means of Philip the Brother of the old King's Wife. Philip governed the Nation under Amynder, and pretended to be descended from Alexander the Great, and to be true Heir of Macedon. The Ætolians made him hope that by the Help of Antiochus he might one Day possess that Throne. And now it was easy for the Syrian to have over-run all Thessaly. Whilst he was deliberating whether he should do it immediately, or defer it till the Spring, Hannibal took the Liberty to tell him that he would lose these easy Conquests again upon the first Approach of the Romans, advised him to continue unactive till his Troops came from Asia, and press'd him once more that he would then divide his Forces, and send him with Part of them into Italy. He counselled him likewise to let Philip of Macedon be the first Man he treated with. Gain him, said he, to your Interest. Or if he be untractable, send your Son Seleucus by the Way of Thrace into Macedon, and you will thereby hinder the Macedonian from giving any Assistance to your Enemies. Hannibal's Advice was good, but it was his Fate always to speak Truth, and never to be believed. §. 60. The King pursued the more narrow Views of his Courtiers. And now having intercepted and cut off, near the Temple of Apollo at Delium, a Party of five hundred Romans, who were going to reinforce the Garrison of Chalcis, this City opened her Gates to him; Antiochus made it his Place of Residence, and he became Master of all Eubœa. Bœotia likewise joined him soon after, and renounced her Confederacy with Rome. §. 61. When the Time approach'd for assembling the Armies to take the Field, he enter'd the Territories of Larissa, and while he was waiting the Arrival of his Allies, he took Philip the Regent of Athamania with him to Cynocéphale, where the Bones of the Macedonians kill'd in the Battle, when the King of Macedon was vanquish'd, still lay unburied. He thought that if this Pretender procured Obsequies to be performed for them, he would thereby gain the Affection of a People over whom he claimed a Right. But this Step served only to irritate the true King of Macedon. He gave the Romans Notice of the Progress Antiochus was making in Greece; upon which the Prætor Bæbius promised him that he would soon put a Stop to the Invasions of the Syrian. Accordingly, while Antiochus was before Larissa, a Body of Romans arrived under the Command of Appius Claudius; and upon their Approach he retired again to Chalcis. Here he became enamour'd, tho' past fifty Years of Age, with the Daughter of a Chalcidian named Cleoptolomus, in whose House he lodged. The Disproportion of her Age and Condition to those of the King made the Father unwilling to consent to the Marriage, fearing she would soon repent her Advancement to so glittering a Station. But Antiochus at length made use of his Authority, and the Nuptials were celebrated with Regal Magnificence, and with as much Security as in the most peaceable Times. And now his Love for the young Queen engross'd him entirely, and Chalcis prov'd to him what Capua had been to Hannibal. He spent the rest of the Winter in Feasting and Rejoicings. His Officers and Soldiers were infected by his Example, and abandoned themselves to Idleness and Debauchery.

§. 62. But while Antiochus was thus asleep in Pleasures, Rome was very watchful of her Affairs in the Levant. Some late Successes of her Arms had made all things quiet in Spain and Italy, so that she was in a better Condition to provide for a War in the East. A hundred Quinqueremes were fitted out to scour the Eastern Seas; and after the Elections were over, and a Regulation made of the Troops which were to serve this Year, War was formally declared against Antiochus. Then the new Consuls, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, and M. Acilius Glabrio, drew Lots for their Provinces, and Greece fell to the latter. When every thing was ready for his Departure, Deputies arrived from the Kings of Egypt and Macedon with Offers of Money, Provisions and Troops. It ought not to seem strange that Ptolemy should declare openly against his Father-in-law; his Wife Cleopatra had probably informed him of the Plot Antiochus had laid to take away his Life by her Means. Masinissa likewise



likewise would have contributed to the Expences of the War. And as for the *Carthaginians*, they not only propos'd to make the Republick a Present of Wheat and Barley, and to equip a Fleet at their own Expence for her Service, but desir'd her to accept, in ready Money, of the whole Remainder of the Tribute, which they were not oblig'd to pay but in the space of nine Years. But the *Romans* with Thanks declined all these Offers, and would not so much as receive any Corn from *Carthage* or the *Numidian*, without paying for it. *Acilius* set out for *Greece* in the Month of *May*, and two Great Men attended him in his Expedition: The first was *Quintilius* the Brother of *Flaminius*, whom the Republick herself appointed to command under the *Consul* in Quality of Lieutenant-General; and the second was the famous *Cato*. Being tired with a Life of Tranquillity at home, he roused up his martial Spirit, and forsook the Exercise of his Eloquence at the Bar, to follow Arms. He embark'd to serve in the Troops, in no higher a Station than that of *Legionary Tribune*.

## B O O K XL.

§. 1. **W**Hilst the *Consular* Fleet was crossing the *Ionian* Sea, *Hannibal* endeavour'd to rouse *Antiochus* out of his Lethargy. He represented to him that his Friends in *Greece* would not be able to support him against the *Roman* Forces, and press'd him once more to gain *Philip*. He likewise gave him a judicious Plan for the Campaign, one Part of which was so to dispose his Sea and Land-Forces, as to make the *Romans* believe he designed to invade *Italy*. But the *Syrian* Court went upon different Maxims, and the King lost all his Time in taking some Towns of small Importance in *Acarmania*, while *Philip*, in Conjunction with the *Prætor* *Bæbius*, made Conquests in *Thessaly*, in favour of the *Roman* Confederacy.

§. 2. This was the Situation of Affairs when the *Consul* *Acilius* landed his Troops, to the Number of twenty thousand Foot, two thousand Horse, and fifteen Elephants. He immediately sent his Infantry to *Bæbius*, who was encamped near *Pellinæa* in *Thessaly*; and with his Cavalry he march'd to *Limnæa*, another City of *Thessaly*, which the King of *Macedon* was besieging. Both these Places surrender'd successively to the *Consul* at Discretion; and in *Pellinæa* was taken *Philip* the Pretender. The King of *Macedon* in Derision called him Brother, ordered him to be saluted King, and conducted him to the *Consul*, who sent him to *Rome*. Then the *Romans* and *Macedonians* separated, to spread the Terror of their Arms in different Parts. The King made himself Master of all *Athamania*, while old *Amynder* retired with his Wife and Children into *Epirus*. And as for the *Consul*, he soon subdued all *Thessaly*.

§. 3. *Antiochus* began now to be sensible of the Wisdom of *Hannibal's* Advice, but it was too late. He left *Eubœa*, and drew near to *Ætolia*, in hopes of powerful Succours from thence, but he was disappointed. The *Ætolian* Chiefs could not raise above four thousand Men, and these were mostly their Clients and Vassals. To hinder the *Romans* therefore from entering *Achaia*, by the way of *Locris*, he seized the Streights of *Thermopylæ*, where three hundred *Spartans*, under the Command of *Leonidas*, had formerly for three whole Days stopp'd a Million of Men, in the Time of *Xerxes*. The Pass was not above twenty five Foot broad, and bounded on one Side by the Sea, and on the other by Mount *Oeta*. And as the King was not ignorant that *Xerxes* would never have been able to force the *Spartans*, if he had not caus'd some of his Troops to climb up the Mountains and fall down from thence upon the Enemy, he detach'd two thousand *Ætolians* to seize the Summits of *Oeta* which were nearest his Camp.

§. 4. However, the *Consul* resolv'd to force the *Syrian* in these strong Entrenchments; and by the Advice and Assistance of *Cato* he succeeded\*. This Brave Man led a Detachment up the Mountain in the Night, and dislodged the *Ætolians*; and then coming down upon the *Syrians* while the *Consul* attack'd them below, put a speedy End to the Dispute. *Antiochus* having receiv'd a Blow in the Mouth with a Stone, turn'd his Horse about and fled, and his Army was quite dispers'd. *Acilius*, over-joy'd with his Victory, embraced *Cato*, to whom he ascrib'd the Glory of it, and said these Words to him, which he never forgot, but often repeated, in Honour to himself. *You have done the Republick more Service than you have receiv'd Favours from her.* This was the last Exploit by which *Cato* signaliz'd himself in War. He dedicated the rest of his Life to Civil Affairs. He was an inexorable *Censor*, and a rigid Reformer, and apply'd himself wholly to regulate the Manners of his Countrymen, who began to be corrupted by their Commerce with the Eastern Nations.

§. 5. It may be affirmed that *Antiochus* lost his whole Army in the Action of *Thermopylæ*, and in the Pursuit. The *Romans* took and killed ten thousand of his Men; and he escap'd to *Chalcis* with only five hundred Horse. *Cato* was immediately dispatch'd to *Rome*, with the

The Consul  
Acilius  
lands with  
an Army in  
Greece.

He defeats  
Antiochus  
at the Pass  
of Ther-  
mopylæ.

\* Vide p.  
176.



Year of News of this Victory; and the Conqueror, to make the best Use of his Time, enter'd *Bœotia*. The Inhabitants of several revolted Cities came to meet him, and he every where gave Instances of his Clemency and Roman Moderation; so that the greatest Part of this Country submitted, and, presently after, all *Eubœa*. *Antiochus* left *Chalcis* to him, embark'd for *Asia* with his new Queen, and retired to *Ephesus*. From *Chalcis* the Consul went and laid Siege \* to *Heraclea*. The City being taken, after a stout Resistance from the *Ætolian* Garrison, the Soldiers and Inhabitants retired into the Citadel. It was commanded by that *Damocritus*, who had threatned *Flamininus* to appear upon the Banks of the *Tyber* with the Forces of *Syria*. But this Fortrefs was soon forced to surrender at Discretion; and by way of Preliminary the proud *Damocritus* was delivered up to the Consul. §. 6. *Philip* was at this time besieging *Lamia*, a strong Town about seven Miles from *Heraclea*; but upon the Reduction of the latter, the *Lamians* chose to surrender likewise to the Romans, rather than fall under the *Macedonian* Yoke. Before these Sieges, the *Ætolians* had dispatch'd *Thoas* into *Asia*, to press *Antiochus* to return with an Army into *Greece*. §. 7. But now they turn'd their Thoughts wholly to a fraudulent Peace, and sent Deputies for that Purpose, who presented themselves in a suppliant Manner before the Consul. *Phœneas* was their Speaker. All *Ætolia*, said he, being in the utmost Affliction for her late Conduct, throws herself upon the Honour and Clemency of the Romans. *Acilius*, to try their Sincerity, demanded that *Amynder* King of the *Atthamians*, and *Menetas* the *Epirot*, who had engaged the City of *Naupactus* to desert the Romans, should be deliver'd up to him. But the Consul had scarce finish'd, when *Phœneas* briskly answer'd, You demand more of us, my Lord, than we promised. We threw ourselves upon your Honour, but we did not deliver ourselves over to Slavery. What you desire is neither consistent with the Honour of the *Ætolian* Nation, nor with the Laws and Customs of *Greece*. To this *Acilius* haughtily reply'd, What is it to me, whether my Demands are agreeable to your Customs and Laws or not? They are agreeable to the Will of the Romans, and that's enough. The Vanquish'd who are forced to become Supplicants, ought not to expect more. Obey my Orders without Delay, or you shall this Instant be laid in Irons. Then the *Lictors* appear'd, and surrounded *Phœneas*; but his Collegues representing to *Acilius* that they could not obey his Orders without the Consent of the *Ætolian* Diet assembled at *Hypata*, he was prevailed upon to grant them a ten Days Truce, to bring him a positive Answer from thence. The Diet were highly provoked at the Preliminaries insisted on by the Roman General; and while they were in great Perplexity about the Measures they should take, one *Nicander*, an active Man, who had gone from *Ætolia* to *Ephesus* and return'd in twelve Days, brought considerable Sums of Money from *Antiochus*, and not only so, but he made the Assembly believe that *Philip* was disposed to favour them, and desert the Roman Cause. It seems he had been taken Prisoner in his Way home, by a *Macedonian*, and carried before the King, who treated him graciously, gave him his Liberty, and bid him be grateful. In short, the Money and the News which *Nicander* brought of *Antiochus's* mighty Preparations for War, determined the Diet to lay aside all Thoughts of Peace. The *Ætolians* drew all their Forces to *Naupactus*, and resolved to sustain a Siege there to the last Extremity. §. 8. *Acilius* considering that by the Reduction of this Place he should give the finishing Stroke to the Conquest of *Ætolia*, and for ever enslave the most restless Nation in *Greece*, march'd thither and invested it. §. 9. In the mean time *Flamininus*, who had resided a good while at *Chalcis*, which he had saved from being sack'd, when taken by *Acilius*, and where he was honoured even to \* Adoration, went thence to settle a Peace between the *Achæans* and the City of *Messene*, and subjected the latter to the *Achæan* Diet. He then shew'd his dexterous Management in gaining *Zacynthus*, an Island in the *Ionian* Sea, to the Romans. After the Battel of *Thermopyle*, the Governour of it for *Philip* had sold it to the *Achæans*; but *Flamininus* was of Opinion that an Island, which only the Success of the Roman Arms had made to change its Masters, belonged of Right to the Conquerors. He therefore summoned the Diet of *Achaia*, and thus address'd himself to them in a Style suited to the Grecian Taste. I consider *Achaia* as like a Tortoise, which Nature has guarded with its Shell. If it thrusts out its Head or Feet never so little beyond its Armour, it is in Danger of being trod upon and wounded. The frontier Cities which surround you, *Achæans*, are your Shell, and your natural Defence. But as to any Acquisitions of yours beyond the Continent, those are Parts of your State which are exposed to Insults, and which you cannot easily secure. The *Achæans* were convinced by the good Sense in this familiar Comparison, and relinquish'd their Pretensions to the Island. §. 10. Whilst the Siege of *Naupactus* was carrying on, King *Philip* made himself Master of *Demetrias*, extended his Conquests to *Dolopia*, *Aperantia*, and *Perræbia*, and was recovering by degrees all the Places which had been taken from him. §. 11. But *Flamininus* was not pleased with this Progress of the *Macedonian*, whom he looked upon as a more dangerous Enemy than the *Ætolians*. He went therefore to the Camp before *Naupactus*, and reprov'd *Acilius* for having consented to the Conquests of *Philip*. And

*Antiochus*  
retires to  
*Ephesus*.  
\* *Vide p.*  
179.

The *Æto-*  
lians sue to  
the Consul  
for a Peace.

They reject  
the Condi-  
tions required  
by the Romans.

\* *Vid. p.*  
183.



And as the Besieged who were now reduced to great Extremity, had formerly experienced his Clemency, they, upon Notice of his Arrival, sent Deputies to him to implore his Protection. Accordingly, he became their Intercessor with the Consul, and obtain'd for them a Suspension of Arms, till they could dispatch Ambassadors to Rome, to negotiate a Peace there. The *Epirots* at the same time sent likewise thither to excuse some Advances they had formerly made to *Antiochus*; and as it did not appear that they had committed any Act of Hostility against the Republick, the chose rather to favour them than draw new Enemies upon herself. But the Ambassadors of *Philip* were yet more favourably receiv'd than those of *Epirus*. The artful King desir'd Leave to hang up in the *Capitol* a Crown of Gold of an hundred Pounds weight, in Memory of the first Advantage the *Romans* had gained over *Antiochus*; and the Present was readily accepted. §. 12. During these Transactions,

The Roman Admiral gains a complete Victory over Antiochus at Sea.

\* Vide p. 187.

The Boian Gauls totally subjected to the Republick.

Vid. p. 190.

Vid. §. 16. of the 35th Book.

262d Consulship.

The Great Scipio offers to serve in Asia as his Brother's Lieutenant.

*Livius* the Roman Admiral was pursuing the War with Success at Sea. *Hannibal* had regain'd his Credit with *Antiochus*, and had roused him out of the Lethargy in which he seem'd to be for some time after his Retreat to *Ephesus*. The King order'd *Polyxenidas* to sail with a hundred, or (as some say) two hundred Ships, and give the *Romans* Battel. The two Fleets came to a general Engagement \* near the *Ionian* Gulph, and the *Syrians* were totally defeated. §. 13. The News of all these Successes in the *Levant* exceedingly heightened the Joy of the People of *Rome*, who were at this time much elevated on account of the Reduction of the *Boian*

*Gauls*, a Work which had been lately completed by the Consul *Scipio Nasica*. This whole Nation was subjected to the *Roman* Dominion, and their Lands shared among *Roman Colonies*, sent thither for that Purpose. §. 14, 15. The *Pro-Consul* *Thermus* having likewise obtain'd a considerable Victory over the *Ligures*, Endeavours were used by one of the *Tribunes of the People* to have him triumph jointly with *Nasica*; but the Senate granted that Honour to the latter only. This eminently virtuous Man express'd no Desire of it but for the sake of his Army, declaring that his having been formerly \* adjudg'd worthy to receive the Mother of the Gods, had fully satisfy'd his Ambition of Glory. [His triumphal Procession is described; as are likewise the Ovation of the *Pro-Prætor* *Fulvius Nobilior*, for his Victories in Spain, and the Triumph of *Acilius* the next Year, on his Return from Greece.]

§. 16. The *Consuls* chosen for the new Year were *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Lælius*; the first the Brother, the second the Friend of the Great *Scipio*. Their first Business was to introduce to the Senate the *Ætolian* Ambassadors from *Naupactus*. These Ministers, who seem'd to be insincere in their Assurances of Submission for the future, and avoided giving direct Answers to the Questions put to them, were offered the Choice of these two Things; either to submit implicitly to the Will of the Senate; or to pay the Republick a thousand *Talents*, and promise to declare themselves Enemies to all the Enemies of *Rome*. But the *Ætolians* would not consent to either; so that the Project of Peace was at an End, and they were order'd to leave *Rome* that very Day, and *Italy* in a Fortnight. §. 17. The next Affair which the Senate had upon their Hands was to settle the Provinces of the *Consuls*. *Lælius* having the Reputation of being the abler General, artfully propos'd to his Colleague, that instead of drawing Lots, they should leave the Matter to the Determination of the *Conscript Fathers*. *L. Scipio* knew not how to decline this Offer; but he desired time to consider of it; and then he consulted his Brother. *Scipio Africanus*, without any Hesitation, advis'd him to accept the Proposal; and when the Senate seem'd unwilling to determine the Affair, and were making Excuses, he, to their great Surprise, offer'd to serve under his Brother in Quality of his Lieutenant. There needed no other Argument; the *Fathers* immediately assigned *Asia* to the two *Scipio's*, as their common Province. Thus the Great *Africanus* shew'd more Regard to the Honour of his House, than partial Affection to his Friend. It would have cast a Blemish on his Brother, if he had not been judg'd worthy to engage with *Antiochus*. Besides, *Lælius* had been a little wanting in Point of Friendship, by exposing his Friend's Brother to an Affront. As for the *Romans*, their Joy was unspeakably great, to see the Great *Scipio* and *Hannibal* once more enter the Lists. They were now both Subalterns, one under a Consul, the other under a King, and this new Scene drew the Attention of all the Nations.

§. 18, 19. The two Brothers embark'd at *Brundisium*, with thirteen thousand Men, including Auxiliaries and Volunteers, and landed at *Apollonia*; from thence they march'd thro' *Epirus* and *Thessaly*, and at length arriv'd before *Amphissa*, the Citadel of which *Acilius* was besieging, having already taken the Town. Hither came some Deputies from the *Athenians*, to intercede with the Consul for the *Ætolians* at *Naupactus*. *Lucius Scipio* was at first inexorable, notwithstanding that his Brother join'd his Mediation to theirs; but in the End he was prevail'd upon to grant them a Truce to try once more a Negotiation with the Senate of *Rome*. By this Truce the Siege of *Amphissa*, which was garrisoned by *Ætolians*, was rais'd, and then *Acilius* resign'd the Command of his two *Legions* to the Consul, and returned to *Rome*.

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## BOOK XLI.

Year of §. 1.

ROME

563.

ALL Greece being now quieted, the two *Scipio's* were at full Liberty to pass into *Asia*, which was the chief Object of their Ambition. In order to this, they judged that the safest Way was to conduct their Forces by Land to the *Hellepont*, and consequently thro' *Macedon* and *Thrace*: But they first took the Precaution to dispatch a young *Roman* to *Pella*, where *Philip* resided at this time, to learn his real Dispositions, and whether the Steps he had taken were like those of a Friend, or of an Enemy. The King had prepared every thing to facilitate the March of the *Romans* through his Dominions; and he came in Person to meet the *Scipio's* on his Frontiers. Nothing could be more obliging than his Behaviour, and he accompanied them even as far as the *Hellepont*. In Return for all these Marks of Fidelity, the two Brothers, in the Name of the Republick, remitted him all the Sums which yet remain'd to be annually paid by him, according to the Convention made with *Flamininus*.

§. 2. In the mean time, *Livius* the *Roman* Admiral being join'd by the *Rhodian* and *Pergamenian* Fleets, sailed with the latter from the Port of *Canæ* in *Mysia*, where he had winter'd, to secure the Streights of the *Hellepont*. He besieged and took *Sestos*, on the Side of *Europe*, without much Difficulty, and then went and invested *Abydos*. (These two Cities stood opposite one to another, in that Part of the Streight where the Passage from *Europe* into *Asia* is the strongest and safest.)

§. 3. But now *Polyxenidas* having repaired the *Syrian* Fleet, and being in a Condition to put to Sea again, destroyed by a Piece of \* Treachery the greatest Part of the *Rhodian* Squadron, with its Admiral. §. 4. This Disaster obliged *Livius* to raise the Siege of *Abydos*, and hasten to defend the rest of his Ships which he had left in the Port of *Canæ* in *Mysia*. The *Rhodians* sent out twenty new Gallies under the Command of *Eudamus*, who join'd the *Roman* Admiral at *Samos*. From thence these Confederates sail'd together, and insulted the *Syrian* Fleet in the Port of *Ephesus*; nay, they offer'd the *Syrians* to go ashore, and come to an Engagement with them at Land. This Challenge not being accepted, they return'd to *Samos*, and there *Livius* resign'd his Command to his Successor *Æmilius*. The former was detach'd with a Part of the Fleet to endeavour the Reduction of *Patara* in *Lycia*, a Place which was a great Check upon the *Rhodians*, while in the Enemy's Hands. But *Livius* failed in this Attempt, and soon after return'd to *Rome*. *Æmilius*, after he had made a Descent near *Jassos* in *Ionian*, had Thoughts of revenging the Affront his Predecessor had receiv'd before *Patara*; but his Officers remonstrated against the Enterprize, as dangerous to the Allies, who in the Absence of the *Roman* Fleet would be left to the Mercy of the Enemy; so that he return'd to *Samos*, where he was near enough to watch the Motions of the *Syrians*.

§. 5. Indeed *Antiochus* on one Side, and his Son *Seleucus* on another, believing that the *Romans* were engaged in the Siege of *Patara*, penetrated into the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; and the latter thinking to take Advantage of *Eumenes's* Absence, who with his Fleet had join'd the *Prætor* *Æmilius*, laid Siege to the Capital. But *Eumenes*, upon the first Notice from his Brother *Attalus* of the Danger *Pergamus* was in, sail'd back to the Port of *Elea*, landed there, and reached his Capital before the Enemy had Notice of his Arrival. The *Roman* and *Rhodian* Fleets follow'd him without Delay; all the Troops they had on Board made a Descent, and then the Kingdom of *Pergamus* no longer wanted Forces to defend it. Besides, News came from all Parts, that the *Scipio's* were advancing by great Marches thro' *Macedon*, would soon reach the *Hellepont*, and be ready to enter *Asia*. This struck *Antiochus* with Terror; he retired to an Eminence near *Elea*, and there encamped. From thence he sent a Deputation to *Æmilius*, desiring to begin a Treaty with him. *Æmilius* thinking it would be an Honour to him to conclude a Peace before the *Scipio's* arrived, readily hearkened to the Proposal, and the *Rhodians* were not averse from it; but *Eumenes* opposed it, and by his \* Arguments, which were full of *Roman* Spirit and Magnanimity, prevailed to have this Answer given to *Antiochus's* Messengers, That before the Council could not determine any thing before the Arrival of the *Scipio's*.

§. 6. Then *Scipio's* arrived, the King of *Syria*, leaving his Son to ravage the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, with his own Army and invaded *Troas*, a Country in the *Roman* Confederacy. *Æmilius*, accompanied by *Eumenes*, sail'd away to defend these faithful Allies. *Attalus* continued at *Pergamus*, and there receiv'd a Reinforcement from the *Achæans* of a thousand Foot, and a hundred Horse, under the Command of *Diophanes* a very able Captain. This latter, with his small Body of Troops, boldly sallied out, gained great Advantages over *Seleucus*, and obliged him to retire further from *Pergamus*.

§. 7. Nor had *Antiochus* any better Success than his Son. *Æmilius*, supported by the Confederate Fleets, forced him to abandon *Adramyttium*, where he had encamp'd; he retired to an Eminence near *Elea*, and there encamped. From thence he sent a Deputation to *Æmilius*, desiring to begin a Treaty with him. *Æmilius* thinking it would be an Honour to him to conclude a Peace before the *Scipio's* arrived, readily hearkened to the Proposal, and the *Rhodians* were not averse from it; but *Eumenes* opposed it, and by his \* Arguments, which were full of *Roman* Spirit and Magnanimity, prevailed to have this Answer given to *Antiochus's* Messengers, That before the Council could not determine any thing before the Arrival of the *Scipio's*.

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the Syrian march'd away to *Sardis*. Then the Confederate Fleets sail'd back to *Samos*, where they separated. *Æmilius* continued there to watch the Motions of *Polyxenidas*, *Eumenes* sail'd towards the *Hellepont* to get every thing ready for the Passage of the *Scipio's* into *Asia*, and *Eudamus* returned to *Rhodes* to get fresh Reinforcements. The last receiving Intelligence that a Fleet was coming from *Syria*, under the Command of *Hannibal*, hastened the Equipment of his Ships, and sail'd away to meet the *Carthaginian*, who was now indeed out of his proper Element. *Eudamus*, with fewer Ships and of less Force, entirely defeated him off *Sida*, a maritime City of *Pamphylia*. §. 8. As for *Antiochus*, he sent a Minister, during his Abode at *Sardis*, to engage *Prusias* King of *Bithynia* to join him; and to this End represented to him that the great Point which the *Romans* had in view was in all Places to destroy Monarchick Government. But a Letter which *Scipio* wrote to *Prusias*, and an Ambassador which came soon after to him from *Rome* effaced all the Impressions of *Antiochus's* Arguments, and fix'd him in the Resolution of keeping a Neutrality. §. 9, 10. So that the Syrian's whole Dependence now was upon his Fleet, and he order'd *Polyxenidas* to engage the Enemy at Sea. He thought it was of more Consequence to him to be Master of the Seas than to guard the Shores of the *Hellepont*, and hinder the Passage of the *Romans* into *Asia*. As for himself, he left *Sardis*, went to *Ephesus*, and from thence marching to *Colophon*, a maritime City of *Ionis*, laid Siege to it. *Æmilius* being joined by some *Rhodian* Vessels, resolv'd to attempt the Relief of *Colophon*, but sail'd first to the Island of *Teos*, to get a Provision of Wine, which was design'd for *Antiochus*. Hither *Polyxenidas* came and attack'd him, but lost fifty two of his Ships in the Engagement, escaping with only a third Part of his Fleet to *Ephesus*. The *Romans* lost but two Ships. §. 11. *Antiochus* might have prevented the Passage of the *Scipio's* into *Asia*, if he had guarded the *Thracian Chersonesus*, and had encamp'd his Land Forces round *Lysimachia*. But after this last Defeat of his Admiral he took a mad Step. He recalled from *Europe* all the Garrisons which defended the few Places he had there, and he caus'd *Lysimachia* to be evacuated, tho' that Place alone might have stopp'd the whole *Consular* Army for a great while. Then he complain'd of his hard Fate in these Words. *I know not what God has infatuated me. Every thing happens contrary to my Expectations. I flatter'd myself that Philip of Macedon would join his Forces with mine. I creep on before the Romans, and am their Guide to shew them the Way to ruin me. Hannibal is at a great Distance from me, and is besieged by the Rhodian Fleet in Pamphylia. And to complete my Misfortunes, Polyxenidas by his Flight has left the Rhodian Admiral Master of the Seas. Heaven persecutes me, and I must conclude that my Ruin approaches.* These Reflections so dejected him, that he rais'd the Siege of *Colophon*, and retir'd into *Cappadocia* to his Son-in-law King *Ariarathes*. In the mean time *Æmilius* took *Phocæa*, a maritime City on the Confines of *Æolis* and *Ionis*. But all these Advantages gained by the *Roman* Admiral at Sea, and on the Coasts, were only Preparations to the more important Expeditions of the *Scipio's*, who were now upon the Point of passing into *Asia*. The elder of them had at this time the Misfortune to have his Son taken Prisoner by the Enemy. The Youth was by his Father's Orders coming to *Demetrius* in a *Chalcidian* Vessel, which in the Passage was attack'd and taken by a Syrian Ship. He was conducted to *Antiochus*, who exceedingly caress'd him, kept him near himself, and shew'd him all Marks of Honour that were due to his Birth, and the Reputation of his Father. §. 12. In the mean while, the *Consular* Army, with the Assistance of *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, pass'd the *Hellepont* without Opposition, the Syrians having desert'd *Abydos*. *Antiochus* upon the first Advice that the *Romans* had enter'd *Asia*, was struck with such a Terror that he immediately sent Proposals of Peace to the *Scipio's*. He offer'd to quit all Places in *Europe*, and many in *Asia*, and to bear half the Expence which the *Romans* had been at, in the War. But the latter insist'd on the King's paying all the Expence of the War, restoring Liberty to all the Cities of *Asia* which had been deprived of it, and confining his Dominion within Mount *Taurus*, a Chain of Mountains which begins towards the West of *Lycia*, and separates *Cilicia* from Northern *Asia*. The Ambassador thought these Conditions intolerable, and therefore applied himself privately to *Scipio Africanus*, to whom he had particular Instructions to make his Court, offering him the Restitution of his Son, and even a Share of his Master's Dominions, if he would be content without the Title of King. *Africanus* answer'd, That if the King of *Syria* should restore him his Son, it would be a personal Obligation which as a Father he would receive with Gratitude; but that if he hop'd to corrupt his Fidelity by Promises, such Efforts were vain: That as a good Citizen he could neither receive any thing from an Enemy, nor promise any thing to him: That *Antiochus* must not now expect such easy Terms of Peace as he might have had before the *Romans* enter'd *Asia*. And then he concluded, *All that I can do for him is to pray the Gods that he may never be in the Situation of my Son, and want that Protection which he so generously gives the Child.* And

The Syrian  
Fleet com-  
manded by  
Hannibal is  
defeated by  
the Rhodi-  
ans.

The Syrian  
Fleet com-  
manded by  
Polyxeni-  
das is de-  
stroyed.  
The Impru-  
dence and  
Desponden-  
cy of Antio-  
chus.

The Scipio's  
pass the Hel-  
lespont, and  
reject Antiochus's  
Proposals  
for Peace.

Year of  
ROME  
563.



Year of And if he would preserve himself from so great a Misfortune, let him avoid coming to ROME a pitch'd Battel with the Romans on any Account, and accept of a Peace on any Terms.

563. This Advice is the strongest Testimony I can give him both of my Esteem and Gratitude. §. 13. Antiochus finding the ill Success of his Embassy, turn'd his Thoughts wholly to War. He assembled all his Troops, and encamp'd them near Thyatira in Lydia. Soon after, hearing that Scipio Africanus was fallen sick near Elea, he generously sent him his Son without Ransom. The Joy of the Roman was so great on this Occasion that it gave a Turn to his Distemper, and help'd to cure him; and in Gratitude to the King he sent him this Advice, *That he should by no means hazard a Battel till he heard that Scipio Africanus was perfectly recovered, and was return'd to the Roman Camp.* Accordingly Antiochus declined fighting as much as he could, and retir'd to Magnesia. §. 14, 15. But Lucius Scipio the Consul being probably ambitious of gaining a Victory in the Absence of his Brother, and having appointed Cn. Domitius to be his Lieutenant, follow'd the Syrian so close, and press'd him so hard, that he could not with Honour avoid an Engagement. The King's Army consisted of seventy thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse; and the Romans were not thirty thousand strong. The \* Battel was fought near Magnesia; Antiochus lost fifty thousand Men, including Prisoners of War; the Romans not above three hundred Foot, and twenty five Horse. So complete a Victory seem'd a Prodigy to all the Nations of the East and West; and tho' the Success was chiefly owing to the Bravery and Conduct of the King of Pergamus and his Brother Attalus, Lucius Scipio gained the Surname of Asiaticus, as his Brother had done that of Africanus. And now the King of Syria was glad to procure a Peace upon any Terms, and sent Ambassadors to the Roman Camp at Sardis, to make his Submissions. Upon this a Council of War was called, and Scipio Africanus was desired by the Consul to make known its Pleasure to the Ambassadors. He is said to have express'd himself in the following manner: *We are sensible that it is to the Favour of Heaven we owe our Victories. We are never puffed up by Prosperity; nor does Adversity deject us. Your Friend Hannibal can do us Justice in this Matter; he has seen us in good and in bad Fortune. And we shall now act like ourselves with regard to Antiochus; he shall be treated with Moderation. We shall demand little more of him now than we did at our Entrance into Asia. Let him give up his Pretensions in Europe, confine his Dominions in Asia within Mount Taurus, and pay us fifteen thousand Talents of Eubœa for the Expences of the War; five hundred down, two thousand five hundred when the Roman Senate and People shall have confirmed the Articles, and a thousand every Year for twelve Years. Upon these Conditions we shall leave him in Possession of Life, Liberty, and the rest of his Dominions. But we also insist, that he satisfy King Eumenes, and deliver up to us Hannibal the Carthaginian, Thoas the Ætolian, &c: the Incendiaries who have caused our Divisions; and lastly, twenty Hostages, of whom Antiochus's youngest Son shall be one.* The Ambassadors had Orders to refuse no Conditions; all were accepted, and the Affair concluded; but Hannibal, after the Battel of Magnesia, had escaped into some other Part of Asia.

Antiochus totally defeated in the Battel of Magnesia. \* Vide p. 217, 218, 219.

§. 16. But while the Scipio's were thus settling Peace in Asia, the Ætolians in Greece took Arms, dispossessed Philip of Athamania, restor'd it to its rightful King Amynder, and made some other Conquests on the Macedonian. Rome, upon an Embassy from Amynder, confirm'd him in the Possession of his Dominions, but she resolv'd to punish the Ætolians at a proper time. §. 17, 18. Soon after the Election of the new Consuls, M. Fulvius Nobilior, and Cn. Manlius Vulso, and before the News of the Victory at Magnesia had reached Rome, Ambassadors came from Ætolia to negotiate a Peace; and the better to succeed in their Undertaking, they spread a Report that the two Scipio's had been made Prisoners by Antiochus at a Conference, and that the Roman Army was routed. Being questioned by the Senate concerning their Intelligence, they pretended to have receiv'd this Account from some Persons of their Nation in the Consul's Camp, and putting on an Air of Confidence seem'd rather to demand a Peace, than sue for one. However, these Appearances did not lessen the Magnanimity of the Conscrip Fathers. The Ætolians, said they with one Consent, are yet Friends to Antiochus, and this is a sufficient Reason to refuse them a Peace. Let their Ambassadors be gone, let them leave Italy, and never return hither without the Consent of our Generals, whom we shall send to carry the War into their Country. §. 19. And now Aurelius Cotta the Messenger, sent by the Scipio's with the News of their Success, arriv'd at Rome, and brought with him Eumenes King of Pergamus, the Ambassadors from Antiochus, and some Envoys from Rhodes. Eumenes was receiv'd by the Senate with all possible Marks of Honour and Gratitude for his Services, and he was press'd to declare what Recompence would be most agreeable to him. The King for a long time modestly declined saying any thing in his own Praise, or asking any particular Reward, referring that Matter wholly to the Determination of the Fathers. But the latter still insisting upon it that he should give an Account of his Exploits, and declare his Wishes, he at length

A new Com-motion in Ætolia. 263d Consulship.



length comply'd : And having run over his Father's Services and his own, and answer'd the Objections which he foresaw the *Rhodians* would make, as Republicans, against the Increase of his Territories, and in favour of the *Asiatick Greeks*, whose Liberty and Independence they would contend for, he thus concluded, *As to my Desires, since I must declare them, they are these. You have confined the King of Syria within Mount Taurus : And if Rome keeps for herself the Country which reaches from those Mountains to the Sea, I shall make no Pretensions to it ; it will be both a Pleasure to me, and a Security to my Dominions to have you for my Neighbours. But if you should despise so distant a Conquest, and think it will not answer the Expence of keeping it, I will venture to say that none of your Allies has better deserved it than my self.* §. 20, 21. The Senate received this Proposal with Approbation. But

The Rhodian Deputies oppose the Pretensions of Eumenes.

when the *Rhodian* Envoys came to be heard, they pleaded strongly for the Liberty of the Greek Cities in *Asia*, as *Eumenes* had apprehended. Your *Victories*, said they to the Senate, have made you Masters of a great Number of Greek Colonies on this Side Mount Taurus, and shall they alone not partake of that general Regard for Liberty, which has made you the Deliverers of all Greece? Subject as many of the other Nations in *Asia* to *Eumenes* as you please ; they do not know the Value of Liberty ; they have been so long accustomed to kingly Government that it is scarce any Burden to them. But the Greeks are full of the same Spirit as the Romans ; they love, nay they adore Liberty ; and they expect to receive from you this invaluable Present, for which they will be eternally indebted to your glorious Arms. It may indeed be said that these Greek Cities declared for *Antiochus* ; and so did many of the Greek Nations in Europe enter into a League with Philip against you. Yet you restored these their Laws and Liberties : And this is all we ask for the *Asiatick Greeks*. Can you not deny *Eumenes* what you denied yourselves? To grant our Desires, is to give the highest Instance possible of that true Magnanimity which is peculiar to Roman Minds. This Discourse made an Impression on the Senate ; they at length determin'd to send ten Commissioners into the *Levant* to settle all Disputes there, but declared beforehand, That *Lycaonia*, the two *Phrygia's*, and *Mysia*, should for the future be subject to *Eumenes* ; but *Lycia*, that Part of *Caria* which was next to *Rhodes*, and a Part of *Pisidia* were adjudg'd to the *Rhodians*. However, in both these Dispositions, those Cities were excepted which enjoy'd their Liberty before the War. As for the Ambassadors of *Antiochus*, their only Business was to get the Articles of Peace ratify'd, and this was done.

§. 22. And now the Consuls for the Year, *Fulvius* and *Manlius*, left *Rome*. The first sail'd for Greece, to bring the *Ætolians* to Reason, the second to *Asia*, to complete the Reduction of it. When the *Scipio's* had delivered up the Command of the Army to *Manlius*, they returned to *Rome*, where the Consul, surnamed *Asiaticus*, was honoured with a Triumph. (The Pomp of it is described.) *Africanus* was now a third time chosen Prince or President of the Senate. *Æmilius*, the late Admiral in the *Levant*, had triumphed before the Arrival of the *Scipio's*.

\* Vide p. 231, 232, 233.

The Ætolians obtain a Peace by the Intercession of the Athenians.

§. 23, 24, 25. *Fulvius* landed at *Apollonia*, and began his Campaign by laying Siege to *Ambracia*, a considerable City on the Borders of *Epirus*. It was in the Hands of the *Ætolians*, and vigorously \* defended by them ; but at length capitulated. And then the *Ætolian* Nation sent to *Rome* to solicit a Peace. The Senate at first were so enraged against these turbulent Greeks that they would hardly hear the Entreaties of their Ambassadors. However, some *Athenian* Deputies who appear'd in their Behalf were more favourably received. They had an eloquent Man named *Damis* at the Head of them, and he spoke thus. States are like the Sea. Its natural Situation is to be calm. It is by Impressions from other Things that it is moved and agitated. When the Winds blow it rises ; as soon as they cease its Waves subside. Thus *Ætolia* was very tractable, till disturbed by the Winds of Dissention. She complied with your Desires, and lent you her Forces to subdue *Macedon*. The Weather changed : A *Thoas* and a *Dicæarchus* rais'd a Storm in *Asia* ; and a *Menestæus* with a *Damocritus* in Europe ; and presently the Tempest put all into a Commotion. What then will you blame ? the Waves, which did not rise but by the Impulse of other Things? Subjects, who did not take Arms till they were forced to it? No, Romans : Search the Evil to the Bottom, and punish the Authors of it ; but spare the Multitude who are disposed to Quiet and Tranquillity. In short, let not one Storm divert you from sailing on a Sea, which by facilitating your Commerce may enrich you. This Discourse softened the Conscrip Fathers, and they granted the *Ætolians* a Peace, but upon pretty severe \* Conditions.

\* Vide p. 234.

The Romans carry the War into Galatia.

\* Vide p. 237.

§. 26, 27, 28. During these Transactions in *Ætolia* and at *Rome*, the Consul *Manlius* in *Asia* was marching against the *Gallo-Greeks* (or *Galatians*) to revenge the Assistance they had given *Antiochus* in the late War. They were originally *Gauls* \*, who, to the Number of twenty thousand, had in the time of *Brennus* come from the other Side the *Alpes*, and passing thro' *Thrace* had enter'd *Asia*, and settled in an Inland Country beyond *Caria* and *Phrygia*. The Consul was assisted in his long March by *Seleucus* the King of *Syria's* Son, and by *Attalus* the Brother of *Eumenes* ;



Year of and he drew considerable Contributions from the petty Kings through whose Coun-  
 ROME tries he pass'd, and who came to pay him their Homages. The *Galatians* upon  
 564. his Approach left their Towns and Cities in that Country, and retired to the Tops of

high Mountains with their Effects and Provisions. Their Design in posting them-  
 selves in this manner was to tire out the Patience of the *Romans*, by leaving them  
 to languish away their Time in desolate Plains. The *Galatians* had added wide  
 Ditches and Trenches in those Parts of the Mountains which were the least steep;  
 but they had neglected to provide themselves with Darts to throw at the Enemy,  
 thinking the Stones, which are always in great Plenty in such high and dry Grounds,  
 would be sufficient Weapons to repulse the *Romans*.

§. 29. The *Consul* attack'd those of the *Galatians* first, who were called *Tolistoboj*, and were posted on Mount *Olympus*; he forced their Entrenchments, slew  
 great Numbers of them, and took forty thousand Captives, including Women and  
 Children.

§. 30. Among the rest was *Chiomara*, the Wife of their King  
*Ortiagon*, a Woman of superior Merit and Accomplishments. She was brought to  
 the *Consul*, but he being engag'd in numberless Affairs committed her to the Care of a  
 Centurion. This latter, struck with the Queen's Beauty and regardless of her  
 Royal Dignity, took an Opportunity, during the Licentiousness of the Soldiers  
 after the Victory, to use Violence to her. Then to appease her, or perhaps from  
 an avaritious Motive, he offer'd to restore her to her Husband for a certain Sum.  
 He gave her Leave to send one of the Prisoners to *Ortiagon* for this Purpose; and  
 it was agreed, that two Relations of the Princess should come by Night to the  
 Banks of a neighbouring River to receive her. Thither he conducted her at the  
 Hour appointed, and found the two *Galatian* Lords with the Ransom. But while  
 the greedy Centurion was intent on counting or weighing the Money, the Brave  
 Princess said to her Relations: *Strike, and purge the Earth of a Monster whom I de-*  
*test.* They did so, and with one Stroke of a Sabre cut off his Head. *Chiomara*  
 took it up, put it into a Corner of her Robe, carried it with her and threw it  
 down at her Husband's Feet. A strange Salutation, which might well surprize  
*Ortiagon*; and he said to her, *Have you been true to my Bed?* To which the Queen  
 replied, *I call the Gods to witness, that if my Body has suffer'd the Insults of a servile*  
*State, I have reveng'd them. There lies the Head of the infamous Ravisher who rob-*  
*bed us of our Honour.* The King was charmed with the Virtue and Courage of his  
 Wife, and had a greater Affection and Esteem for her than ever.

§. 31. After  
 the Defeat of the *Tolistoboj* on Mount *Olympus*, the *Consul* led his Army against the  
*Tectosagi* and *Trocmi*, posted on Mount *Magaba*. They laid a Plot to surprize him  
 and cut him off, at a Conference between him and their Kings; but he escaped  
 this Danger by the Bravery of five hundred of his Horse who attended him, and  
 by the Precaution of his Officers who sent a Party to defend him in case of Treach-  
 ery. He then attack'd the Entrenchments of these *Galatians* with the same Suc-  
 cess as he had done the other, and in short, forced the whole Nation to sue for  
 Peace upon his own Terms. He would not treat with them upon the Spot, but  
 order'd them to send their Deputies to *Ephesus*, whither he retired with his Army,  
 Autumn being far advanced, and the Weather beginning to be cold near those  
 Mountains. The *Galatians* obeyed the Commands given them; and to *Ephesus*  
 likewise repair'd the Ambassadors of all the Princes of *Asia* with Presents and Sub-  
 missions.

565. §. 32. As the War with the *Gauls* in *Asia* was just finished, a new one broke  
 out with the *Gauls* and *Ligures* in *Italy*. *M. Valerius Messala*, one of the late cho-  
 sen *Consuls* was order'd to *Pisa* to watch the Motions of the latter, and *C. Livius*

*Salinator*, the other *Consul*, to march against the former. (*Fulvius* and *Manlius* were  
 continued in their respective Provinces as *Pro-Consuls*.)

§. 33. But for some time after  
 the Elections, and before these Magistrates enter'd on their Office, *Rome* was wholly  
 employed in \* Acts of Religion, Justice and Policy. *Q. Fabius Labco*, the Roman  
 Admiral, had at this time a Triumph granted for only recovering four thousand  
*Roman* Slaves from the *Cretans*, though he had fought no Battel, and they had  
 been delivered up to him, upon his bare appearing off the Coasts of *Crete* with his  
 Fleet, and demanding them. By a *Census* taken this Year, the Number of *Roman*  
*Citizens* fit to bear Arms amounted to two hundred fifty eight thousand three hun-  
 dred and twenty eight.

§. 34. To return to the Affairs of *Greece*, *Fulvius* had in his *Consulship* establish'd  
 all the Cities on the Continent in their ancient Freedom; but he thought that the  
 Island of *Cephalenia* would be a very proper Conquest to be added to the Demefns  
 of the Republick. The *Romans* by the Possession of it would have a Way open for  
 their *Legions* to *Peloponnesus*, from which it was divided only by an Arm of the Sea  
 about twenty Miles over. He had transported his Troops to the Island, and made  
 himself Master of it. And now being *Pro-Consul* he made it his Place of Residence,  
 and from thence gave Laws to all *Greece*. All Disputes which arose between any



any of the Grecian Cities or Republicks were brought to his Tribunal, and he was Year of sole Arbiter of them; so that in reality the Greeks had only an Appearance of Liberty. §. 35. But now a Contest happening between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans*, the *Pro-Consul* thought the Matter of so much Importance, that he referred it to the Senate. The *Conscript Fathers* passed an ambiguous Decree, which each Party might interpret in its own Favour, and this occasion'd the two Republicks to renew their mutual Hostilities. *Philopœmen* who commanded the *Achæans*

The Laws of Lycurgus abolish'd at Lacedæmon.

led his Army before *Lacedæmon*, and by some Acts of Severity, so terrified the *Lacedæmonians*, that they became servilely submissive. At his Command they demolish'd their Walls, renounc'd the Laws of *Lycurgus* which they had observed seven hundred Years, and subjected themselves to those of *Achaia*.

\* Vid. p. 251.

§. 36. The ten Commissioners appointed by the Republick to settle the Affairs of *Asia* landed at *Ephesus* with King *Eumenes*. From thence they went to *Apamea*, where the *Pro-Consul Manlius* met them, and then they all together put the last Hand to the Treaty with *Antiochus*. [It consisted of twenty \* Articles which are given at large.]

§. 37. Then they settled the Limits of the Dominions of *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*. *Lycia* and *Caria* were given to the latter; *Lyfismachia* with the *Chersonesus* in *Europe*, the two *Phrygia's*, *Mysia*, *Lycaonia*, with *Ephesus* and other Towns in *Asia* to the latter; and the *Romans* reserved no part of the conquered Countries for themselves. They were satisfy'd with having spread the Glory of their Name, and the Terror of their Arms, and with the immense Spoils in Gold and Silver and rich Moveables which they carried away with them.

§. 38. But when *Manlius* with his Army had crossed the *Hellepont* in their Way home, they were robbed of some part of their Treasure by a Body of ten thousand *Thracians*, who attack'd them in a narrow Pass between Woods where the *Romans* could not form themselves in order of Battel. This Danger escaped, with the Loss only of some Spoils, they continued their March through *Thessaly* and *Epirus*, and at length arrived at *Appollonia* where they were to embark; but the Season being now far advanced, the *Pro-Consul* passed the Winter there.

265th Consulship.

§. 39. In the mean time *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *C. Flaminius* were chosen *Consuls* at *Rome* for the new Year, and they signalized the beginning of their Consulship by an Act of Justice, much commended by the Ancients. Two young *Patricians* of great Families had insulted the *Carthaginian* Ambassadors so far as to strike them; and upon a Complaint the Delinquents were deliver'd up and sent to *Carthage*. And now the *Consuls* were very desirous of being sent into *Greece* and *Asia*; but as these Countries were at present at Peace, the Senate insisted, that they should go to those Places where the Republick had yet Enemies to subdue, and obliged them both to march against the *Ligures*. *Rome* knew very well that her Troops in *Asia* had already breathed but too much of that delightful Air, and that they were softened by it. In order therefore to inure her *Legionaries* again to Discipline and Constancy under Fatigues, she was glad to have a War in a Country, where the Toils of it would be great, and Vigilance absolutely necessary. The *Consuls* obeyed, and by the Success they met with made all quiet between *Etruria* and the *Alpes*.

566.

§. 40. At length *Manlius* arrived from *Apollonia*, advanced to the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and there, as was usual, demanded a Triumph of the Senate assembled at the Temple of *Bellona*. But this Request met with Opposition even from some of the ten Commissioners, who had been sent into *Asia*. They objected, that he had not only undertaken his Expedition against the *Galatians* without the Orders of the Republick, but that he had carried on the War more like a Robber than a *Roman Consul*, and that his Victories were too easy to merit any Reward; they insisted also on his want of Conduct, in suffering the *Thracians* to rob him in his return home. *Manlius* pleaded his own Cause, he urged that the *Gauls* in *Asia* having assisted *Antiochus* were proper Objects of the Resentment of the *Romans*, mentioned the Battels he had won, and excused as well as he could his Disaster in *Thrace*. After a long Debate a Triumph was at last decreed him by a Majority of Votes.

§. 41, 42. And now by some strange turn in the Humours of the People, there appear'd an almost universal Spleen against the most illustrious Men in the Republick. Perhaps the *Romans* thought it a refined Policy to humble those in Times of Peace, whom they had exalted in Times of War. In Republican States, Precaution is often carried to Ingratitude and Injustice. To have done great Services is sometimes enough of it self to make a Man suspected. *Cato* had always been a secret Enemy to *Scipio Africanus*; and a Man of seeming Probity is a dangerous Adversary. So long as *Scipio* was considered at *Rome* as a necessary Person to the State, *Cato* would not venture to attack him; but the Republick was no sooner in a Condition to do without him, than he engag'd two *Tribunes of the People*, both *Petilius's*, to cite him to appear before the *Tribes*, and answer to a Charge of Misdemeanors. The *Tribunes* were the chief Managers of the Impeachment, and each chose his Article to expatiate upon to the People. One made it Matter of Accusation against him, That he had spent a whole

Scipio Africanus is accused before the Tribes.

Vid. p.

260, 261, 262, 263.

Winter



Year of Winter in Effeminacy and Pleasures at *Syracuse*, before he went into *Africa*. AN-  
 ROME other charg'd him with the Pillage of *Locri*, and the mad Violences of *Pleminius*  
 566. there; but these were only Introductions to the grand Accusation, which was,

*That he had receiv'd from Antiochus great Sums of Money to procure him an advantageous Peace.* Evidence was wanting, but the Managers endeavour'd to supply this Failure by Conjectures. The Number of his Accusers who spoke successively was so great, that the whole Day was spent in their Speeches; so that Sentence was postponed to twenty seven Days after. In the mean time the *Tribunes* moved in full Senate, that *Scipio* should be obliged to give an Account of the Spoils he had brought from *Asia*, and produce the Books in which he had set down the Sums he had receiv'd from *Antiochus*; and *The Fathers* complied with the Motion. *Scipio* had, on his first Appearance before the People, disdain'd to answer the Particulars of the Charge brought against him; he had only made his own Panegyrick by the Enumeration of his Exploits in *Spain*, without mentioning his *African* Expedition. And now when the Time came for determining the Affair, it happen'd to be the same Day of the Year on which he had obtained the famous Victory over *Hannibal* at *Zama*. He brought his Book of Accounts with him, and having only shewed it to the People from the *Rostra*, he, to their great Surprise, tore it in pieces before them. *On this Day*, said he, *Hannibal was conquer'd and Carthage subdued. Why then do you trifle it away in hearing idle Declamations? The Gods expect us at the Capitol. Follow me Romans! Let us go thither and jointly offer up our Vows and Thanksgivings. There entreat Jupiter, Juno and Minerva to grant you often Generals like me. If you have heaped Honours on my Head for seventeen Years past, I had deserved them by my Services.* Instantly the *Tribes* began to move, and the whole Assembly follow'd him, except the *Tribunes* themselves and their Domesticks. Even the *Apparitores* and other Officers, whose Business it was to attend the *Tribunes*, deserted them. A glorious Triumph for the Accused! However he was cited to appear a third time, and then he gave Way to the Storm and retired to his Country-House near *Liternum*, not far from *Naples*. The *Tribunes* proceeded, in order to condemn him as by Default. *Lucius Scipio* appear'd, and alledged that his Brother was sick; but this did not satisfy them; they would not believe it. But now *Tib. Gracchus*, one of their own Body, who had been always an avowed Enemy of the Accused, changed his Sentiments on a sudden, and declared that he would never suffer the Great *Scipio* to be condemn'd by Default. *Nay*, said he, *were he at Rome I would oppose his appearing to take his Trial. What! Shall a Hero, whom Gods and Men have conspired to advance to the highest Pitch of Glory, be exposed as a Criminal to the Hisses of an insolent Populace? Shall the Conqueror of Carthage appear at the Foot of our Tribunal to be reviled there? Did he drive four formidable Armies out of Spain? Did he force Syphax to wear our Chains? Did he force Hannibal to sue for a Peace? Did he oblige Antiochus to retire beyond Mount Taurus, only to fall a Sacrifice to the two Petilius's? Shall we pretend to triumph over a Man who has been honoured with so many Triumphs of the noblest Kind? Let him at least find a safe Retreat for his old Age in the Port which he has chosen for a Shelter.* This unexpected Declaration from an old Enemy of the *Scipio's* had a great Effect on the rest of the *Tribunes*. They were afraid that *Gracchus* would protest against their Measures; and therefore told the People, that they would consider more maturely of the Matter. The *Tribes* were dismiss'd, and *Scipio* continued untainted in his Retreat. Whether his Sickness were real or feign'd, it is probable that he died soon after this Affair in the forty eighth Year of his Age. He is said to have been so dissatisfy'd with the Cowardise of the Senate, the Iniquity of the People and the Ingratitude of both, that he desir'd his Wife *Æmilia*, at his Death, not to carry his Bones to *Rome*. She erected a *Mausoleum* for him at *Liternum*, and there placed his Statue with that of *Ennius* the Poet, who was probably his faithful Friend and Companion in his Retreat. *Scipio's* Solitude had not been uneasy to him. In time of Prosperity he often chose it for the sake of free Contemplation, and was the Author of that famous Saying, *I am never less alone than when I have no Company.* \* Vid. p. 264.  
 [The Character \* of this most accomplish'd Person the Republick ever produced is given at large.] §. 43, 44. But even the Death of the Great *Scipio* did not extinguish the Hatred of the implacable *Cato* to the *Cornelian* Family. Whilst *Africanus* was alive, he had contented himself with privately stirring up Enemies against the *Scipio's*; but the Eyes of the elder Brother were no sooner closed than he exclaimed openly against *Asiaticus*, the younger. He drew up a Petition to the People, and got it presented by the two *Petilius's*, *That the Tribes would order the Senate to direct an Enquiry concerning what Money had been receiv'd from Antiochus, and from the Cities in his Dominions.* This Petition was accepted, and a Decree pass'd pursuant to it, with an additional Clause, *That Enquiry should likewise be made after the Money receiv'd from Antiochus's Allies.* *Furius Purpureo* got this Clause added in order to include *Manlius* in the Process, who was supposed to have drawn great

*Scipio Africanus is arraign'd before the People.*



great Sums from the *Galatians*. To proceed in form, it was necessary to appoint a Commissioner to make these Perquisitions; and the Faction pitch'd upon the *Prætor Terentius Culeo*, whom the Great *Scipio* had formerly deliver'd out of Slavery in *Africk*, but who was nevertheless a secret Enemy to his Family. *Scipio Asiaticus* with his *Quæstor*, and one of his Lieutenants, were all three declared convicted of having receiv'd considerable Sums of *Antiochus* to procure for him a favourable Peace, and the *Prætor* condemn'd them to pay large Fines. The two latter gave Security, but *Asiaticus* still persisting that he had accounted with the Publick for all the Money he brought from *Asia*, and refusing to give Bail, the Officers were order'd to carry him to Prison. But then *Scipio Nasica* appealed from the *Prætor's* Sentence to the People. Whilst *Nasica* was pleading his Cousin's Cause, the *Prætor* order'd the House of the Accused to be search'd, and his Goods to be confiscated. The whole of his Effects was found not to be sufficient to pay the Fine; and *Nasica* being inform'd of this, took thence an Occasion to justify his Relation. But how much soever the People might be affected with his Discourse, the *Prætor's* Sentence, who was constituted Judge of the Affair in the first Instance, would undoubtedly have been confirmed and executed, if *Gracchus* the *Tribune* had not again dissented from all his Brethren. A Name, said he, so famous in *Asia* shall not be stigmatiz'd at *Rome*. Receive then, Romans, my protest, and don't give Foreigners Occasion to laugh at the Expence of a Republick which they esteem and fear. The Multitude immediately applauded what *Gracchus* said. Truth seized their Minds at once, and changed their Affections. Nevertheless *Scipio's* Effects remain'd confiscated, so that he became on a sudden the poorest of all the *Romans*. His Relations and Clients would by Presents have more than made up his Loss, but he would accept of nothing more than bare Necessaries. One thing was much for his Honour, that among all his Moveables there was nothing found which could be judged to have been brought from *Asia*. And indeed *Rome* afterwards recognized his Innocence and his Merit, sent him Ambassador to terminate some Differences between *Eumenes* and *Seleucus*, the Son of *Antiochus*, and took a Pleasure to enrich him, insomuch, that he was in a Condition to celebrate Games for his Victory at his own Expence. All the Shame of his Disgrace fell on the *Prætor Culeo* and the *Tribunes*. As for *Cato*, he only kindled the Fire and disappear'd when it burnt with most Fury; and the People being dispos'd to think his Intentions good, he lost little of his Reputation. The *Scipio's*, to express their Sense of the Obligations they were under to *Gracchus*, married *Cornelia*, the Daughter of the Great *Africanus*, to him. She was the Mother of that famous *Gracchus*, whose Virtues are so much extoll'd by the Ancients.

The Combats of the *Athletæ* introduced at *Rome*.

§. 45. The *Consular* Year was now near expiring; but this new Zeal of the *Romans* to humble their great Generals was not yet extinguish'd. When *L. Fulvius* the *Pro-Consul*, who had lately reduced *Ætolia*, demanded a Triumph, one of the *Tribunes*, at the Instigation of the *Consul Æmilius*, oppos'd it. However *Gracchus*, who seem'd to have been born to support Merit wherever he found it, stirr'd himself again on this Occasion, and at length perswaded his Collegue to desist from his Opposition; and then the Triumph was granted. Great Numbers of fine *Gresian* Statues were carried in the Procession; the Combats of *Athletæ* were now seen for the first time in the *Arena* at *Rome*; and the People were likewise entertain'd with the hunting of Lions and Panthers.

## B O O K XLII.

§. 1. THE Republick of *Rome* was now arrived to a high Pitch of Grandeur and Power; for though *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Hither* and *Further Spain*, with the Continent of *Italy*, were the only Countries she had reduced into Provinces; yet she was no less Mistress in *Greece*, *Asia* and *Africk*. It may truly be affirmed that all her Citizens were more revered and more powerful than Kings. The latter came to solicit the Votes of the meanest *Plebeians*, who, in their *Comitia*, determin'd the Fate of Monarchs, and dispos'd of Thrones as they pleas'd. Politeness and Magnificence were now likewise introduced into *Rome*, and the ancient *Roman* Rusticity was changed into a kind of Luxury. Of this however there was no Excess, nor scarce any thing of it to be seen in private Houses. But for the Temples, publick Places, *Circus's* and Theatres, the *Greek* Taste seem'd to be transported thither. Comedies were now brought to a great Perfection. *Plautus* already equall'd the *Aristophanes's* and *Eupolis's* of *Greece*: The *Latin* Tongue was soften'd, and Eloquence was something more than Flights and Enthusiasm. The Orators began to compose their Harangues with Art, to digest them into Order, and to consult Number and Harmony in the ranging of their Words. Nevertheless the Happiness of the

*Romans*



Year of *Romans* was not yet complete; the settled Tranquillity necessary to enjoy the De-  
*ROME* lights which the whole World procured them, was wanting. The Republick had  
 567. still two troublesome Wars to maintain; one in *Liguria*, and another with the re-

volted *Spaniards*. Providence seems to have left the *Romans* these laborious Tasks on purpose to keep their Virtue in Exercise. Since they had breathed *Asiatick* Air it was visible that the Contagion of the Country had affected their Manners. The Love of Idleness had got the better of that martial Ardour which made them formerly prefer Camps to the City. *Rome* had now new Charms; it was a delightful Abode. The Inhabitants of *Latium* came from all Parts to settle there, and usurped the Privileges of old *Citizens*. The City was so much over-stock'd with *Latins* that it was found necessary to drive out twelve thousand of them. In short, the Bravery of the *Romans* was in Danger of sinking into Softness and Effeminacy; but the Senate provided against it by employing them in rugged unpleasant Countries, and in difficult Expeditions against the *Spaniards* and *Ligures*, during the whole time between the War in *Syria* and the second War with *Macedon*.

§. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. The Consulship of *Sp. Postumius Albinus* and *Q. Marcius Philippus* 266th Con-  
 was spent in making Preparations to support the Authority of the Republick in *Spain* and *Liguria*, and in suppressing and punishing a monstrous Society of De-  
 bauchees which had been form'd at *Rome* under the Name of *Bacchanals*. Their ex-  
 execrable Ceremonies and flagitious Practices resembled those of the Children of  
 568. *Ammon* in the *Valley of Tophet*. *Rome*.

§. 7, 8. In the Beginning of the following Consulship of *App. Claudius Pulcher* and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* three Commissioners were sent into *Greece* to termi-  
 nate some Disputes between the King of *Macedon* and the *Grecian* Republicks. 273.

*Philip* had been allowed by the Consul *Acilius* to conquer those Places in *Thessaly* which were possessed by the *Ætolians*; but this did not satisfy him. The *Thessalians*, and particularly those of *Perrhæbia*, complain'd to the Senate, that he had seized and detained several Cities which belonged to them. *Philip* had likewise made himself Master of many Towns in *Thrace*, and had transplanted great Numbers of the Inhabitants into *Macedon*, in order to re-people it. In short, the *Macedonian* was laying a Foundation for renewing the War one Day with *Rome* herself. The Senate did not penetrate to the Bottom of his Designs; but yet they thought it necessary to humble him. The Commissioners chose the *Vale of Tempe* for the Place where the contending Parties should meet, and the King of *Macedon* had the Mor-

tification to be summoned to appear there before three Citizens of *Rome*. The Seats in the Court of Judgment were so disposed, that the Commissioners sat uppermost, as Judges, the Accusers next, and *Philip* in the lowest, as a Criminal. The *Thessalians* expressed themselves with a good deal of Bitterness against the King, concerning their Cities which he had usurp'd, and they concluded with these Words; *Philip is like a Horse that is not broke, and that cannot be govern'd without a strong Rein*. The *Macedonian* was highly exasperated; and when he had given some slight Answer to the Charge against him, he thus went on, *These Slaves who have newly got free from their Chains, are making themselves amends for the Constraint they have been long under, and now let loose their Tongues in Invektives against their Master. But the Sun they insult is not yet set*. These Words, which had an Air of Threatening, offended the *Romans*, and they pronounced the following Decree: *Our Will and Pleasure is, That all the Macedonian Garrisons evacuate the Places they possess in Thessaly, Perrhæbia, and Athamania; and that the Kingdom of Macedon be reduced to its ancient Limits*.

§. 9. Then the Commissioners removed to *Thessalonica*, to determine the Differences between *Philip* and the King of *Pergamus*, concerning *Ænos* and *Maronea*, two Cities of *Thrace*, of which the former was in Possession. The Deputies of *Eumenes* urged that these Places belong'd to their Master, as being dependent on *Lysimachia* and the *Chersonesus*, which the ten Commissioners, formerly sent into *Greece* and *Asia*, had assigned him. *Philip*, on the other hand, alledged that there was no Mention made of these Places in the Decree cited, and that they had formerly belong'd to *Macedon*; and behaving himself now in a more submissive Manner than before, the Judges pass'd a more moderate Sentence than the former. They only order'd him to withdraw his Garrisons out of them, and left the Question to be determined by the Senate.

§. 10. *Rome* was now wholly attentive to the Wars in *Spain* and *Liguria*. The new *Prætors* for *Spain*, *Quintius* and *Calpurnius*, were defeated, and lost five thousand Men in their first Battel with the *Lusitanians*; but in a second they gained a complete Victory, kill'd and took thirty thousand of the Enemy, and quieted the Country for some time. 287.

§. 11, 12. The Consuls, who both march'd against the *Ligures*, made likewise a successful Campaign; after which they return'd to *Rome*, to hold the *Comitia* for the Grand Elections. *P. Claudius Pulcher* and *L. Porcius Licinus* were chosen Chief Magistrates for the new Year. In the first Month of their Consulship, when all was pretty quiet Abroad, there arose at Home a strange and



uncommon Spirit of Contention for Offices in the Republick. One of the new Year of  
*Prætors* for the City happening to die immediately after his Post had been determin- ROME  
 ed by Lot, the Strife was so great in the Election of a Successor, that the Senate, 569.  
 to put an End to it, was obliged to decree that *Rome* should have but one *Prætor*  
 this Year.

§. 13. And when the *Censors* came to be chosen the Struggle was  
*Cato chosen* yet more violent. At length, *Cato* and *L. Valerius Flaccus* carried the Majority from  
*Censor. His* *Scipio Asiaticus* and other very considerable Men. Indeed *Cato's* Character gave him  
*Character* a Superiority over all his Competitors. There was scarce any Talent requisite for  
*and Conduct.* publick or private Life, which he had not received from Nature, or had acquired.

He was a great Soldier, an able Statesman, an eloquent Orator, a learned Historian,  
 and very knowing in rural Affairs: And yet with all these Accomplishments, he had  
 great Defects. He was extravagantly severe to other Men; and under Pretence of  
 discountenancing Vice, insulted the Vicious. His Reproaches were generally bitter  
 and poignant, and sometimes slanderous. He was jealous and ambitious to a high  
 Degree, carried his Hatred to Excess, and his ill-grounded Prejudices against those  
 he disliked, to Obstinacy. As a private Person he lived frugally, but it was only to  
 lay up Money; and his seeming Equity did not hinder him from taking Usury. In  
 publick he was eternally extolling Continnence; in private he made a beautiful Slave  
 minister to his Pleasures. However, as his Merit and Virtues were known, and his  
 Vices conceal'd, he acquired the Esteem of the Multitude, so that, though four and  
 forty times accused before the People, he was always acquitted.

§. 14. The *Patricians* trembled when they saw *Cato* in this eminent Post. They  
 fully expected that his *Censorship* would be a severe one, and they were not mistaken.  
 His Collegue was much of his own Temper, for which Reason *Cato* had promoted  
 his Election. They presently drew up a List of the Senators, and degraded seven  
 of that illustrious Body. Among the rest was *Quintius* the Brother of *Flaminius*.  
 The Motive indeed was just. *Quintius*, when he commanded in *Cisalpine Gaul*,  
 had murder'd with his own Hand a *Boian* Nobleman, who came to him for Pro-  
 tection; and this only to gratify the Curiosity of a young *Carthaginian* he was fond  
 of; the infamous Pathick had reproach'd the General for bringing him away from  
*Rome* just when there was going to be a Fight of Gladiators, and express'd a long-  
 ing Desire to see some Body die a violent Death. But the rigid *Censor* struck *Man-*  
*lius's* Name out of the List of *Conscrip't Fathers* for a very light Cause. His only  
 Accusation against this Senator was, that he had slightly saluted his Wife, in the Pre-  
 sence of his Daughter.

§. 15. *Scipio Asiaticus*, since his Disgrace, had been  
 made a *Roman Knight*, but now *Cato*, out of an inveterate Hatred to that Family,  
 took away his Horse. After this, his Severity fell upon Multitudes of People who  
 gloried in their Riches. Hitherto no Account had been taken by former *Censors* of  
 Moveables, Jewels, &c. in the Estimate of a Man's Wealth, but *Cato* laid a heavy  
 Tax upon the Equipage, Finery and Superfluities both of Men and Women. In  
 short, by this and some other popular Acts, he made himself so acceptable to the  
 People, that they erected a Statue to him in the Temple of *Health*. *Cato* had often  
 affected to despise these Sorts of Honours, but his real Sentiments were visible by  
 the Inscription he ordered to be put on the Pedestal of the Statue. TO CATO THE  
 CENSOR, FOR HAVING REFORMED THE DISCIPLINE OF THE REPUBLICK BY PRU-  
 DENT REGULATIONS. There was no Mention of his Victories; others had con-  
 quered as well as he: He would let it be seen that he valued himself more for  
 having triumphed over the Vices of his Countrymen, than for any Victories over  
 foreign Nations.

§. 16. *Cato*, after the Expiration of his *Censorship*, spent the  
 rest of his Days in a private Life; his Wife, who was of great Quality, very ex-  
 pensive, and a Scold, found Exercise enough for his Philosophy. He made himself  
 his Son's Preceptor, and would not suffer him to be taught the Learning of the  
*Greeks*. He thought the only Study of a *Roman* should be how to conquer, and  
 how to govern conquered Nations. As to his Domesticks and the Expences of his  
 House, he was a rigorous Œconomist; but he liked to have his Servants lie long in  
 Bed; he said, he had found by Experience that great Sleepers were generally the  
 most submissive, and least intriguing. He kept up little Divisions among his Slaves,  
 that he might know all their Plots, and guard against them. He traded chiefly in  
 Slaves, but made Money of every thing, and often said to his Son, that a Man was  
 more contemptible than a Woman, till he had doubled his Revenue. To revenge  
 himself of his Son and Daughter-in-law, for treating contemptuously the beautiful  
 Slave with whom he was familiar, he married a second time in his old Age:  
 When on this Occasion his Son ask'd him, *By what Act of Disrespect he had incur-*  
*red his Displeasure?* the old Man replied, *I have no manner of Complaint to make*  
*against you; your Conduct is so prudent that I am resolved to give you some Brothers*  
*like you.*

§. 17, 18, 19. By some late Successes of the *Prætors* in *Spain*, and of the *Consuls*  
 in *Cisalpine Gaul*, every thing being now quiet in those Countries, the *Romans* turn'd  
 all



Year of all their Attention to Greece, Macedon and Asia. New Commissioners were sent from ROME to take Cognizance of some Differences which Philip had with the Thessalians

569. and the King of Pergamus, and to terminate the Disputes between the Lacedæmonians and Achæians.

§. 20. In the mean time a new War broke out in Asia, between Eumenes and Prusias King of Bythia. Hannibal was in the Counsels of the latter, commanded his Fleet, and gained a Victory over the Pergamenian, by an unheard of Stratagem. He caused some earthen Bottles fill'd with Asps, Vipers, and other Snakes, to be thrown into Eumenes's Ship, which occasioned such a Disorder and Fright among the Seamen that they row'd away with the King in all Haste to the first Port.

570. §. 21. And now, when the Republick had rais'd Q. Fabius Labeo and M. Claudius Marcellus to the Consulship, Ambassadors came to Rome from several Parts of the

Levant. Among these was Demetrius the Son of the King of Macedon. This young Prince, when he was formerly a Hostage at Rome, had by his amiable Qualities gained himself much Esteem and many Friends. His Father therefore thought him the best Agent he could chuse to treat with the Republick, at a time when some late Violences in his Conduct needed an Excuse. Demetrius's Cause was bad, and he had not the Talent of Eloquence, but the Affection of the Senate for him supplied the Want of it. They answered, *That for his sake they would overlook his Father's past Disobedience, but they would have Philip remember, that he was wholly indebted to Demetrius for this Indulgence.* Their Design in making such a Declaration was to gain the young Prince Credit with his Father. They wished that Demetrius might succeed to the Throne of Macedon, instead of Perseus the elder Brother. This latter is said to have been the Son of a Dancing-woman or Sempstress of Argos, and that the Queen imposed him upon the King as her own Son. Be that as it will, Perseus was Philip's Favourite, and the Partiality of the Romans for Demetrius served only to excite the King's Jealousy of him, which in the End proved fatal to the unfortunate Youth.

§. 22. The last Commissioners sent into Greece and Macedon not having entirely quieted the Commotions in those Countries, Q. Marcius was now dispatch'd thither for that Purpose, whilst Flamininus, Scipio Asiaticus and Scipio Nasica set out for the Court of King Prusias, to adjust the Differences between him and King Eumenes. Marcius obliged Philip to deliver up the Cities he possessed in Thrace and Thessaly; and as to Lacedæmon, he determined that for the future it should always be deemed a Part of the Achæian Body. While the Roman Commissioner was in Greece, one Dinocrates by his Intrigues seduced the maritime City of Messene from its Obedience to the Achæans. Philopæmen, now seventy Years old, hastened with his Friend Lycortas, and a small Number of the Youth of Megalopolis, to punish the Revolt, but falling into an Ambuscade laid for him by the Rebels, he was overpower'd and made Prisoner. The Commons of Messene were for releasing him, and getting favourable Terms from the Achæans in Exchange for his Liberty. But Dinocrates and the Senate being the most guilty, and dreading the Effects of his Resentments, determined he should die. Philopæmen was lying wounded and fatigued upon his Cloke in the Vault where they had put him, when a Man enter'd with a Cup in his Hand. The brave Achæan guess'd his Errand, and striving to sit up, said to him with great Composure, *Pray tell me whether Lycortas and the Megalopolitan Youth be got into a Place of Safety? Not one of them is killed,* answer'd the Executioner; *It is enough,* replied Philopæmen; *I die content.* And then cheerfully taking the Cup of Poison, drank it off. Thus died the last of the Grecian Heroes, who in Bravery, military Skill and Virtue equalled the greatest Men in his own Country, and was not inferior to the boasted Heroes of Rome. His only Fault was that he carried his Hatred and Resentment to Excess; but he was as constant in Friendship, as he was implacable in Enmity.

§. 23. His Friend and Imitator Lycortas (the Father of the famous Polybius) very soon revenged his Death. He entered the Messenian Territory, and destroy'd every thing with Fire and Sword; Messene opened her Gates to him, Dinocrates kill'd himself, and the rest of the Assassins were stoned at the Tomb of the murder'd Hero.

§. 24. Whilst Marcius was attending the Obsequies of Philopæmen in Peloponnesus, Flamininus in Bithynia was endeavouring to destroy Hannibal. It is said that King Prusias express'd a mighty Unwillingness to sacrifice this Great General to the Romans in his old Age, that he urged against it the Laws of Hospitality, and his inevitably drawing upon himself the Reproaches of all future Ages; but that Flamininus threatened and was obeyed. Since then, said the King, *I cannot possibly secure a Retreat in my Dominions for this venerable old Man, do you yourself execute the Scheme your Hatred dictates.* Upon which Flamininus thought himself at Liberty to make use of the royal Guards to go and invest the Carthaginian in the Castle of Libyssa, whither the King had allowed him to retire. As soon as Troops appeared round the House, a Slave ran to inform his Master of it; Hannibal had Recourse to some subterraneous Passages which he had formerly made for an Escape in case of Danger. Finding these were all blocked,



- beset, he did not hesitate between Death and Captivity. *Let us then deliver Rome, Year of*  
*said he, from her incessant Disquietudes, since she has not Patience to suffer an old Man ROME*  
*to end his Days in Peace. Nevertheless thy Victory, Flaminius, will not do thee 570.*  
*much Honour. Thou wouldst not have conquered Hannibal, if he had not been disarmed*  
*and surprized by Treachery. At least I have this Pleasure before I die, that I see Rome*  
*degenerated from her pristine Virtue. The Romans formerly sent back to Pyrrhus the*  
*Physician who treacherously offer'd to poison him. But now they force a King to vio-*  
*late the Laws of Hospitality, in order to kill Hannibal in a base manner. This said,*  
*he either drank a poisonous Draught, or, as some say, took a subtle Poison which he*  
*always carried in his Ring against such an Accident; and thus died the Hero who*  
*was the Terror of the Romans to his last Breath. To say of him, That Rome did*  
*not scruple even a cowardly Action to get rid of him, is to complete his Panegyrick.*
- \* *Vide p.* 306. [*His Character is given.\**]
- 270th Con-  
sulship. §. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29. The following Year, when *L. Æmilius Paulus* and *Cn. Bæ-* 571.  
*bilius Tamphilus* were *Consuls*, proved barren of great Events. The King of *Mace-*  
*don* turn'd his Arms against a Part of *Thrace* where the *Romans* had no Concern;  
 but tho' he thus conceal'd his Resentment, and did not declare openly against the  
 Republick, it was very visible by the Steps he took to augment his Forces, that  
 he labour'd to put himself once more into a Condition to cope with her. His Jeal-  
 ousy of his Son *Demetrius* daily increased; he could not bear his Attachment to  
 the *Romans*, nor the Design which he believed they had to place him on the Throne,  
 to the Prejudice of *Perses*. The latter accused his Brother of an Intention to assas-  
 sinate him. *Philip* call'd in two of his Courtiers to assist him, and then heard his  
 Sons Pleadings\*, the Charge of the one, and the Defence of the other, but suspended  
 his Sentence. §. 30, 31, 32. The next Year, during the *Consulship* of *P. Cornelius* 572.  
*Cethegus* and *M. Bæbilius Tamphilus*, *Demetrius* was poisoned by his Father's Order.  
 The young Prince being mortally uneasy under the Ill-will of his Father and Brother,  
 had laid a Design of making his Escape to *Rome*. One *Didas*, whom he thought his  
 Friend, but who had been placed as a Spy about him, betray'd him. *Perses* likewise  
 engaged some Emissaries, whom his Father had sent to *Rome* to discover what Cor-  
 respondence his younger Son kept there, to forge a Letter, as from *Flaminius* to  
*Demetrius*, containing Words to this Effect: *If your Desire of a Crown has carried*  
*you to make Attempts against your own Blood; don't flatter yourself that I will ever en-*  
*ter so far into your Interest as to sacrifice Honour and Honesty to it. I hate the impi-*  
*ous Projects of ambitious Minds. They had counterfeited the Hand and Seal of Fla-*  
*minius, they pretended to have intercepted the Letter, the King was imposed up-*  
*on by the Artifice, and the young Prince fell a Sacrifice to his Brother's Jealousy.*  
 §. 33, 34, 35. This Year was also remarkable for considerable Victories obtain'd by  
 the *Roman* Armies in *Spain* and in *Liguria*, and for suppressing a Revolt in *Sardinia*.  
 §. 36. And whilst the *Roman* Generals were supporting the Glory of the Republick  
 in those Places, the People and Senate of *Rome* made it their Business to put a Stop  
 to immoderate Expence in Feasts and Entertainments, to reform Abuses, and suppress  
 Luxury. At the Motion of one *Orcius*, a *Tribune of the Commons*, it was enacted,  
 that no Man should spend more than one hundred *Asses* of Brass (about six Shillings  
 and five Pence) at an Entertainment; and the Number of Guests was likewise limited.  
 These Laws shew indeed the Propensity of the *Romans* to Intemperance, but at the  
 same time the Zeal of the Republick to restrain it. §. 37. In the succeeding  
 272d Con-  
sulship. *Consulship* of *A. Postumius Albinus* and *C. Calpurnius Piso* the Plague raged in 573.  
*Italy*. *Calpurnius* was thought to be carried off by it; but it appeared after-  
 wards that he had been poisoned by his Wife *Hostilia*, in order to make room  
 for *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, her Son by a former Husband, to succeed him. *Fulvius*  
 had oppos'd his Father-in-law in the last Election, and was now chosen in his  
 Place, yet he did not suffer in his Character on account of *Calpurnia's* Death,  
 though his Mother was convicted and condemn'd. §. 38, 39, 40. The *Roman*  
 Arms prosper'd this Year in *Spain* and *Liguria*. *Gentius*, one of the Kings of *Illy-*  
*ricum*, who had countenanc'd some Piracies in the *Adriatick*, made his Submissions  
 to the Senate and was pardon'd. In this same Year also was publish'd the famous  
 273d Con-  
sulship. *Plebiscitum*, call'd *The Villian Law*, from *Villius Tapulus*, who got it pass'd in the  
*Comitia*. It enacted, That no Man should be *Quæstor* before he was one and thirty  
 Years of Age; *Curule Ædile* before thirty seven; *Prætor* before forty; *Consul* be-  
 fore forty three; and this Law continued in force till the Fall of the Republick.  
 §. 41, 42, 43, 44, 45. And now for the first Instance of the kind, two Brothers  
 took Possession of the *Fasces* together, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* (who was lately come  
 from *Spain* and had triumph'd for his Victories there) and *L. Manlius Acidinus Ful-* 574.  
*vianus*. The latter was call'd *Manlius*, because he had been adopted into the *Man-*  
*thens chosen* *lian* Family. *Fulvius* made a successful Campaign against the *Ligures*; while the  
 to the Con- *Prætors* in *Spain* obtain'd several Victories there. *Sempronius*, who commanded  
 sulate toge- against the *Celtiberians*, met with a remarkable Instance of the Frankness of those  
 ther. Spaniards



Year of *Spaniards*. When he came to besiege one of their Towns call'd *Certima*, the In- *A remark-*  
*ROME* habitants sent a Deputation to him with this Proposal. *If, said they, we were in able In-*  
 574. *a Condition to resist you, we would sustain a Siege with Constancy. Allow us therefore stance of the*  
*to go and seek for Succours among our Countrymen who are encamp'd in your Neighbour- frank Tem-*  
*hood, and then you may get some Honour by conquering us.* *Sempronius* was surprized per of the  
 at the Demand, but consented to it. The Deputies went strait to the *Celtiberian* *Spaniards*.  
 Camp, and return'd with ten Envoys from thence. It was just in the Heat of the  
 Day when they arrived, and they desired some Drink. Accordingly some Drink  
 was given them, and when they had quench'd their Thirst, the oldest of the Com-  
 pany address'd himself thus to the *Praetor*: *We are curious to know whether your*  
*Forces are equal to the Greatness of your Enterprizes. You shall be convinced of it im-*  
*mediately,* replied the *Consul*; and he straitway order'd the Troops to arm and pass  
 in review before him in Presence of the Deputies. This Sight determined the *Celti-*  
*berians* to continue unactive, and the Town was forced to surrender.

§. 46, 47. Thus every thing succeeded in *Spain* as well as the Republick could *The Death*  
 desire; but in *Greece* a Storm was gathering, which threaten'd a speedy War. *Phi- of Philip*  
*lip* was dead. He had never enjoy'd a happy Day since the Murder of *Demetrius*; *King of*  
 and to add to his Affliction for that Loss, his surviving Son, having got rid of his *Macedon*.  
 Rival, shook off all Respect for his Father: He usurped the Office and Authority  
 of King; and the *Macedonians*, who made their chief court to him, gave him the  
 Title too. *Philip* was in a manner quite deserted; he had but one faithful Friend  
 and inseparable Courtier left, which was *Antigonus*, the Nephew of that *Antigonus*,  
 who had been his Tutor. Nor was this Man's Attachment to him free from self-  
 interested Views. He was related to the Kings of *Macedon*, and after *Perses*, had a  
 better Right than any Man to the Throne. In order to increase the King's Aver-  
 sion to *Perses*, and promote the Designs of his own Ambition, he found Means to  
 convince *Philip* of the Cheat which had been practis'd to take away the Life of  
*Demetrius*. This completed the King's Hatred to *Perses*, and he resolv'd to make  
*Antigonus* his Successor. But while he was taking Measures for this Purpose, he  
 died. *Perses* ascended the Throne, and *Antigonus* falling into his Hands was put to  
 Death. The new King thought it for his present Interest to send an Embassy to  
*Rome* to notify to the Republick his Accession, desire her Friendship, and entreat  
 her to give him the Title of King; and though the Senate believed these first Steps  
 of the *Macedonian* to be only feign'd Submissions, they would not yet declare  
 against him. *Philip* before his Death had made great Preparations for the War,  
 which to his last Breath he intended to undertake against the *Romans*. In his Ar-  
 senals were found Arms for sixty thousand Men, in his Magazines eight hundred  
 thousand Measures of Wheat, and in his Coffers Money enough to pay ten thou-  
 sand foreign Mercenaries for ten Years. All these Riches fell into the Hands of a  
 Successor, whose Crimes made him unworthy to reign, and who dishonour'd the  
 Throne by numberless Iniquities.

575. §. 48, 49, 50. In *Italy*, *M. Junius Brutus*, and *A. Manlius Vulso* being chosen 274th Con-  
*Consuls* for the new Year, the latter, without any Orders from the People or Se-  
 nate, march'd his *Legions* against the *Illyricans* and *Istrians* commanded by *Gentius* 274th Con-  
 their King. *Manlius* was surpriz'd in his Camp and driven out of it; but he soon after  
 recover'd it again and made a great Slaughter of the Enemy who were got drunk with  
 the good Cheer they found in it. §. 51, 52. This War was finish'd in the  
 576. succeeding *Consulship* of *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*. *Clau-* 275th Con-  
*dius* by taking three Towns; *Nesattium*, *Mutula* and *Faveria*, put an end to it. To  
 reduce the first he turn'd the Course of the River *Arsia*, which supply'd the City  
 with Water: A sort of Enterprize entirely new to the *Romans*. As for *Sempronius*,  
 he gained great Glory by several Victories over the revolted *Coriscans* and *Sar-*  
*dinians*.

## B O O K XLIII.

§. 1. *C* *Claudius* having subdued *Istria* with wonderful Rapidity, led his Forces into  
 577. *Liguria*, gain'd a considerable Victory there, and then return'd to *Rome*  
 to preside at the Elections. §. 2. The *Consuls* chosen were *Cn. Cornelius Scipio* 276th Con-  
*Hispalus*, and *Q. Petillius Spurius*. The former dying soon after of an Apoplec-  
 tick Fit, as he was coming from a religious Ceremony, *C. Valerius Laevinus* was  
 elected in his stead. §. 3. *Claudius*, who now acted in *Liguria* as *Pro-Consul*,  
 gain'd new Advantages there, and his Success was such, that it rais'd the Jealousy of  
*Petillius*, who therefore hasten'd to the Camp, and took upon him the Command  
 of the Army. §. 4. But this *Consul* lost his Life in pursuing an Enterprize  
 which his Predecessor had begun. He was run through with a Javelin at the Head  
 1 of



- of his Men, whom, after a Repulse, he was bravely leading on to renew their At- Year of  
tack, and force the *Ligures* in their Entrenchments. *Lævinus* reveng'd his Death, ROME  
and obtain'd a Triumph for his Exploits. §. 5. During this Campaign the 577.
- Antiochus *Antiochus*, who had been a Hostage at *Rome* ever since the Peace made with their  
Epiphanes Father *Antiochus the Great*. This, after some Debate, was agreed to; but before  
succeeds Se- *Antiochus* reach'd *Syria* *Seleucus* was assassinated and his Throne possess'd by that  
leucus King very *Heliodorus* whom he had formerly sent to plunder the Temple of *Jerusalem*.  
of *Syria*. However, by the Assistance of *Eumenes*, *Antiochus* drove out the Usurper, and took  
277th Con- his Place. §. 6. The Events of the Year, when *P. Mucius Scaevola* and 578.  
sulship. *M. Æmilius Lepidus* were *Consuls*, are not clearly related by the Historians.  
278th Con- However, these two Generals merited Triumphs for their Exploits. The Plague 579.  
sulship. still raged in *Italy*. §. 7, 8, 9, 10. The following Year, when *Sp. Postumius*  
*Albinus* and *Q. Mucius Scaevola* possess'd the *Fasces*, was barren of military Exploits, ex-  
cepting a Victory over the *Celtiberians* in *Spain*. The Republick prolong'd the  
War with the *Ligures*, only to employ her Troops and keep them in exercise, till  
there should be Occasion to march them against *Perfes*. [A Son of *Scipio Africa-*  
*nus* stood Candidate for the *Prætorship* this Year, and notwithstanding his high  
Birth, would have lost it, if his Opponent *Cicereius*, who had been his Father's  
Client and Secretary, had not, out of Respect for the Family, desisted from his  
Opposition, and even us'd his Interest for him. Nay, after he was chosen, and  
that it fell to his Lot to be *Prætor Peregrinus*, his Relations persuaded him to renounce  
the Exercise of that Office as utterly unfit for it; nor indeed did he sit to pronounce one  
Decree. They prevail'd with him likewise to bear no longer upon the Ring, which  
served him for a Seal, the Head of his Father, whom he disgraced by his Incapacity,  
and the *Censors*, even during his *Prætorship*, struck his Name out of the List of  
the Senators.] The present *Censorship* was remarkable for many great and useful  
Works, and among the rest for the paving of the Streets of *Rome*, which had never  
been done since the building of the City.
- Perfes King* §. 11. But now Accounts came to *Rome* from all Parts that *Perfes* was soliciting  
of *Macedon* the Nations of *Asia*, *Greece* and *Africa* to declare against the Republick. Under  
solicits Al- Pretence of discharging some Vow at the Temple of *Delphi*, he crossed Mount  
liances in Oeta and surprized the *Greeks* with his sudden Appearance among them. But he  
Greece and marched on very peaceably without doing any one Act of Oppression, and his Dis-  
Asia. course was full of Humanity. He staid but three Days at *Delphi*, and then return-  
ing through *Phthiotis* and *Theffaly* wrote circular Letters to all the free Cities there  
to court their Friendship. His greatest Difficulty was how to gain the *Athenians*  
and *Acheans*. To this end he began his Endeavours towards a Reconciliation, by  
sending them back all their Slaves who had taken Refuge in his Dominions.  
*Xenarchus*, who was at this time the Head of the *Acheans*, inclined to favour the  
King, and advis'd \* the Diet to cultivate a Friendship with him; but *Callicrates*, a  
very eloquent Man, and an able Politician, declared against receiving any Presents  
from the *Macedonian*. His Aim, said he, is evidently to draw you and all *Greece*  
into a War against *Rome*. Let us continue to live utter Strangers to *Macedon*, and  
confirm the Decree which forbids all Commerce with her. A Point of Honour suspend-  
ed the Determination of the Diet; *Perfes* had only sent a Letter and not an Em-  
bassy, and this was thought an Affront. The King, to repair his Fault, sent Am-  
bassadors to the next Diet which was held at *Megalopolis*, but then the Advocates  
for *Rome* oppos'd their Reception, and prevail'd. §. 13, 14. *L. Postumius* 580.  
279th Con- *Albinus* and *M. Popillius Lænas* being chosen *Consuls* for the new Year, the latter  
sulship. march'd against the *Statelliates*, a People of *Liguria*, kill'd ten thousand of them,  
and took seventeen thousand Prisoners. The latter had surrendred without making  
Conditions, and the *Consul* sold them for Slaves. But this Proceeding was resented  
by the Senate; for the *Ligures* had not been the Aggressors, they had only acted on  
the defensive, and The Fathers thought it a Reflection on the Republick, to have  
Prisoners, in these Circumstances, so treated. They pass'd a Decree therefore, to  
oblige *Popillius* to restore the Money and set the *Ligurians* free. At this rate, said  
they, what Nation will ever submit to us? and they concluded their Decree with  
these Words, Victory is glorious when it is confined to the subduing of untractable En-  
emies; but it becomes shameful, when it is made use of to oppress the Unfortunate.  
§. 15. But *Rome* had her Eyes chiefly fix'd on *Macedon*. Fresh Accounts came  
daily of the Steps *Perfes* was taking in order to a Rupture. The Republick had  
frequently sent Ambassadors to him, but they could hardly obtain an Audience.  
And now in order to throw all the Blame of a War upon him, she sent again five  
Ambassadors to *Macedon*, with Orders to go from thence and renew the old Alli-  
ance with the present King of *Egypt*. §. 16. *Antiochus Epiphanes* King of  
*Syria* was in effect in Possession of the Throne of *Egypt*; he had seiz'd it under Pre-  
tence



Year of tence of restoring it to its rightful Owner, *Ptolomy Philometor*, whom his Mother *The Usur-*  
*ROME Cleopatra* (after the Death of her Husband *Ptolomy Epiphanes*) had excluded from it, *passions of*  
 580. through a partial Fondness for her younger Son *Alexander* (call'd sometimes by the *Antiochus*  
*Historians Ptolomy Physcon*). *Antiochus* was the Uncle of the two young Princes, *Epiphanes*,  
 and on that Account claimed the Guardianship of them. The *Egyptians*, knowing  
 his wicked Ambition, oppos'd his Pretensions, but he defeated them in a pitch'd  
 Battel, and made himself Regent of the Kingdom. He outwardly carels'd the elder  
 of his Nephews, and kept the younger Prisoner at *Alexandria*, which he sack'd and  
 plunder'd, as well as many other Cities. To excuse these Violences at *Rome*, he  
 dispatch'd an Embassy thither, immediately upon his return to *Syria*. He paid the  
 Republick all that remain'd due to her by the Treaty of Peace with his Father,  
 and made her several rich Presents. *Rome* did not give herself the Trouble to enquire  
 how he came by so much Wealth, but readily, at his Request, renew'd the old  
 Alliance with *Syria*. This *Antiochus* was that detestable Prince mention'd by the  
 Prophet *Daniel*.

581. §. 17. The Historians are silent as to the Reason which made the *Romans* chuse  
 now, for the first time, two *Plebeians* to the *Consulate*, *P. Acilius Ligus* and *C. Po-*  
*pillius Lenas*. It seems probable, that so great a Number of *Plebeians* having at  
 different times arriv'd to the highest Dignities, there was little Difference made at  
 present between the Families of the most ancient Nobility, and those which had  
 been more lately ennobled by Offices. At least it is certain, that from this time to  
 the *Dictatorship* of *Julius Cesar*, nothing was more common than to see two *Plebeians*  
 chosen *Consuls* together. §. 18. And now *Eumenes*, King of *Pergamus*, made  
 a Voyage to *Rome*, out of pure Zeal to give the *Romans* an \* Account of the Pro-  
 gress of *Perfes*, the Alliances he had made, and his Preparations for a War. His  
 Discourse made a strong Impression on the Senators; it cleared up all the Suspici-  
 ons which their own Ambassadors and those of the Greek Republicks had given  
 them of *Perfes*'s Conduct. Nevertheless they kept the Intelligence they had re-  
 ceiv'd from *Eumenes* an inviolable Secret, and would determine nothing till they  
 had first heard the *Macedonian* Ambassadors. *Harpalus* was at the Head of them;  
 he endeavour'd to cover his Master's Proceedings with various Pretences, but find-  
 ing that the Senate saw through the Disguise, and would not be impos'd upon,  
 he at length grew out of Temper. *Rome*, said he, *will not believe me, when I as-*  
*sure her: that Perfes has neither done nor designed to do any thing in Violation of the*  
*Treaties with her. The Republick, I see, is for War. We accept the Challenge. Hea-*  
*ven and our Arms will determine the Dispute.* §. 19. *Harpalus*, at his Return,  
 told his Master that the *Romans* had not indeed declared War, nor order'd any Pre-  
 parations for it; but that they were so exasperated that they could not long delay  
 it. This News did not terrify *Perfes*; and first he resolv'd to be reveng'd on the  
 King of *Pergamus*. It was *Eumenes*, said he, *that informed the Republick of the*  
*Commotions I was raising in Greece in order to my invading Italy.* *Perfes* knew the  
 King of *Pergamus* seldom failed of going at certain times to *Delphi* to pay his Ho-  
 mage to the God worship'd there. He sent therefore four Assassins thither, and  
 recommended them to a Woman of Condition named *Praxo*, with whom he him-  
 self us'd to lodge. There was no passing from the Port of *Delphi* call'd *Cirrha* to  
 the City and Temple but through a hollow Way, which was so narrow that two  
 Men could not walk a-breast in it. An old Wall of a ruin'd House hung over this  
 hollow Way, and behind the Wall was a great Heap of Rubbish: Here the As-  
 sassins took their Stand, and having furnish'd themselves with great Stones, let them  
 fall on the King's Head as he pass'd, knocked him down, and, as they imagin'd,  
 left him dead. The King was stunn'd, but coming soon after to himself was put  
 on board his Galley, convey'd to *Corinth*, and from thence to *Aegina* where he was  
 cured.

§. 20. The Rumour of *Eumenes*'s Death was yet fresh at *Rome*,  
 when *Valerius*, who had been sent into *Greece* to watch *Perfes*, return'd to the  
 Senate. He brought with him two Persons, whose Evidence was abundantly suf-  
 ficient to confirm *The Fathers* in their Opinion of the *Macedonian*. One of them  
 was that very *Praxo*, who, upon *Perfes*'s Recommendation, had entertain'd the  
*Russians*; and she produced the King's Letters. The other was one *Rammius*, a  
 rich Citizen of *Brundisium*, at whose House the *Roman* Generals us'd to lodge in  
 their Way to *Greece*, and when they came back. *Perfes* had been tampering with  
 this Man to poison such of his Guests as he should direct. Upon these Proofs of  
 the King of *Macedon*'s Perfidy, the Senate no longer hesitated whether they should  
 begin Hostilities or not; but being dissatisfy'd with the present *Consuls*, they com-  
 mission'd *Sicinnius* the *Prætor Urbanus* to equip a Fleet, assemble an Army and  
 transport it to the Coast of *Macedon*.

§. 21. Whilst the *Prætor* was making  
 his Preparations, the only Son of *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*, arriv'd at *Rome*.  
 He was yet a Child, and his Father had sent him to be educated, under the Care  
 and Protection of the Republick. Ambassadors came also from *Thrace* to ask the  
 Friendship

Two Ple-  
 beians cho-  
 sen Consuls  
 together  
 for the first  
 time.  
 280th Con-  
 sulship.  
 \* Vide p.  
 366.

*Perfes em-  
 ploys Russi-  
 ans to assas-  
 sinate Eu-  
 menes King  
 of Perga-  
 mus.*



Friendship of the *Romans*, and this in the present Situation of Affairs was joyfully Year of granted. But the Senate would give no Ear to *Solon* and *Hippias*, two Deputies *ROME* from *Perses*, who came to clear their Matter from the Crimes imputed to him; 581. they were commanded to leave *Rome* immediately. §. 22. As the *Romans* were

now entering upon a new War in the East, they thought it necessary to keep things as quiet as possible in other Places. They obliged therefore the present *Consul Popillius* to execute the Decree they had pass'd the last Year in favour of the *Ligurians*, and which his Brother and Predecessor had paid no Regard to. §. 23. They used more Management with the *Carthaginians* likewise at this time than usual. Heavy Complaints came from *Carthage* of *Masinissa's* Usurpations upon their Territories. *Gulussa*, the King of *Numidia's* Son, happen'd to be then at *Rome*; he was call'd upon to answer the Charge against his Father. The young Prince was not prepar'd for the Matter, but desir'd the *Conscript Fathers* not to be too hasty in giving Judgment till the Merits of the Cause were examin'd. The Senate was glad of an Excuse to suspend their Judgment, and desir'd him to press his Father to send Ambassadors with his Justification; to which they added, That they were very ready to gratify the King of *Numidia* in all other Cases, but that Favour should never prevail over Justice at *Rome*. Then they made Presents both to the Prince and the *Carthaginians*, and thus got rid of the Affair for the present.

The Romans declare War against Perses King of Macedon.

§. 24. And now the War with *Perses*, which had hitherto only been resolved on, was at length declared. *Rome* had sent Deputies to *Macedon* to demand of the King a Restitution of whatever he had usurped from her Allies, or that he would openly renounce her Friendship. The King, at their first Audience, had call'd Rome a proud and insatiable Republick, that pretended to rule the World by her imperious Embassies; and in the next Audience he gave them this Answer in writing. *I have nothing to do with the Treaty Rome formerly made with Philip. I reviv'd it in the beginning of my Reign, only because the State of my Affairs was such as obliged me to it: If Rome would now have Peace, let her enter into a fresh Treaty with me; we will settle the Conditions of it according to the Interests of the two Nations; and an arbitrary Power shall not dictate them.* In short the Deputies were told, after they had had their Congé, that *Perses* declar'd in express Words, *That he renounced the Friendship of the Romans.* This Account was attended with another piece of News, which was, That *Gentius* King of *Illyricum* had enter'd into a Treaty with the *Macedonian*; but the Senate receiv'd Advice at the same time that the latter had in vain solicited both *Ptolomy* and *Antiochus*, and that he had not so much as made an Attempt to engage *Eumenes* in his Interest. The *Rhodians* were thought a little wavering, but their Ambassadors at *Rome* answer'd for them. The great Care of *The Fathers* now was to render the Gods propitious, and calm the superstitious Uneasiness of the People. It seems the famous *Columna Rostrata* of *Duilius* was fallen down, and this seem'd to forebode some great Evil. The *Aruspices* were consulted upon it, and, after a great Pother, these Rogues had the Assurance to declare, *That the falling down of the Pillar undoubtedly presaged, that the Republick should extend her Limits, and bring back as many Spoils from Macedon, as Duilius had formerly done from Carthage.* Then Sacrifices were offer'd, and all was well. §. 25. But these religious Cares did not retard the Preparations for War. The *Prætor Sicinnius* sail'd from *Brundisium* with about ten thousand

181st Consulship.

Men, for *Apollonia*, and there landed. §. 26. And when the new Elections were over, where *P. Licinius Crassus* and *C. Cassius Longinus* were chosen *Consuls*, the former having obtain'd *Macedon* by Lot, had two *Legions* appointed him of six thousand Foot and three hundred Horse each. To these were added sixteen thousand auxiliary Foot and six hundred Horse. Leave was likewise given him to select out as many as he pleas'd of the Veterans, who were not yet fifty Years old, and the People even wav'd their Right of chusing a certain Number of the *Legionary Tribunes*, they left the Choice of them to him. §. 27. But in the Exercise of these last Powers the *Consul* met with some Opposition. In appointing his Subalterns he overlook'd many of the old Centurions who had spent their Youth in the Service. Twenty three of these were so offended, that they had recourse to the *Tribunes of the People*, and the Matter was debated. The *Consul* declar'd that he had consider'd nothing but the publick Good in the Choice he had made of his Centurions, and entreated the People that they would not obstruct the Levies. But then one of the

582.

A remarkable Speech of a Roman Centurion.

twenty three Appellants desir'd to be heard and spake thus. *My Name is Ligustianus, and I am of the Crustumian Tribe. All the Inheritance my Father left me was a little Farm, and the Hut in which I was born. The Wife I married brought me no Fortune but an honest Birth, an unspotted Chastity, and a fruitful Body. She has brought me eight Children, six Boys and two Girls. The latter are provided for; four of my Sons are grown up to Manhood and are fit to serve in the Troops: This is the State of my Family. My Services are these: I made my two first Campaigns in Macedon, in the Consulship of Sulpicius and Aurelius, and was then only a private Centurion.*



Year of tinel. Two Years after, Flaminius made me a Centurion in the tenth Order of the  
 ROME Hastati. Philip was conquered; I returned to Rome and was disbanded. Then, that  
 582. I might not be idle, I followed Cato into Spain; and that severe Judge of Men and  
 Manners made me first Captain of the Hastati. After this I serv'd as a Voluntier in  
 the Army which went into Greece against Antiochus and the Ætolians. There the  
 Consul Acilius made me first Centurion of the Principes. We subdued the King of  
 Syria and the Ætolians his Allies. After this I serv'd twice more in Spain; I return-  
 ed from thence to Rome with Fulvius Flaccus to assist at his Triumph, and then imme-  
 diately went back at the Desire of Sempronius Gracchus to the same Province, where  
 I was made first Centurion of the Triarii. I have gained above thirty Prizes of Va-  
 lour, and among the rest six Civic Crowns, which all speak in my favour. And to say  
 all in a Word, I have serv'd twenty two Years, whereas the Laws require a Citizen  
 to serve only twenty, and I am past fifty Years old. What Right then has any Man to  
 make me list again? Besides, are not my four Sons able to supply my Place in the Roman  
 Armies? This Discourse of Ligustinus shew'd the Equity of his Cause, and the People  
 were just ready to dismiss him with Honour, when he proceeded in the following manner.  
 But after all, said he, though no Man can with Reason force me into the Service, yet  
 I don't refuse to dedicate the Remains of my Life to my Country, and I leave it to my  
 Governors to place me in what Station they please. All my Care ought to be, not to ap-  
 pear unworthy of the Post in which they place me. And as for you, dear follow Sol-  
 diers, though you be injured, and your Appeal be just, yet follow my Example. Let us  
 continue to shew the same Deference to our Generals, which we have ever done from our  
 Youth. What does it signify after all, in what Rank they place us. To defend Rome  
 and maintain her Interest by Arms, without selfish Views, is true Roman Virtue. These  
 Words made an Impression on all the Appellants. The Consul highly commended  
 Ligustinus in the Assembly, and immediately carried him to the Senate, where he  
 receiv'd the Thanks of the Conscrip't Fathers. All Discontents ceas'd and the Levies  
 were carried on without further Disturbances. When all Preparations were made  
 for embarking, new Ambassadors came from Perses; they represented that it was  
 needless to send an Army into Macedon, since the King their Master was ready to  
 give the Republick all the Satisfaction she could require. The Senate believing  
 the Design of this Embassy to be only to gain Time, order'd them back with the  
 following Answer, That a Consul would soon be sent into Macedon, and that Perses  
 might treat with him, if he was sincerely dispos'd to give the Romans Satisfaction.

The Senate  
 refuses to  
 treat with  
 Perses.

## B O O K XLIV.

§. 1. **T**HE Affairs of the Republick, when she undertook the second Macedo-  
 nian War, were in a very advantageous Situation. Among all the chief  
 Monarchs in Asia she had not one Enemy. Eumenes was a sure Friend. Antiochus Epipha-  
 nes needed the Protection of Rome to preserve his Crown and his Usurpations of Cælo-  
 Syria and Judea; nor had Ptolomy Philometor any other Barrier than the same Protection  
 against the further Encroachments of the Syrian. The King of Cappadocia had commit-  
 ted the Care of his Son's Education to the Romans. All these Princes were ready to assist  
 the Republick with Men and Ammunition; and even Prusias King of Bithynia,  
 though he had married the Sister of Perses, observ'd a perfect Neutrality. In  
 Africa, Masinissa was a faithful and zealous Ally, nor could Carthage refuse to assist  
 her Conquerors. On the other hand, no body declared for the Macedonian except  
 Cotys, King of the Odrysians in Thrace. Gentius King of Illyricum had indeed settled a  
 Correspondence with Perses, but he was of too inconstant a Humour to be depended  
 on; and as for the Greeks they were little more than Spectators of the War.

§. 2, 3. About the same time that Sicinnius arriv'd in Epirus to pave the Way for  
 the Expedition of the Consul Licinius, five Commissioners, sent from Rome to visit  
 the Cities of Greece and confirm them in their Adherence to the Republick, landed  
 at Corcyra. There they receiv'd a Letter from Perses, demanding to know the  
 Reason of their coming, and why the Romans had put Garrisons into free Cities.  
 To this they return'd by the Macedonian Envoy only a verbal Answer, That their  
 Design was to secure the Places which belonged to their Friends and Allies. Then the  
 Commissioners Publius and Servius Lentulus went into Peloponnesus; Attilius and  
 Marcius into Ætolia, Thessaly and Bæotia; and Decimius had Orders to go into Il-  
 lyricum, and, if possible, engage King Gentius in the Roman Interest. Whilst Mar-  
 cius was in Thessaly, Perses conceived Hopes of making him his Mediator at Rome.  
 There had been a long Friendship between the Kings of Macedon and the Marcian  
 Family; and this very Marcius had taken the Surname of Philip, out of respect to  
 the present King's Father. At the Request of Perses, the Roman granted him a  
 Conference, and the Place appointed for it was on the Banks of the Penous. But



The Romans give  
Perfes false  
Hopes of  
Peace to  
gain time.

when the King and the *Roman* Deputies appear'd on the opposite Sides of the River, a sort of Dispute arose about the Ceremonial. The Deputies pretended that the King ought to pass the River and come to them. *Perfes*, said they, *desired the Interview, and it is beneath the Dignity of the Romans to stoop to a King.* On the other hand, *Perfes* insisted on his Right as a sovereign Prince. In order to terminate the Dispute several Messengers crossed the River backwards and forwards, till at last *Marcus* put an end to the Contention by a Jest. *I bear the Name*, said he, *of Perfes's Father, I am surnam'd Philip; is it not regular that the Son should make the first Advances towards his Father? Besides, let him consider my Age.* The King was glad of any Pretence which might help to save his Honour and consented to pass the River, but as he desir'd to come over with his Guards in order to make a Show, the *Romans* oblig'd him first to send two of his Confidants for Hostages. The Conference was held between the King and the two Deputies only. *Marcus* spoke first, and enumerated to him all the Reasons which the *Romans* had to suspect his bad Intentions; the Affair of *Eumenes*, and that of *Rammius*; his Invasion of *Dolopia*, his Sollicitations to the Greek Cities, Preparations for War, &c. To all these *Perfes* gave a particular Answer, and denied his having by any Act broken the Treaty with *Rome*, and he thus concluded. *All the Reproaches thrown upon me are wholly founded in Prejudice and Fancy. Interpretations are given to my Designs, and my innocent Actions are said to proceed from bad Motives. But of these my own Conscience is the only proper Judge, and to that I can safely appeal. Besides, are secret Intentions a Wrong to be reveng'd by open War? What will become of that Equity for which your Republick is so famous, if she allows sinister Constructions to be a sufficient Foundation for Ruin and Slaughter.* *Marcus* pretended to be convinced by what the King said, and counsell'd him by all means to send an Embassy to *Rome*, and endeavour to convince the Senate. But this was only to gain Time, and suspend the Operations of the Campaign. If *Perfes* had immediately enter'd upon Action, he might have seiz'd the Passes, and made it more difficult for his Enemies to enter his Dominions. The *Roman* therefore only amus'd him with false Hopes, and the King fell into the Snare. §. 4, 5, 6. But when the Deputies (having successfully perform'd their Commission in *Bæotia*, *Achaia* and other Places) return'd to *Rome* and gave an Account of their Negotiations, the elder Senators thought the Proceedings of *Marcus* and *Attilius*, with regard to *Perfes*, exceedingly Blame-worthy. *You ought not*, said they, *to have put a Cheat upon a King though an Enemy. Are these Artifices agreeable to Roman Probity? Was it thus that our Ancestors conquered the Nations? They always declared War before they made it. Nay, they often named the very Places where they would decide the Dispute by Battel. They gave Pyrrhus an Account of the Physician who offered to poison him. They sent back to the Falisci the young Nobility whom a Traitor had brought to their Camp. It was by the Sword and not by Tricks that they got the Superiority over their Enemies. Let us leave then all Craft and Dissimulation to the Greeks and Carthaginians. An open Frankness and true Courage are the only Means by which a Roman should conquer.* But the younger Senators were not so scrupulous; they had learnt other Maxims since their Commerce with the Eastern Nations; the Conduct of the two Deputies was approved of by the Majority of the House, the *Macedonian* was laugh'd at for his Credulity, and his Ambassadors, after they had been barely heard, for Form-sake, were order'd to leave *Italy* without Delay. Soon after, the Consul *Licinius* embark'd with his Troops at *Brundisium*, landed at *Apollonia*, and march'd to the *Roman* Camp at *Nympheum*, which Post the *Prætor Sicinnius* had seized some Months before. All the Passes into *Theffaly* and *Macedon* were open; the Hopes of Peace had thrown *Perfes* into a kind of Lethargy. Being now sufficiently undeceived he began to rouse himself, and call'd a Council of his chief Ministers and Officers. The former were for making servile Submissions to the Republick, but the latter declared for War, and carried it. *Perfes* assembled his Army at *Citium*. It consisted of forty thousand *Macedonians*, and some thousands of *Gauls*, *Thracians*, *Cretans*, *Bæotians* and *Atolians*. In short it was the most considerable Army that had been seen in *Macedon* since the time of *Alexander the Great*. When the King had harangued his Troops, and quicken'd their Ardour for fighting, by representing the Dangers that threaten'd their Liberty from the imperious Republick, he march'd them into *Theffaly*; and having taken some Towns in his Way, he at length enter'd the charming *Vale of Tempe*, and fix'd his Post at *Sycurium* near the Foot of Mount *Offa*; and here he waited for the Enemy. §. 9. In the mean time the Consul *Licinius*, having left *Nympheum*, advanced towards *Theffaly*, and the whole Army were surprized to find the Roads so rough and difficult, and yet no Enemies to oppose their March: they were sensible that if *Perfes* had taken care to guard the narrow Passes, especially that of *Pindus*, they must unavoidably have perished, being most of them fresh Soldiers, and not inured to Fatigue. They came at length to the Banks of the *Peneus*, and there waited for the auxiliary Troops of King *Eumenes*,



Year of *Eumenes*, who with his two Brothers *Attalus* and *Athenæus* were already landed at *ROME* *Chalcis* with five thousand Men. As for the *Prætor Lucretius* who commanded the

582. *Roman Fleet*, he sailed for *Chalcis*, and there landed his Men to the Number of ten thousand, there being no Occasion for Sea-Forces, because *Perfes* had no Fleet at Sea.

§. 10. The King of *Macedon* being much superior to the *Consul* in Cavalry, drew nearer to the *Roman Camp*, and endeavour'd to bring him to a general Battel; but *Licinius* was waiting for his Reinforcements and would not stir. However, the *Macedonians* insulted him so far, that he was at length obliged to send out *Perfes* gains his light-armed Troops to oppose those of the Enemy; and then a smart Action a Victory ensued, in which *Perfes* had all the Advantage. The *Romans* lost above two thousand Men, and the *Macedonians* not above twenty Horsemen and forty Foot. Had Consul Li- over the the King brought his *Phalanx* to engage, it is probable he would have gained a complete Victory; but *Evander* the *Cretan* (one of those Men whom he had employed to assassinate King *Eumenes*) dissuaded him from it. *Be content*, said he, *with the Success you have had. It were Rashness to hazard all in one single Action. The Victory you have gain'd, will enable you to obtain an advantageous Peace of the Romans, or at least will draw off many of their Allies from them.* The King was wavering between Hope and Fear, and this Advice determined him.

§. 11. As for the *Romans* they were full of Shame and Consternation; and fearing to be besieged in their Camp the next Day, left it in the dead of Night, cross'd the River *Peneus* and entrench'd themselves on the other side of it. As soon as *Perfes* discovered the Retreat of the Enemy he was then sensible of the Fault he had committed, but it was now too late. However, he encouraged his Men by extolling their Victory to them, and pass'd the River after the *Romans*; the latter removed to a stronger and more inaccessible Place, keeping still on the Banks of the *Peneus*; here they received a Reinforcement of a thousand Foot, a thousand Horse, and twenty two Elephants under the Command of *Misagenes* the Bastard Son of *Masinissa*. And now a little time having abated the Boldness of the *Macedonian*, he sent, by the Advice of his wisest Counsellors, a new Embassy to the *Consul*. *Licinius* assembled a great Number of his Officers to hear what the Deputies had to propose. *We are come*, said the latter, *to desire a Peace. Perfes offers to maintain inviolably the Treaty you made with the King his Father, and which he himself renewed. He will not obtain a pay you the same Tribute that Philip did; and restore your Allies all the places which his Predecessor yielded to them.* But he cannot obtain a Peace.

This Proposal deserved Consideration and it was discussed in the Council of War; but in the end the *Roman Pride* prevail'd, and the *Consul* return'd the following Answer to the Deputies. *There is no Peace for Perfes, till he surrenders up himself and his Dominions to the Romans, at Discretion.* Upon the Return and Report of the Deputies, the King's Courtiers advised him to drop all Thoughts of Peace, and to think only of humbling *Rome*; but *Perfes* was of a different Opinion; he concluded from the Pride of the *Romans* that they knew themselves to be superior, and he made fresh Application to *Licinius*, offering a more considerable Tribute than *Philip* had paid. The *Consul* would abate nothing of his first Pretensions, which when the King found, he return'd to his Camp at *Sycurium* and prepared to renew Hostilities.

§. 12. In the mean time the *Prætor Lucretius* was besieging *Haliartus* in *Bæotia*; and at length he took it by Assault, and raz'd it. Then he march'd to *Thebes*, which open'd her Gates to him, and having settled the Government of that City in the Hands of Persons well affected to *Rome*, he return'd on board his Fleet.

§. 13. *Perfes* having once more attempted in vain to bring the *Romans* to a general Battel, set out in Person with two thousand Foot and a thousand Horse to fall upon some small Parties of the Enemy who were busy in reaping, and he took six hundred Prisoners and a thousand Carts ready loaded. And not content with this Success he attack'd a Body of eight hundred *Romans* which had been detach'd to cover the Reapers. It was not far from the *Roman Camp*, so that the *Consul* had timely Notice of the Danger of his Detachment, and hasten'd with the best part of his Army to relieve it. *Perfes* sent Orders for his *Phalanx* to advance and join him, and in the mean time had the Courage to face the *Roman Legions*. But now he was overpowered by Numbers and lost the best part of his Life-Guard who were thought invincible. He had not considered that the great Number of loaded Carts, which he had sent away to his Camp, would stop up the Way and hinder the regular Advance of his *Phalanx* to assist him. His Disappointment and Defeat in this Action so dishearten'd him that he retired into *Macedon* to spend the Winter there.

§. 14. As for the *Consul Licinius*, after some inconsiderable Expeditions in *Theffaly*, he took up his Winter-Quarters in *Bæotia*.

§. 15. His Collegue *Cassius*, whose Lot had confined him to *Italy*, where there was little to do, had, through a Spirit of Emulation, attempted to make his Way into *Macedon* through *Illyricum*; but he was recalled by the Senate and severely reprimanded for engaging in such an Enterprize without Orders. And now the *Conscript Fathers* were employed in hearing the Complaints and redressing the



the Grievances of the *Spaniards* who had suffered great Oppression and Exactions Year of from the *Roman Prætors* and Generals. Some of the guilty, to avoid making Re- ROMEstitution, banished themselves from *Rome*, which was thought by the *Romans* the greatest of all Punishments. A dangerous Maxim, for which *Juvenal* has severely reproach'd his Nation! A Villain often enjoyed the Fruits of his Rapines in an agreeable Banishment, whilst the Province he had pillaged had no other Satisfaction but that of seeing him removed from *Rome*. However, several Laws and Regulations were made for the Ease and Relief of the *Spaniards*. §. 16. And the

282d Con-  
sulship.

Republick took Measures likewise at this time to avoid exasperating *Carthage*, which was become exceeding rich and populous since the Peace. Though the *Romans* were inclined to favour *Masiniſſa*, they would not decree any thing in Prejudice of the Rights of the *Carthaginians*, who complain'd of his Usurpations. They appointed Deputies to go into *Africk* and determine their Disputes upon the Spot.

§. 17. When the grand Elections came on, *A. Hostilius Mancinus* and *A. Attilius Seranus* were chosen *Consuls*, and *Macedon* fell by Lot to the former. *Perſes* had spent the Winter in disciplining his Troops, and in Preparations to maintain the Reputation he had acquired the last Campaign. But now, before he march'd against *Licinius* (who at present acted as *Pro-Consul* in *Theſſaly*) he hasten'd to the Relief of *Cotys* King of the *Odryſians*, his faithful Ally, whose Dominions were invaded by a petty King of *Thrace*, an Enemy whom *Eumenes* had stirred up to cause a seasonable Diversion on that Side. *Perſes* routed the united *Pergamenians* and *Thracians*, and then enter'd *Dardania* which was in Alliance with *Rome*, surprized and defeated an Army of ten thousand Men, ravaged the Country, and then returned to *Macedon*.

583.

§. 18. In the mean time the *Pro-Consul Licinius* and the *Pro-Prætor Lucretius* Admiral of the *Roman Fleet* were guilty of unheard of Oppressions. A Spirit of insatiable Avarice seems to have seized the *Roman Commanders* in all Places at this time. *Cassius* the late *Consul* was accused at *Rome* by the *Eastern Gauls* of the like Injustices in his Return from his rash Expedition beforemention'd.

The Consul  
Hostilius  
attempts in  
vain to en-  
ter Mace-  
don.

§. 19, 20, 21. At length the *Consul Hostilius* arrived in *Theſſaly*, and took upon him the Command of the Army. He detach'd *Appius Claudius* with four thousand Men to defend the Allies of *Rome* against the Enterprizes of the *Illyricans*; for *Gentius* their King was now enter'd into a Treaty with *Perſes*, and had exchanged Hostages with him. *Claudius* having strengthen'd his Detachment with new Levies among the Allies, to the Number of eight thousand, enter'd that part of *Macedon* which border'd on *Illyricum*. And here his Greediness of Booty made him fall into a Snare which the *Cretan Garrison* of *Uſcana* (a Town which was deemed one of the Keys into *Macedon*) laid for him. They sent him an Offer to deliver up the Place. The *Roman* was so blinded with Avarice that he neglected the Precaution of taking Hostages, and advanc'd to the Gates of the Town without observing any Order in his March. Then the Garrison and Inhabitants sallied out on a sudden, and attack'd him so briskly that not above two thousand of his whole Army escaped. Nor had the *Consul* himself any Success in two Attempts which he made to enter *Macedon*. He tried in vain to force the Pass of *Elymea*; *Perſes* put his Troops to flight. After this he would have made his Way into *Macedon* through *Theſſaly*; but the King opposed him and offer'd him Battel; and whether out of Cowardice, or from an excess of Precaution the *Consul* would not accept the Challenge, so that his Campaign was chiefly spent in vain Projects and cowardly Distrusts; his Exploits amounted to no more than the re-establishing Discipline a little among his Troops. As for *Hortensius*, the present Admiral of the Fleet, he performed nothing but against the Allies of the Republick, whom he distress'd by cruel Oppressions. *Perſes* took Advantage of this Misconduct of his Enemies to recover his Credit and strengthen his Interest in *Greece*. Even *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* began to waver in their Fidelity to the *Romans*. The Account of these Kings gave the Senate and People of *Rome* great Uneasiness. They dispatch'd two Deputies into *Greece* to inform themselves fully of the State of Affairs, and to recall *Hostilius* to *Rome* under Pretence of his presiding at the Elections.

§. 22, 23, 24. And whilst the *Consul* was preparing for his return Home, the Senate gave Audience to the Envoys from *Athens*, *Lampsacus*, *Carthage*, *Numidia*, *Crete*, *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, and *Spain*. The Deputies from the first and the two last came to complain of Oppression from the *Roman* Generals and Governors; those from the rest to offer their Services, and court the Friendship of the Republick.

§. 25. When the Elections were over, where *Q. Marcius Philippus*, and *Cn. Servilius Cæpio* were chosen *Consuls* the next Year, *Hostilius* was sent back into *Macedon*; but he gained no more Advantage over *Perſes* during the rest of his dishonourable Campaign than he had done in the beginning of it. However, by the good Order he preserved in his Camp he paved the Way for the Glory of his Successors. And as the most considerable Nations of the East did not doubt of seeing *Rome* victorious over *Macedon* at last, their Attachment to the *Romans* was not lessened by one



Year of or two Years Inaction. We have one Proof of this in the almost blind Obedience which *Antiochus Epiphanes* King of *Syria* paid to the Commands of the impetuous Republick. §. 26. His two Nephews, *Ptolomy Philometor*, and *Physcon* suspended their mutual Animosities, and jointly sent an Embassy to the *Roman* Senate to implore its Protection against their Uncle, who was renewing his Attempts to become Master of *Egypt*. Both Compassion and Policy inclined *The Conscript Fathers* to favour the Suppliants, and they commissioned *C. Popillius Lenas*, with two others, to carry their Decree to *Antiochus*. The *Roman* Ambassadors found the *Syrian* at *Eleufina*, a Village four Miles distant from *Alexandria*, and *Popillius* there accosted him with an Air of Gravity proper to gain Respect. The *Roman* had long known *Antiochus*, and had been his most intimate Friend during his Residence at *Rome*; and the King therefore when he drew near offered him his Hand, which from Kings was an uncommon Mark of Familiarity and Distinction. But *Popillius* seemed to disdain this kind Reception, and haughtily told *Antiochus*, that he would not join Hands with him, till he had first read to him the Decree of the Senate; *I shall judge*, said he, *by your Submission, or Disobedience, whether you are to be treated as a Friend or an Enemy. If you obey, I shall receive all Marks of your Friendship with Joy.* Then he read the Decree, which ran thus. *Let Antiochus lead back his Army into Syria, and cease to make War against Ptolomy.* The King's Pride was shock'd both with the Command and the Manner of delivering it; nevertheless he made only this moderate Answer, *Give me time to consider of it, and to confer with my Council about it.* But the proud *Roman* did not think the King ready enough in his Obedience. With a Vine Twig which he held in his Hand he made a Circle round *Antiochus* in the Sand, and said, in a seeming Passion, *You shall not go out of this Circle, till you have either accepted or refused the Proposal I have made you. I expect that you pay me the Reverence that is due to the Authority of the Roman Senate and People.* These Words filled the *Syrian* with Terror; but he recovered his Spirits; and after he had hesitated a Moment gave this Answer, which would have better become a Slave than a great King: *Then I must satisfy you, Popillius; I will do what your Republick expects from me.* Upon this all the three Ambassadors immediately offered him their Hands at once, and *Popillius* gloried in his Negotiation, as if he had gained a Victory. As for *Antiochus*, who was quite confounded and humbled, he left *Egypt*, and in his return home, vented his Rage on the unfortunate City of *Jerusalem*. He pillaged it, fill'd the Streets with the dead Bodies, and the Temple with Profanations. A memorable Event, which the Prophet *Daniel* had foretold. *Popillius* and his Collegues staid in *Egypt* after the Departure of the *Syrian* to terminate the Disputes between the two Brothers; but the Affair was too intricate, *Gleopatra* fomented the Division between her Sons, so that all that the Ambassadors could obtain of them was to leave their Differences to the Arbitration of the Senate. §. 27. But whilst the *Romans* were thus settling Peace in *Egypt*, they neglected nothing that was necessary for carrying on the War with more Vigour in *Macedon*, than they had done the last Year. It was ordered that the Veterans in the *Consular* Army there should not be disbanded, and that six thousand two hundred Recruits should be sent to them. Four extraordinary *Legions* were likewise appointed to be raised in the City, and sixteen thousand Foot and a thousand Horse among the Allies; which extraordinary Forces were to hold themselves in a readiness to march wherever they should be most wanted. The Dread with which *Perfes* had filled the Republick by the Success of his Arms and the Alliances he had made with the *Bastarnæ* and *Scordisci* to the North-East of *Italy*, was what occasioned such great Preparations; the publick Fears were also increas'd, by a thousand pretended Prodigies. §. 28. And now when the Levies came to be raised, the *Consuls* *Marcus Philippus* and *Servilius* found the *Roman* Youth, thro' some unaccountable Humour, very obstinate in refusing to enlist themselves for the Service, insomuch that they were obliged to make a Complaint of it to the Senate. But this Complaint turned to the Dishonour of the *Consuls*. Two of the *Prætors* lately chosen, *C. Sulpicius*, and *M. Claudius* rose up and spoke to this Effect: *If the Consuls find the Youth so backward to obey their Orders, they may thank themselves. Their Ambition carries them to court the People; and for fear of incurring the Displeasure of the Multitude, they dare not threaten the Refractory. A strange Weakness! Let us Prætors be charged with the Care of the Levies, and the Senate shall see what even inferior Magistrates can do by exerting their Authority. Prætors will do the Business more effectually than Consuls.* This Motion was applauded, and, to the Confusion of the chief Magistrates, the Senate transferred the Commission for making Levies from them to *Sulpicius* and *Claudius*, who, in order to perform their Promises, hastened the Election of the *Censors*; the Choice fell upon *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* and *C. Claudius Pulcher*, two Men of great Probity, Courage and Unanimity. In the first *Comitia* which they convened, they got two Laws enacted by the People, for regulating the Enrolments. The first required all who were under forty

The King of Syria haughtily treated by a Roman Ambassador.

Antiochus Epiphanes profanes the Temple of Jerusalem.

283d Consulship.



fix to appear in order to be incorporated in the *Legions*, and that all those whom Year of Fortune should spare, should nevertheless continue, so long as they were under that *ROME* Age, to present themselves to the *Consuls* every time that there should be Occasion 584. for Recruits. The second required, That all those who were come from *Macedon* within three Years last past should return to their Duty; that all young Men, under the Power of their Fathers or Grandfathers, should give in their Names; and lastly, That Enquiry should be made into the Exemptions granted to those who were of an Age to serve. The Publication of these Laws had so good an Effect on the Country *Tribes* and *Colonies*, that there was immediately a vast Concourse of young Men at *Rome*, fit to bear Arms. The City was over-crowded with them. In the Space of eleven Days, Soldiers enough were raised to recruit the Armies in *Spain* and *Macedon*, and to form the four *Legions* which were to be ready to march any where upon the first Orders. And now *Macedon* having fallen by Lot to the *Consul Q. Marcius*, he prepared to embark at *Brundisium*.

§. 29, 30. The present *Censors* drew upon themselves the Resentment of the *Roman Knights*. The Farmers-General of the Taxes had been usually of this Body, but now these Employments were sold to the best Bidder; and the *Censors* at the same time made a Law, forbidding all those, who during the last *Censorship* had been employed in raising the publick Money to be concerned with it again, either as Partners with the new Farmers or otherwise. This cast a Blemish on many of the *Roman Knights*, and they stirred up one *Rutilius* a *Tribune of Commons* to accuse the *Censors* before the People, for having paid no Regard to a Protest he had enter'd against one of their Decrees, in relation to a Client of his. The People were disposed to condemn *Claudius*, and to acquit *Gracchus*; which the latter perceiving, the *Patrician Censor* declared, That if there had been any Fault it was equal on both Sides, and that he would go into Banishment with *Claudius*, or *Claudius* should be acquitted with him. And this Act of Generosity engaged not only the People but *Rutilius* too to spare both. However, the *Censors* treated *Rutilius* afterwards very cruelly, they degraded him from the Rank of Knight, and deprived him of the Right of Suffrage. In all other Cases they behaved themselves worthily and with Temper. §. 31. At this time also a Law was passed at the Motion of *Voconius*, a *Tribune of the People*, to remedy some Abuses in relation to Wills. Nothing was more common, than for Men to leave excessive Legacies to Women, sometimes the whole Estate of a wealthy Family; and this out of Love or Caprice; so that Wives becoming oftentimes richer than their Husbands, behaved themselves in a manner not to be born. The Words of the new Law made to rectify this Disorder have not been transmitted to us, but the chief Articles of it seem to have been these. 1. No Citizen who had Estate enough to be ranked in any of the Classes of the *Roman Census*, could make any Woman whatsoever universal Legatee, an only Daughter not excepted: So that no Woman could be Heiress to her Father. 2. A Daughter's Portion was to be only one fourth Part of her Father's Estate. 3. The Legacies of a Testator were not to exceed one half of his Estate. §. 32. The People of *Rome* were this Year entertain'd, for the first time, with the fighting of armed Men against wild Beasts. Sixty three Lions, forty Bears and a great Number of Elephants were let loose in the *Circus*. About this time died *Ennius* the Poet, who celebrated the Wars of *Scipio* in a very fine heroic Poem.

Perfes makes some Winter Expeditions. §. 33, 34, 35. The *Roman Armies* in *Greece* continued unactive during the Winter Season; but *Perfes* did not allow himself a Moment's Rest. There was something heroic in his Character and his Enterprizes. Notwithstanding the severe Frosts, he marched with a Detachment of ten thousand *Phalangites* to the Frontiers of *Illyricum*, and there besieged and took *Uscana*, which by some Accident was fallen into the Hands of the *Romans*. *Daudracum* and *Oencum* also surrender'd to him. The *Macedonian's* View in this Expedition was to shut up the Avenues of his Kingdom on its weakest Side, and to engage the petty Kings of *Illyricum* to join him. However, he failed in this last Attempt through the Avaritiousness of his Temper. *Gentius* offered to assist him with Ships and Men, on Condition of his remitting him the Money which he wanted for that Purpose; but *Perfes* could not prevail with himself to disburse even small Sums. Avarice was his predominant Passion. Had he known how to have expended some part of the Treasures his Father had heaped up, there was not a King in *Epirus*, *Thrace* or *Illyricum*, or a Republick or free City in *European* or *Asiatick Greece*, which would not have joined him. A prophane Author is therefore of Opinion that Heaven judicially blinded him, that he might not see his true Interest, but through Covetousness fall of that Success which he would have abused. §. 36. He spent the rest of the Winter in a laborious Expedition into *Ætolia*, which he hoped either to conquer or gain over to his Party, but the Success was not proportionable to the Fatigues and Difficulties of the Undertaking, and he returned to *Macedon*. §. 37, 38. However, nothing was now talked of among the *Greeks* but the Exploits of the *Macedonian*,



Year of *donian*, his bold Marches over Ice and through impracticable Countries. They thought *ROME* *Macedon* inaccessible, and admired the Conduct of a General, who, without hazarding an Inch of his own Dominions, carried the War wholly among the Allies of his Enemies. In a Word, the *Romans* were daily losing Ground in the Esteem and Affections of the *Greeks*; and what contributed more to this than even the Conquests of *Perses*, was the Tyranny which the Commanders of the *Roman* Fleets and Armies exercised over the most faithful Allies of the Republick. The *Conscript Fathers* became sensible of it, and therefore sent two Commissioners into *Greece* to publish a Proclamation, prohibiting their Generals to exact any thing of the Nations, in Confederacy with *Rome*, without an express Order from the Senate; and forbidding the Allies to submit to any Exactions or even Demands of the *Consuls*, *Prætors*, Lieutenant Generals, or *Roman Tribunes*, without such an Order. When the Commissioners came to execute their Instructions, they perceived by the Reception they met with that *Rome* had lost much of that sovereign Authority she us'd to exercise in the *Levant* before the time of *Perses*, and that there was no Way to recover it but by humbling the *Macedonian*. To this end the *Consul Marcius* who was now arrived in *Theffaly*, resolved, in spite of all Difficulties, to force a Passage into *Macedon*; and, what is very surprizing, *Perses* never once appeared to oppose his March. The Roads were so bad, the Passes so narrow, the Mountains so steep and difficult, that by *Marcius's* own Confession afterwards, the *Macedonian* might have destroyed the whole *Consular* Army with a Handful of Men. But the King, who had shewed so much Vigour and Spirit the last Year, seemed now to be infatuated, and to have lost all his Courage. §. 40, 41, When he receiv'd the News that the Enemy had entered *Macedon*, and were advantageously encamped near *Heraclea*, it threw him into the deepest Dejection. Then, said he, *I am conquered without having fought*; and how much his Mind was disturbed is evident by the Orders he gave to two of his Officers, *Nicias* and *Andronicus*. He commanded the former to hasten to *Pella*, take all the Gold and Silver he should there find in his Coffers, and throw it into the Sea; the latter he directed to go to *Theffalonica* and burn all the *Macedonian* Ships in that Port. As for the King himself, in a sudden Fit of Despair, he put on board his Fleet some Statues of a precious Metal which he had at *Dium*, abandoned that important Place and fled to *Pydna*. Thus did *Perses* leave open the Avenues of his Kingdom (which he might easily have made impenetrable) and by his imprudent Steps give an Air of Prudence to the Rashness of the *Consul*. *Marcius*, with all the Confidence that the Dejection of the King gave him, march'd directly to *Dium*, found the Gates open and took Possession of it. From thence he penetrated as far as to the *Ascordus*; but to his great Misfortune the farther he went from *Theffaly*, the less Subsistence he found for his Troops, and he was in Danger of losing his Army by Famine. Before his March from the Neighbourhood of *Heraclea*, he had detach'd *Lucretius* a Lieutenant General with a Body of Men to seize the Passes into *The Vale of Tempe*, in order to secure a Retreat; and now when he was in the height of his Distress a Courier arrived with an Account that *Lucretius* had executed his Instructions, and had found great Quantities of Provisions in all the Places through which he had passed. Upon this News the *Consul* lost no time in deliberating, but though he knew his Reputation must suffer by a Retreat, he immediately quitted his new Conquests and returned towards the Frontiers of *Theffaly*. §. 42. However, he did not actually leave the Territories of *Macedon*, nor lay aside the Design of continuing the War there. On the contrary he besieged and took *Heraclea*, and encamped near it; then he turned his Thoughts wholly to make the Roads good from *Theffaly* to *Macedon*, in order to facilitate the Conveyance of Provisions from one Country to the other, and he spared no Pains to complete this great Work. He erected Magazines for Corn all along the Road and fortified them, and built Houses for the convenient lodging of those who guarded the Convoys. A Work sufficient of itself to have gained him immortal Honour; for he thereby opened for his Successors an easy Entrance into a Kingdom which had hitherto been deemed inaccessible, and in effect secured to them the Conquest of it. As for *Perses*, as soon as the Enemy had abandoned *Dium* he returned thither, and repaired the Fortifications; and from thence he went and encamped on the Banks of the *Enipens*, where he resolved to continue the rest of the Campaign. And now when he saw the *Romans* remain unactive in their Camp at *Heraclea*, he began to recover his Spirits, and repented of the Orders he had given to *Nicias* and *Andronicus*. The latter indeed had not executed a Command which he knew was dictated by a sudden Fright; the Ships at *Theffalonica* were not destroyed; but *Nicias* had been very ready and exact in his Obedience, and had thrown into the Sea the immense Treasures which *Philip* and his Son had been so long heaping up. However, by the Help of Divers, *Perses* recovered his Gold and Silver; and then he was so much ashamed of the Fear he had discover'd, that he caus'd *Nicias*, *Andronicus*, the Divers, and in a Word, all the Witnesses of his Cowardice to be murder'd.

The Romans enter Macedon.

The Despondency and Misconduct of Perses.



murder'd. §. 43, 44. In the mean time the *Roman Fleet* under the Command Year of of *Marcus Figulus* being join'd by that of *Eumenes* invested *Cassandrea*, a maritime *ROME* City of *Macedon*, and then made Attempts on *Iolcos*, *Melibœa*, and *Demetrias* in 584. *Theffaly*; but all these Enterprizes proved unsuccessful. And thus ended the Campaign, which but little weakened *Perfes*, and brought no great Glory to the *Romans*. *Eumenes* had been for some time very cool in his Attachment to *Rome*. He is said to have been discontented with the Conduct of the *Roman General*, and to have receiv'd some Affront from him; but whatever were the Cause, it is certain, that from this time he ceas'd to be a Friend to the Republick. At the same time *Achaia* was earnest to strengthen her Alliance with the *Romans*, and sent *Polybius* (the Historian) at the Head of a Deputation to the *Consul Marcus*, offering him the Assistance of all her Forces. §. 45. And now *Perfes*, notwithstanding that he had suffer'd but little in his Affairs for these three Years past, thought it safest for him to sue for a Peace, and he engaged *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, and the *Rhodians* to be his Mediators. The former employed Entreaties, and the latter Menaces, but neither the one nor the other prevail'd. As for the *Rhodians* the Senate threatened to chastise them for their Insolence as soon as the Conquest of *Macedon* should be finished.

## B O O K XLV.

\* See the Character of Paulus Æmilius, p. 436.

284th Consulship.

§. 1. **R**OME was very uneasy at the slow Progress her Generals made in the Conquest of *Macedon*. *Licinius*, *Hostilius* and *Marcus*, who had successively commanded there, were every one of them, both in the publick Assemblies, and in private Conversation, tax'd with want of Bravery, or want of Activity. The Politicians and Speculators in the City did not fail to determine, as is usual in such Cases, the Times and Places where Battels ought to have been fought, and where Victories would undoubtedly have been gained. And the Impatience of the People to put a happy End to this War, was such, that they resolv'd to have no Regard to any thing but Merit and Ability in the Choice of new *Consuls*. They applied themselves wholly to find out a Man who should be capable of recovering the Glory of the Republick, and at length cast their Eyes on *Paulus Æmilius* \*, a *Patrician* of consummate Virtue, Bravery and Prudence, who had been *Consul* thirteen Years before, but had ever since that time been neglected. He was now near sixty Years of Age, and entirely taken up with the Education of his Children in private Life, and it was not without great Difficulty and much Sollicitation that the People prevailed on him to accept of the *Fasces*. He was the Son of that *Consul Æmilius* who perished at the Battel of *Cannæ*, through the Fault of an unworthy Colleague, and he was Father of the famous *Scipio Æmilianus*, who acquired the honourable Appellation of *The Second Africanus*. (This latter was called *Scipio* from his Adoption into the *Cornelian* Family by the weak Son of the Great *Scipio*.) §. 3. The Person rais'd to the *Consulate* with *Æmilius* was one *Licinius Crassus*, a Man of Probity, who made it Matter of Duty to yield the Conduct of the War in *Macedon* to his Colleague without drawing Lots. *Æmilius* in his Harangue to the People, after his Election, put them in mind, that he had not courted the Dignity which they conferred on him, but that they had forced him to accept of it; he told them, that as he supposed it was their Esteem of him that had engaged them to place so much Confidence in him, he hoped they would not defame him in his Absence, as they had done their former Generals, without having a sufficient Insight into the State of Things, to justify their Censures; and he promised, that if they did not discourage him by their Murmurings, or by controlling his Liberty of Acting, he would do his utmost not to frustrate their Expectations. §. 4. Both People and Senate were well pleased with this frank Declaration. And now the first Step *Æmilius* took, in order to succeed in his Expedition, was to send three experienced Officers into *Macedon*, to examine upon the Spot, and bring him a full Account of the Condition of the Army and the State of Affairs with respect to the Allies: Then he obtained a Decree of the Senate, empowering him to name the Officers that were to command the new Levies for his Army. These Recruits consisted of seven thousand Foot and two hundred Horse all chosen out of the Citizens of *Rome*, and of seven thousand Foot and four hundred Horse raised in *Latium*, besides six hundred *Gallick* Horse. *Anicius* was appointed to succeed *Claudius* in *Illyricum*, and the two *Legions* which were to act there were strengthened by ten thousand auxiliary Foot and eight hundred Horse. The Command of the Fleet was given to *Oëtavius*, and five thousand Mariners raised for that Service. And when these Regulations were made, the rest of the Winter was spent in Works of Religion and publick Shows.

585.



Year of §. 5. *Æmilius* waited impatiently for the Return of the five Commissioners. They  
 ROME arrived at length and made the following Report. *Marcus* has forced his Way into  
 585. Macedon, but with more Danger than Profit. He is entered into *Pieria*, a Province  
 faithful to her King. The Macedonian is encamped on the Banks of the *Enipeus*  
 with a numerous Army, and hinders our Troops from entering farther into his Country;  
 and we dare not attack him in his Lines. The Winter is very severe, our Provisions  
 are so far consumed, that *Marcus* has not Corn for more than eight Days. As for  
*Claudius* who is encamped near *Lychnis* in *Illyricum*, he might make a powerful Di-  
 version; but his Army is so weak that it must soon perish, if a Reinforcement be not sent  
 to it: And the Roman Fleet is in as bad a Condition. The greatest part of the Crews  
 have been carried off by Sickness, and the Remainder are so much oppressed by Want,  
 that the Sailors are continually deserting. Our old Allies are all wavering. *Eumenes*  
 left our Fleet soon after he had joined it; but the Fidelity of his Brother *Attalus* is im-  
 moveable. We cannot depend upon the *Rhodians*, and we seem to have entirely lost the  
 King of *Illyricum*.

§. 6. *Paulus Æmilius* took his Measures like an able General by these Informations; and in the mean time *Perfes* was ruining himself by the  
 Follies into which his Avarice led him. He had engaged a Body of twenty thou-  
 sand of those *Gauls*, who had formerly settled on the Banks of the *Boristhenes*, and  
 were called *Bastarnæ*, to come to his Assistance under the Command of one of their  
 petty Sovereigns, named *Clondicus*. They were advanced as far as to the Frontiers  
 of *Macedon*, but would come no further unless the King would send them the Mo-  
 ney he had promised them; and *Perfes*, rather than part with his Money, suffered  
 them to go back again in a Rage, destroying every thing with Fire and Sword in  
 their Return.

*Perfes ruins  
 his Affairs  
 by his Avarice.*

§. 7. He deceived likewise *Gentius* King of *Illyricum* by a Pro-  
 mise of three hundred Talents, on Condition of his declaring openly against *Rome*.  
*Gentius* began his Acts of Hostility by throwing into a Dungeon two Ambassadors  
 from *Rome*, under Pretence of their being Spies. This was such a notorious Vio-  
 lation of the Law of Nations as rendered his Reconciliation with the Republick  
 impracticable, and *Perfes* took Advantage of it to gratify his Avarice and keep his  
 Money.

§. 8. But the Cheat which he endeavoured to put upon *Eumenes* did  
 not succeed so well. The latter for fifteen hundred Talents engaged to stand neuter, but  
 insisted upon having the Money lodged in such Hands as that he should be sure of it  
 when he had performed his part of the Covenant. *Perfes* would deposite it no  
 where but in the Island of *Samothrace* which belonged to himself; so that the only  
 Effect of this Negotiation was to increase the Suspicions which the *Romans* had of  
 the King of *Pergamus*.

§. 9. However the *Macedonian*, partly by the Terror  
 of his Fleet, and partly by Persuasion, brought the *Rhodians* to promise a Neu-  
 trality.

§. 10, 11. Very early in the Spring the three Commanders, *Æmilius*, *Anicius* and  
*Octavius* appointed to carry on the War in the *Levant*, entered upon Action. The  
*Prætor Anicius* finished his Expedition and subdued all *Illyricum* in thirty Days.  
 Having first defeated the *Illyrican* Fleet, he marched his Land Forces to *Scodra*, the  
 chief City of the Kingdom, whither *Gentius* had retired with an Army of four-  
 teen thousand Men. And though the Place was strong and provided with such a  
 numerous Garrison, *Gentius* was so terrified that he made little Resistance. He de-  
 sired an Interview with the *Prætor* in the *Roman* Camp, and obtained it as a Fa-  
 vour. He came to his Audience in Tears, Mad that I was, said he, to prefer the  
 Alliance of a weak deceitful Prince, to that of a powerful and faithful Republick! At  
 which Words he threw himself prostrate before *Anicius*. The *Prætor* raised him  
 up, treated him civilly, made him eat with him at his Table, and after a fine En-  
 tertainment committed him to the Care of a *Legionary Tribune*. Some Days after,  
 the King, the two Queens his Mother and Wife, with three Princes of the  
 Royal Family, were sent Captives to *Rome* in order to grace the *Prætor's* future  
 Triumph.

*The Ro-  
 mans con-  
 quer Illyri-  
 cum.*

§. 12, 13, 14, 15. As for the *Consul Æmilius*, considering the Enemy he had to  
 contend with, and the Country he had to subdue, his Conquests were yet more ra-  
 pid than those of *Anicius*. As soon as he arrived in *Thessaly* where his Army was  
 now encamped on the Banks of the *Enipeus*, he first applied himself to correct some  
 Defects in Matter of Discipline, and then took his Measures for penetrating into  
*Macedon*. He detached five thousand Men under his eldest Son *Fabius Æmilianus*  
 and his Son-in-Law *Scipio Nasica* to surprize *Pythium* on the Top of Mount *Olym-*  
*pus*. *Perfes*, who was encamped on the opposite side of the *Enipeus*, having No-  
 tice of this Motion by a Deserter, sent away a more numerous Detachment to inter-  
 cept that of the *Consul*, but the *Macedonians* were defeated and cut in pieces. The  
 News of this Disaster threw the King, who was already discouraged by the Mis-  
 fortunes of *Gentius*, into great Perplexity, and at length he resolved to quit his  
 Camp and retire into *Macedon* under the Walls of *Pydna*.

*N. B. There  
 seems to have  
 been two Ri-  
 vers of this  
 Name, one in  
 Thessaly, the o-  
 ther in Mace-  
 don.*

§. 16. Hither *Æmi-*  
*lius* followed him, but restrained the Impetuosity of his Men who were eager to  
 fight



fight the very Moment they arrived. He made them take time to refresh themselves after the Fatigue of their March, and he finished Entrenchments for a Camp in order to secure a Retreat against all Events. This last he artfully contrived to do, while his Army was drawn up in Battalia and facing the Enemy, who were likewise drawn up in good Order and ready for an Engagement. When his Lines were perfected he made his Troops retire within them to repose themselves that Night. His Son-in-Law *Nasica* took the Liberty to remonstrate against this Proceeding, as what would bring the Reproach of Cowardice and Misconduct upon him: *Let us give Battel this Moment*, said he, *nor suffer it to be said that we let slip an Opportunity of conquering.* The General made only this short Reply, *At your Age I talked as you do; and you at mine will act as I do.* §. 17. The *Macedonians* triumphed to see the *Consul* decline fighting, and when he had left the Plain, they retired likewise into their Camp. But their Repose was much disturbed by an Eclipse of the Moon, through their Ignorance of the Cause of it. *Æmilius* had taken Care to have it foretold to his Army, and thereby prevented their being terrified.

Perfes totally defeated in the Battel of Pydna.

§. 18, 19. The next Day the two Armies were drawn out, but not so much to fight as to look at one another; and a general Action would have been postponed through some prudential Considerations on both Sides, if an Accident had not brought it on. There was a shallow River between the two Camps and both Parties watered their Horses there. It happened that a Horse got out of the Hand of a *Roman* who was leading him and ran pretty far into the River. Two *Thracians* of the Enemy's Guard posted on the opposite side went into the Water to seize the Horse, and three *Romans* at the same time ran to recover him. One of the *Thracians* was killed; his Countrymen on Guard, to the Number of eight hundred, who saw it, advanced to revenge his Death; this put the *Romans* in Motion, and by Degrees brought on a general Action. *Perfes's* Army consisted of forty five thousand Men of the finest Troops that had been seen in *Macedon* since the Time of *Alexander the Great*, and the *Macedonian Phalangites* never behaved themselves with greater Bravery than on this Occasion. They stood their Ground for a long time after their King was wounded and left the Field. However the *Romans*, though inferior in Number, obtained a complete Victory by the excellent Conduct of their General, who invented at this Time a new Method to break the Enemy's *Phalanx*. He divided his *Legions* into many small pointed Battalions, which attacked it in different Places at the same time; and this Stratagem succeeded. The *Macedonians* lost near twenty five thousand Men in the Battel, five thousand of the Fugitives were taken Prisoners in the Plain, and six thousand more in *Pydna*. The *Roman* did not lose above an hundred Men.

§. 20. As for *Perfes*, he fled first to *Pella*, where in a Rage he stabbed the two Guardians of his Treasure for giving him some wholesome Advice mixed with a little Reproach for his past Conduct. This barbarous Action alienated from him all his Friends who had escaped out of the Battel, so that though invited to come to Court they would not appear. Three Strangers only, of which *Evander the Cretan* was one, continued about his Person. The King therefore thinking himself not safe at *Pella*, retired thence with his Family and all his Treasures to *Amphipolis*. His only Guard was five hundred *Cretan* Horses, who followed him not so much out of Affection to him as to his Money, of which they hoped to share.

§. 21. In the mean time *Hippias*, *Milo* and *Pantauchus* who had been the chief Commanders of the *Macedonian* Army, surrendered themselves to the *Consul*, offered him their Services, and delivered up *Berea* to him. When *Perfes* came to *Amphipolis*, he would have harangued the Citizens whom he assembled in the Market Place; he came thither attended by his eldest Son *Philip*, and began his Speech, but it was so often interrupted by his Tears, that he was at last obliged to leave the *Tribune of Harangues* and return Home. *Evander* would have supplied his Place and spoken to the Assembly, but they would not hear him; and by their Words and Behaviour they gave him to understand, that neither the King nor the *Cretans* would be suffered to continue in *Amphipolis*. *Perfes* therefore put his Family, his Treasures, and his Guard of *Cretans* on board some Barks which were on the River *Strymon*, and embarking with them, followed the Course of the Stream. *Cotys* the King of the *Odrysians*, who had hitherto accompanied him, left him here, and returned into his own Country; but the *Cretans* still adhered to him, in daily Expectation of the happy Moment when they should get some of his Treasures. He knew what they aimed at, and to satisfy them, caused some Gold and Silver Vases, &c. to the Value of fifty Talents to be laid on the Shore as a Booty for which they might scramble. He would not make the Distribution himself, for fear of raising Discontents among them. When the *Cretans* had loaded themselves with these Riches, they reembarked in all Haste to secure their Booty from the *Romans*; and the little Fleet sailed to *Galepsos*, a maritime Town between the Mouths of the *Strymon* and the *Hebrus*. But now *Perfes* repented of his Liberality; no change of Circumstances could alter his natural Temper.



Year of per. He employed an Artifice to recover the fifty Talents from the *Cretans*. He pre-  
 ROME tended that among the Cups and Urns which he had given them, there were by  
 585. Mistake some which had belonged to *Alexander the Great*, for whose Memory he  
 had so high a Respect, that it grieved him to have parted with the least Thing that  
 had belonged to that Hero, and he offered to give double the intrinsic Value of  
 them to have them again. The *Cretans* were imposed upon by this Declaration,  
 and brought back their Urns and Vases; the King seized them but spoke no more  
 of the Reward, and by this base Artifice recovered at least thirty Talents. His  
 Guard finding themselves cheated, loaded him with Curses; and he therefore thought  
 it adviseable not to continue any longer at their Mercy. *Samothrace* was an Island  
 which Religion made sacred; it was dedicated to *Cybele* the Mother of the Gods;  
 she was thought to have formerly dwelt in it, and this made it respected by all the  
 Nations of the World, even more than the Temple of *Delphi* or the Island of  
*Delos*. The fugitive King hoping that the *Romans* would not prophane this Sanc-  
 tuary by staining it with his Blood, went thither with his Family, and with the  
 Remains of his dear Treasure, which still amounted to about two thousand Talents.  
 He took up his Habitation in a Temple dedicated to *Castor* and *Pollux*, and there  
 waited for the Departure of the *Romans*, or some favourable Turn of Fortune.

§. 22. The *Consul* sent Orders to *Octavius* the *Roman* Admiral to invest the Island  
 with his Fleet, while he himself marched into the Heart of *Macedon*. *Thessalonica* All Mace-  
 and *Pella* readily submitted. In the latter *Æmilius* found the three hundred Ta- don submits  
 lents of which *Perfes* had defrauded King *Gentius*. Here he likewise received Em- to the Ro-  
 bassies and Congratulations from all Parts of *Greece*, and then set out for *Amphipolis*. mans.  
 In short, he passed on victoriously through all the Provinces of *Macedon*, and came  
 at length to *Siræ*, a Town in the most Eastern-part of the Kingdom, where he  
 waited some Days to hear how *Octavius* succeeded in his Expedition.

§. 23. *Perfes* depended for the Safety of his Person and Family on the Sanctity  
 of the Place he had chosen for an Asylum; and in order to soften his Conquer-  
 or, he sent an Embassy to him. The Ambassadors and their Train were such as  
 shewed the Misery of a King reduced to the last Extremity. He had no Lord of  
 his Court to put at the Head of the Deputation; they had all deserted him. *Æmi-  
 lius* at the Sight of the Deputies (who came to him at *Siræ*) could not refrain from  
 Tears. He was struck with the low Condition to which so great a Prince was  
 reduced. *Is this*, said he, *that Perfes, that Successor of Alexander the Great, that*  
*proud Monarch, whose Ambition knew no Bounds? Confined to the narrow Limits of a*  
*little Island, he is there like a Victim at the Foot of the Altar waiting for the Ax of*  
*the Sacrificer.* But though the *Consul* was at first mollified by these Reflections, yet  
 when he had read the Superscription of *Perfes's* Letter, where he had stiled himself  
 King, his Pride was so offended that he turned his Back upon the Ambassadors, and  
 sent them away without an Answer. And now *Perfes* felt the Weight of his Cala-  
 mities more severely than ever; he was forced to change his Stile and write as a  
 private Person, PERSES TO THE CONSUL PAULUS ÆMILIUS. The second Letter  
 was well received, and the *Consul*, in Compliance with the King's Request, sent  
 three Officers to confer with him on the present Posture of his Affairs. But their  
 Voyage was to no Effect. They demanded of the *Macedonian*, by way of Preli-  
 minary, that he should abdicate the Title of King, and absolutely leave his Fate to  
 be determined by the *Roman* Senate and People. *Perfes* steadily insisted, that the  
 Character he had received from his Ancestors was indelible, and that a lawful So-  
 vereign could not lay down his Sovereignty but with his Life. The only Instance  
 in which the unhappy Prince did Honour to the Crown he had so often dishonour-  
 ed. In the mean while the *Roman* Fleet drew near to *Samothrace*, and invested it.  
*Octavius* landed peaceably, nor did he think it adviseable to use any Violence to  
 force the King from the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*. He only pressed him in an  
 amicable Manner to throw himself on the Clemency of the *Romans*. But when he  
 found *Perfes* inflexible on this Head, he tried all Means possible to persuade the  
 Inhabitants to drive him out of their Island. It was urged to them that they ought  
 not to harbour and protect Assassins in so holy a Place. The *Samothracians* knew  
 that the King was the Person meant, but they chose rather to apply the Reproach  
 to *Evander*, whom *Perfes* had employed to assassinate *Eumenes*. *Evander* was sum-  
 moned to appear before the People and justify himself from the Charge. And now  
 the King fearing that this only Friend who had followed his Fortunes to the last,  
 and knew all his Secrets, would by Tortures be brought to confess the Crime, and  
 load him with new Infamy, he took him aside, and prest him earnestly to kill him-  
 self. The *Cretan* seemed to relish the Proposal, promised to poison himself, and imme-  
 diately left the King's Presence; but *Perfes* suspecting that his real Design was to make  
 an Escape, sent after him and got him murdered. §. 24. And now the wretched  
 King being upon the Rack with inward Remorse, without Troops, Friends, or  
 even Hope of Protection from the Gods, whose most sacred *Asylum* he had pro-  
 phaned,



phaned, endeavoured to get away from a Place where both Heaven and Earth seem'd Year of  
to conspire against him. He privately contracted with a *Cretan* Merchant (whose Ship *ROME*  
was lying at Anchor under *Demetrium* a Promontory of *Samothrace*) to convey him 585.  
and his Effects into *Thrace*, to *Cotys* his old Friend and Ally. *Perfes* was to send  
his Chests of Treasure before him in the Dusk of the Evening, and he himself was  
to embark before break of Day. However, as Avarice is always suspicious, the  
King had the Caution to send only the least part of his Treasures before him. In  
the dead of the Night he set out himself, accompanied only by his eldest Son *Philip*,  
and three Men in whom he could confide. The rest of his Household, that is to say, his  
other Children, his Pages, and all his Retinue were left behind. But when he came  
to the Sea Shore, he, to his great Surprize, found no Ship there. The perfidious  
*Cretan* had set Sail in the middle of the Night and carried off a part of the King's  
Treasure. *Perfes* was inconsolable for the Loss, and rambled about the Shore for  
some time in great Perplexity what to do. He was ashamed of having left his Chil-  
dren and Household to the Mercy of the *Romans*; and for fear of being reproached  
by them, would not return to the Apartments adjoining to the Temple where he  
had before lived, but went into the Temple itself, and hid himself in a Corner of  
it. In the mean time *Octavius* having Notice of this base Conduct of *Perfes* in re-  
lation to his Household, caused Proclamation to be made in the City by Sound of  
Trumpet, *That all those of the King's Pages, and of the other Macedonians in his*  
*Retinue who would surrender themselves voluntarily to the Romans, should have Life*  
*and Liberty.* Express mention was made of the Pages, because they were the chief of the  
young Lords of the Kingdom, whom the King kept always near his Person as Pledges  
of their Father's Fidelity. These young Nobles immediately surrendered themselves  
to the *Prætor*, and their Example was followed by all the King's Sons except the eldest.  
This last Stroke threw *Perfes* into Despair, and he had no Way left to save his Life but  
to surrender himself to *Octavius*. He inveighed bitterly against the Gods and against For-  
tune, and then consented to be carried with Prince *Philip* his eldest Son, and the Re-  
mains of his Treasure to *Amphipolis*, whither the *Consul* came to meet him, and re-  
ceive his Submissions. §. 25. *Perfes* entered the *Roman* Camp in a mourning  
Habit suitable to his present Condition, and without one *Macedonian* to attend him.  
He is said to have cast himself prostrate before the *Consul*, and to have uttered Ex-  
pressions unworthy the Majesty of a King; upon which *Æmilius* said to him, *Un-*  
*fortunate Prince, why do you dishonour my Victory by this Weakness? Your Humilia-*  
*tion lessens the Value of the Advantages Rome has gained over you. Rather impute*  
*your Misfortunes to Destiny, than to your own Imprudence.* *Æmilius* was a Stoick, and  
had been taught to impute all Events to an inevitable Fatality; and he did not con-  
sider that he thereby destroyed the Merit of his Victory, and lessened the Value of  
it more than *Perfes* had done by his Meanness and Cowardice. After some further  
Conversation with the King with whom he expostulated on his Imprudence in  
breaking Friendship with the Republick, he shut himself up in his own Tent with  
only his Sons and his Sons-in-Law, and made a grave philosophical Discourse to  
them on the very affecting and instructive Instance of the Revolutions of Fortune,  
which they had before their Eyes in the Person of the King of *Macedon*. The Day  
concluded with a fine Entertainment which *Æmilius* gave *Perfes*, whom he caressed,  
and in all Points treated with Honour and Respect; after which he committed  
him to the Care of an Officer, till the time should come for transporting him to  
*Rome*.

*Perfes sur-*  
*renders*  
*himself Pri-*  
*soner to the*  
*Romans.*

Thus ended the second *Macedonian* War (which had lasted four Years) and with  
it the *Macedonian* Monarchy, after it had continued in Splendor an hundred and  
ninety three Years, reckoning only from *Philip* the Father of *Alexander the*  
*Great*.

## B O O K XLVI.

§. 1, 2. **T**WO complete Victories, followed by the Conquest of two Kingdoms,  
and the Captivity of two Kings, rendered the Campaign of the Year  
585 the most glorious of any the *Romans* had ever made since the Foundation of  
their City. Unfortunately for the Republick of *Rhodes*, her Ambassadors came to  
*Rome* to mediate for *Perfes*, just when the News of his Defeat was published. The  
Senate maliciously chose this Time to give them Audience; and though the chief  
of the Embassy changed his intended haughty Demands into Congratulations, he re-  
ceived an Answer full of Severity and Reproaches. The *Rhodians* were so much  
terrified by it, that they returned Home, and exhorted their Countrymen to regain  
the good Will of the supreme Republick by all Sorts of Submissions. §. 3. About  
this Time *Antiochus Epiphanes*, though much dissatisfied with the haughty Treat-  
ment



Year of ment he had met with from *Popillius* the Roman Commissioner (who had ordered ROME him to desist from his Enterprize upon *Egypt*, and had put a Stop to his Conquests) sent an Embassy to the Senate to make his Court to them. The Chief of the

585. Deputation addressed the *Conscript Fathers* in the following Manner. *Though Popillius communicated your Pleasure to the King my Master, at a time when all Egypt was ready to sink under his victorious Arms; yet he preferred Obedience to Conquest. He thinks himself as indispensably obliged to submit to the Decisions of Rome, as to the Will of the Gods.* The Answer of the Senate was in these Words. *Antiochus did wisely in executing our Orders. The Senate and People of Rome are well satisfied with it.* After the Syrian Ambassadors, those of *Egypt* were introduced. The two Brothers who had contended for the Kingdom were now reconciled by the Mediation of *Popillius* and his Collegues. The Elder had taken Possession of *Egypt*, properly so called, for his Share; and *Cyrenaica*, with a Part of *Lybia*, had been allotted to the Younger. The Head of the *Egyptian* Embassy addressed himself to the Senate in the Name of *Cleopatra* and her two Sons: *To you, Conscript Fathers, we owe the Deliverance of Egypt, and the Concord that reigns among us. The Departure of Antiochus, and the Partition of our Provinces between the two rival Princes, have secured our Liberty, and restored us Peace. A double Benefit, for which the Kings and People of Egypt are as much indebted to you as Children to their Parents, or Men to the Gods.* The Speaker seemed to be sincere, and the Senators were therefore gracious in their Answer. *Rome, said they, shares your Happiness, and is affected with your Gratitude. Egypt may always depend upon her Protection.*

§. 4. But no Compliments of Congratulation were so kindly received by the Senate, or so politely returned, as those from *Masinissa*. Both his Son *Masgaba*, and his natural Son *Misagenes*, who had served in the War under *Æmilius*, were treated with all possible Marks of Honour and Distinction.

586. The *Comitia* being held for the new Elections, *Q. Ælius Pætus* and *M. Junius Pennus* were raised to the *Consulate*. *Æmilius* however was continued in his *Comsulsip*. *mand* in *Macedon* as *Pro-Consul*, and *Anicius* and *Octavius* in their respective Provinces as *Pro-Prætors*.

§. 5. The first Business of the new *Consuls* was to reconcile the two *Censors*, *Tib. Gracchus* and *C. Claudius*, who after living in perfect Union for two Years, had fallen out about a Regulation concerning the *Freed-men*. These were a factious Set of People, who by a former Law had been excluded the *Country Tribes*, and confined to the four *City Tribes*, that they might have the less Scope to do Mischief. However, they even here created so many Disturbances by their Intrigues, that *Gracchus* was for depriving most of them entirely of the Right of Suffrage; but his Collegue opposed this Design as illegal, and as something that exceeded the Power of the *Censors* to do. A middle Way was therefore suggested by the *Consuls* and agreed to. The *Freed-men*, by a *Censorial Decree*, were all to be incorporated into one *Tribe* only, and it fell by Lot to the *Esquiline Tribe* to receive them. Thus they still preserved their Right of Suffrage; but their Faction was much less formidable than before, since the utmost they could do was to make one Vote in the *Comitia* by *Tribes*. This Contention being over the *Consuls* drew Lots for their Provinces. *Liguria* fell to *Junius Pennus*, and *Cisalpine Gaul* to *Ælius Pætus*; not that there was any real Necessity of sending Armies to those Places, all was quiet from the *Alps* to the *Ionian Sea*; but it was the Policy of the Republick to be the Aggressor, and make Quarrels rather than lay down her Arms.

*A new Regulation concerning the Freed-men.*

And now before the *Consuls* left *Rome*, Princes and Ambassadors came thither from all Parts of the *Levant*, some to be rewarded, others to return Thanks, others with Compliments and Presents, and lastly, others to make Apologies for their Conduct.

§. 6. The first foreign Prince who appeared was *Attalus*, whose Zeal for the Republick the ill Example of his Brother *Eumenes* had not lessened; he was become entirely *Roman*. The Senate were so sensible of his Services and Attachment to the *Roman* Interest, that they were disposed to reward his Fidelity by transferring the Crown of *Pergamus* from his Brother to him. But he, to their great Surprise, said nothing, when he was admitted to an Audience, that had the least Tendency that Way. He only congratulated the Republick on her Victory, gave a plain Narrative of the Services he had done her, commended the King his Brother, and desired nothing more than that Commissioners might be appointed to go into *Asia*, and oblige the *Galatians* to cease their Hostilities against *Eumenes*, whose Dominions they had invaded. The Senate were charmed with the Disinterestedness of the *Pergamenian* Prince; they extolled his Virtue, did him great Honours, and made him Presents. He left *Rome* much more esteemed and respected, than if he had raised himself to a Throne on the Ruins of his Brother.

§. 7. But the Treatment which the Ambassadors from *Rhodes* met with was very different from that of *Attalus*. They were not only refused an Audience, but the *Tribes* were moved by the *Prætor Juventius Thalna* to declare War against the *Rhodians*, and to



\* Vid. p.  
485.

† Vide p.  
487.

send one of the present Magistrates immediately to begin Hostilities. However, Year of  
as this Motion was opposed by some of the *Tribunes*, and the Contest grew warm, ROME  
the Senate was at length obliged to admit the *Rhodian* Ambassadors into their As- 586.  
sembly, and give them leave to speak in their own Vindication. *Astydemes* was

their Mouth, and he made a long \* Harangue, wherein he confessed that Vanity  
was indeed the Vice of his Countrymen, and that they were very apt to talk arro-  
gantly and impertinently; but he hoped, that the *Romans* would not think any In-  
stance of this national Weakness such a Crime, as deserved to be punished capitally.  
He farther urged the many important Services which *Rhodes* had formerly done the  
Republick; and that though of late she had ceas'd to assist the *Romans*, she had  
never committed Hostilities against them; and he concluded with declaring the entire  
Submission of the *Rhodians* to the Good-Will and Pleasure of *Rome*, and their Re-  
solution to make no Resistance to her Arms in case of an Attack. §. 8. The

Orator having finished his Harangue, the Ambassadors withdrew, and the Matter  
was discuss'd in the House. *Cato* put an End to the Debate by a † Speech full of  
Spirit and good Sense. He reproached the Senators with being blinded and infatu-  
ated by Prosperity, since nothing else, he said, could have made them deliberate whe-  
ther they should destroy a Republick, against whom the only Charge was secret  
Thoughts and proud Words. O ye immortal Gods, said he, shall we then usurp your  
Rights? Shall we search into Mens Thoughts to find Enemies? Have we not open and  
declared Enemies enough? I shall readily grant that the *Rhodians* were heartily grieved for  
the Defeat and Captivity of *Perfes*. Nay I shall allow that Compassion for him had not  
so great a Share in their Affliction, as their own Interest. But is it then unlawful to  
wish for Liberty? *Rome* is a powerful State, and capable of swallowing up all the  
Countries of the East. *Macedon*, the only Bulwark against her, was destroyed, the In-  
undation was drawing near, and hence their Fears and Alarms. Did the *Rhodians*  
hate you? No, but they loved themselves. Which of us would not be uneasy to see a  
formidable Neighbour in Possession of Lands adjoining to ours? What would we not do to get  
rid of such a Neighbourhood? Any Means but Violence are lawful. This is the present Case.  
The *Rhodians* wished that *Perfes* might not be ruined, and that the Barrier which sepa-  
rated them from us might not be thrown down. And what is there criminal in this?  
Besides, are bare Wishes punishable? Which of us has not desired to enjoy a greater  
Quantity of Land than the Law allows him? But it is also said, that the *Rhodians*  
shewed their Pride by Words: And indeed one of their Ambassadors did drop some very  
arrogant and haughty Expressions. But what can be inferred from thence more than  
this, that there is a Nation in the World more haughty and imperious than the *Ro-*  
*mans*? &c. &c. *Cato's* Arguments had their Effect on the Majority of the Sena-  
tors, so that War was not declared against *Rhodes*; but she was deprived of  
all Dominion over *Lycia* and *Caria* formerly granted her. §. 9. The

Senate's next Business was to receive Compliments of Congratulation from the  
*Athenians*, from the two *Ptolomies*, and from *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*. The  
last came in Person to *Rome* and carried his Flattery to a monstrous Excess of Mean-  
ness. He shaved his Head, took the Habit and Sandals of a *Freedman*, and put on  
one of those Caps which were worn by enfranchis'd Slaves. In this odd Dress he  
advanced to the *Forum*, attended by gazing Multitudes. His Arrival being notified  
to the *Fathers*, they instantly sent Deputies to receive him and introduce him into  
the Senate. I have put on, said *Prusias* to the Deputies, the Habit and Appearance  
of one of your Freedmen. What am I better than a Slave of *Rome* set at Liberty by  
your Favour? And when he entered the Senate-House, he kissed the Threshold of  
the Door, and called the Senators visible Divinities, Saviours and Deliverers; then  
he reminded them of the Succours he had sent the Republick during the War with  
*Perfes*, and concluded, with imploring her Protection for himself, and the Continu-  
ance of her Good-Will to his Son. The *Fathers* received the King graciously, gave  
him leave to offer Sacrifices on the *Capitol* and at *Prænestæ* (which he had desired  
to do, by way of Thanksgiving for their Success) and made him a Present of two  
hundred and twenty five Barks which had been taken from *Gentius* King of *Illyri-*  
*cum*. No sooner had *Prusias* set sail from *Brundisium*, when News was brought  
to *Rome* that the King of *Pergamus* was landed there. This perplexed the Senate,  
for they were unwilling to revenge themselves upon him by any open or direct Act,  
nor would they forgive him his Unfaithfulness. At length they fell upon this Ex-  
pedient; they passed a Decree, forbidding all Kings in general to come to *Rome* un-  
less sent for; and the Pretence for this Resolution was the great Expence to which  
foreign Princes by their frequent Visits of late had put the Republick. As soon  
therefore as the Arrival of *Eumenes* was regularly notified, a *Quæstor* was sent to ac-  
quaint him with the Decree, and to know his Business with the Senate. The King  
disdained to give the *Quæstor* any Answer, he immediately embarked again and re-  
turned to his own Dominions. §. 10. And now the chief Business of the Se-  
nate was to settle the Government of the two conquered Countries, *Illyricum* and

*Macedon*,



Year of Macedon, and instead of reducing them to Roman Provinces, it was determined to *The Ro-*  
*ROME* shape them into the Form of Republicks. Ten Commissioners were appointed to manstran-  
 586. assist *Paulus Æmilius* in settling *Macedon*, and five to assist *Anicius* in *Illyricum*. How- form the  
 ever the Republick gave the Commissioners a Sketch of the Regulations which Kingdoms  
 she would have established in those Countries.

§. 11. As to *Illyricum*, of *Illyri-*  
 Liberty was proclaimed to the whole Nation by a Herald. *Rome* promised to cum and  
 withdraw her Garrisons out of all the Places she possessed there, and to exact no Macedon  
 more than half the Tribute which the *Illyricans* had formerly paid their Kings. into Repub-  
 Some Cities which had voluntarily surrendered to the *Romans* in the beginning of licks.

the War were excused from Taxes forever. And lastly, the Commissioners divided  
 the Kingdom of *Gentius* into three Cantons. The first contained *Illyricum*, pro-  
 perly so called, the second all the Country of the *Labeates*, and the third the Pro-  
 vinces of *Agrovanitæ*, *Rhizonitæ* and *Olciniatæ*; and this Division long continued.

When this great Work was finished *Anicius* went to spend the Winter in *Epirus*.

§. 12. In the mean time *Paulus Æmilius*, before the ten Commissioners arrived to  
 settle the Fate of *Macedon*, made a Tour of Pleasure, and visited all the finest Pro-  
 vinces, Cities and Temples of *Greece*; and he signalized himself wherever he came  
 by his Prudence, Justice and Liberality. He would not enquire who of the *Greeks*  
 had declared for *Perfes*; and he treated the secret Enemies of *Rome* with the same  
 Regard as her old Friends. By this Means he avoided giving new Alarms, and kept  
 the People in their Duty.

§. 13. At length the ten Deputies arrived at *Am-*  
*phipolis* where this august Council was to sit and do Business. The most material  
 Articles of the Resolution they came to in relation to *Macedon* were as follow.

1. All the Cities of *Macedon* shall be free, and annually chuse their own Magistrates.

2. Every private Person shall continue in Possession of his Land and his Effects.

3. The whole Nation shall pay the Romans but half the Tribute which it formerly paid its

Kings.

4. The whole Country shall be divided into four Cantons, of which *Amphipolis*,  
*Pella*, *Thessalonica*, and *Strobos* in *Pelagonia* shall be the Capitals. In these chief

Cities shall be held the particular Diets of each Canton, and there the Magistrates shall

be elected and the Tribute Money paid.

5. No Person shall be suffered to marry or pur-  
 chase Lands or Houses out of his own Canton.

6. No Macedonian shall be suffered to  
 work in Gold or Silver Mines, but they may in those of Copper and Iron, &c. &c.

The Macedonians were pleased with the Liberty granted them and with the Diminution  
 of Taxes, but the Prohibition to marry, &c. out of their respective Cantons gave them  
 great Uneasiness. This was a dividing of them, consider'd as one People who  
 had the same *Patria*, the same common Country. However, little Regard was  
 had to their Murmurings on this Head, and they were soon over.

§. 14. After these Regulations the Commissioners gave Audience to the Heads of the *Greek* Na-  
 tions. The *Ætolians* complain'd of some Severities from the *Roman Prætor Bæbius*,  
 but the Conduct of the latter, upon an Examination, was approved. It was de-  
 clared by a Decree, that those he had put to Death had suffered justly, as having  
 openly espoused the Cause of *Perfes*, and that those he had exiled, deserved Banish-  
 ment. The News of this Decision struck a Terror into all those among the *Greeks*  
 who were conscious of having favoured the *Macedonian*. During the War, *Greece*  
 had been divided into three Factions, *The Romanites*, *The Perseites* and *The Indif-*  
*ferents*; and now the first made it their Business to accuse great Numbers of the  
 two latter before the Commissioners. Some of the Accused were punished upon the  
 Spot, and others order'd to follow *Æmilius* to *Rome*, and there give an Account of  
 their Conduct. Before the *Pro-Consul* return'd to *Italy*, he put the last Hand to the  
 new Government in *Macedon*. Having assembled a General Diet of the four Cantons of  
 the Country, he read to them a List of the Magistrates he himself had chosen to  
 compose the particular Senate of each Canton. Then he published a Decree, That  
 all those who had had any Share in the former Government should, under Pain of  
 Death, leave *Macedon* and go into *Italy*; the Ministers of State, Officers of the  
 Exchequer, Generals of Armies, Admirals, Governors of Provinces and fortified  
 Towns, Persons employed in Embassies, and lastly, all the Courtiers whom the King  
 had honoured with his Favour and Confidence. This Decree seemed at first very  
 severe, and the People murmured at it. But when they came to consider the Charac-  
 ters of the Persons exil'd, and that they were most of them Slaves of Fortune, who had  
 abused the King's Favour to exercise Tyranny, Rapine and Extortion, they rejoiced  
 in the Sentence passed against them. As to the new Senators, *Æmilius* gave them  
 such prudent and reasonable Rules of civil Government to act by, that Time itself,  
 that severe Judge of Laws, never weaken'd the Force of them.

§. 15, 16. When the *Pro-Consul* had thus settled all the Affairs of *Macedon*, and  
 had diverted himself with seeing the *Great Games*\* celebrated with the utmost Mag-  
 nificence at *Amphipolis*, he prepared to conduct his Army back to *Rome*. But \* *Vide p.*  
 whilst every thing was getting ready for his Departure, he receiv'd positive Orders 500.  
 from the Senate to go into *Epirus*, and to plunder and demolish the Cities of that  
 rebellious



rebellious Country. The *Epirots* had assisted *Perfes* after repeated Oaths to be faithful to the *Romans*. *Æmilius* executed his Instructions with Reluctance; but as he must obey, he conducted himself in this Affair with great Prudence, so as to meet with no Opposition, and to secure the best part of the Plunder for the publick Treasury.

§. 17. All the East was now in Peace except the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, which the *Galatians*, under their King *Solovettius*, had invaded. The *Romans*, at the Solicitation of *Attalus* the Brother of King *Eumenes*, sent Deputies thither to forbid *Solovettius* to continue his Hostilities. These Deputies thought to intimidate the *Galatian* Prince by haughty Airs, as *Popillius* had formerly done *Antiochus*; but the *Galatian* despised their Menaces, and would obey none of their Commands. However, he afterwards sent to *Rome* to appease the Republick, and he easily obtained a Reconciliation.

§. 18, 19. The three successful Commanders, *Æmilius*, *Anicius* and *Octavius* arrived in *Italy* much about the same time. But now, which is very surprizing, the *Legionaries* who had serv'd under the first and most considerable of these Generals both by his Merit and Conquests, endeavoured to hinder his being honoured with a Triumph. The true Cause of this Malice was the severe Discipline he had kept them under during the War, and his not suffering them to enrich themselves with Plunder so much as they had wished to do. However, *M. Servilius*, an able Orator and brave Soldier, who had formerly been *Consul*, made a long Harangue to the People on this Occasion in favour of *Æmilius*, and by his Eloquence and Arguments prevailed upon the Majority of the *Tribes* to do the Conqueror of *Macedon* Justice. While every thing was preparing for his triumphal Procession, *Perfes* sent from his Prison to entreat the Victor to spare him the Confusion of appearing in publick on that Occasion. *Æmilius* gave the Messenger the following Answer, Tell *Perfes* that it long has been and still is in his own Power to rid himself of our Chains. This was telling him plainly enough that only Poison or a Poniard could preserve him from the Disgrace he feared. However, the Love of Life, or perhaps some Remains of Hope determined *Perfes* to prefer the most shameful of all Indignities to what the Pagans thought an honourable Death. And by this Cowardice alone the captive King was thought to have merited all the Calamities that overwhelmed him.

\* Vid. p.  
509, 510.

[§. 20. The \*Triumph of *Paulus Æmilius* is described.] *Rome* was so much enriched by the valuable Spoils brought from *Macedon*, that she had no Occasion to lay any Tax on the People from this Time to that of *Augustus*.

§. 21. But notwithstanding the prodigious Sums with which *Æmilius* filled the Treasury of the Republick he continued poor himself; and after his Triumph returned to a private Life. In the height of all his Glory, his two Sons by a second Marriage both died, the elder five Days before his Triumph, and the younger three Days after it. Just before his Retreat, he harangued the People, wherein he took Notice of this severe Stroke of Fortune on himself, and expressed his Acquiescence to it, provided it might satisfy the Gods and avert any Evils from the Republick, which after so much Prosperity she might have Reason to expect.

§. 22. The Triumph of *Æmilius* was followed the next Day by that of the *Pro-Prætor Octavius*, Admiral of the *Roman* Fleet. The triumphal Procession of *Anicius*, the Conqueror of *Illyricum*, was not till three Months after. King *Gentius* with his Family were led before his Chariot, as *Perfes* and his Children had been before that of the *Pro-Consul*. The latter of these captive Kings was shut up in a close Prison in *Alba*, in the Country of the *Marfi*, where he died miserably. *Gentius* was sent to *Iguvium*, a City of *Umbria* near the *Apennines*. But as for *Bitis*, Son of *Cotys* King of the *Odrysians* in *Thrace*, who had been taken Captive and had graced the Triumph of *Æmilius*, he was, after a short Imprisonment, restored to his Father, whom the Republick was willing to make her Friend, that he might not disturb the new Government settled in *Macedon*.

86th Consulship.

§. 23. The following Year, when *C. Sulpicius Gallus* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* were raised to the *Consulate*, and conducted the *Roman* Armies in *Liguria*, was remarkable for nothing but a Triumph, obtained by the *Consuls*, without having deserved it.

287th Consulship.

§. 24. In the succeeding Consulship of *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *Cn. Octavius Nepos*, *Terence* the famous Dramatick Poet was in his highest Reputation. He was assisted in writing his Comedies, as he owns himself, by *Lælius* and *Scipio*, the two Sons of *Paulus Æmilius*. Nevertheless his *Hecyra*, when performed the first time, did not succeed. While it was acting, a Report was spread that a Company of Rope-Dancers were going to shew some extraordinary Feats, and immediately the Theatre was left empty. Afterwards indeed it was acted with the same Applause as the rest of his Pieces.

But now the Attention of the Senate was called off from these Amusements to some Affairs of Importance in the East. The *Achaëans* made repeated Complaints of the Tyranny exercised over them by the Republick, in banishing great Numbers of their chief Men on a Suspicion of Disaffection, without bringing them to a Trial;



Year of Trial, and hearing them speak in their own Justification: But the Complainants of *ROME* tained no Redress; so that now the first Sparks were kindled in *Achaia* of that Fire,

588. which afterwards consumed *Corinth*. But an Ambassador sent by *Prusias* to accuse the King of *Pergamus* of having entered into a private Treaty with the King of *Syria*, to the Prejudice of the *Roman* Interest, was more favourably heard; and *Tib. Gracchus*, a Man of Penetration, and of such a Disposition as to be incapable of acting by Prejudice, was commissioned to visit all the Courts of *Asia* and States of *Greece*, and bring thence a faithful Account of all Matters that concerned the Republick.

589. §. 25. *Gracchus* found in *Egypt* the two Brothers, *Philometor* and *Physcon*, still at 288th Con-  
Variance. The elder, by the Intrigues of *Cleopatra* their Mother who favoured fulship:  
the younger, had been driven out of *Egypt* into the Island of *Cyprus*, and was replaced on the Throne by the *Egyptians*, who drove *Physcon* from it, in revenge for his having barbarously and ungratefully put his Mother to Death, of whose Authority he was jealous. From *Egypt* the *Roman* Commissioner went into *Syria*, and there found *Antiochus* obstinately carrying on that famous War against *Judea*, in which so much Blood was shed, and so many Profanations committed. The *Syrian* Army consisting of sixty thousand Men, which had been sent against the *Jews*, was just then cut in pieces by *Judas Maccabæus*; and *Gracchus*, upon a near Inspection into the Character of *Antiochus*, finding him to be a meer Trifler, an abject Flatterer of the *Romans*, and a most contemptible Creature in all Respects, left him without the least Apprehensions of his engaging in any Enterprize to the Prejudice of the Republick.

§. 26. After this *Gracchus* went into *Pergamus*, *Achaia*, and *Rhodes*, and then returned to *Rome*. His Report to the Senate was to this Effect, That he could discover no Signs of a Revolt on the part of *Antiochus* or of *Eumenes*, and that *Rome* had nothing to fear in the *Levant* but from the *Achæans*. He added, *Callicrates and Andronidas* [two Partizans of *Rome*] and their Faction, whom you protect, are grown insolent, since you have refused to suffer those Exiles to return Home, whom they accused of favouring *Perfes*; and sooner or later the *Achæans* will attempt to shake off the Yoke which you render insupportable to them. *Gracchus* was not credited as to what he said in relation to the Kings of *Syria* and *Pergamus*; nor did The Fathers give into his Opinion concerning *Achaia*. But the Testimony he gave in Favour of the *Rhodians* was better received. He declared, that the *Rhodians* had punctually obeyed the Orders of the Senate; that they had quietly surrendered up the Cities and Provinces which *Rome* had given from them, and that they had severely punished the Friends of *Perfes*. Upon this Testimony, and at the Entreaties of the *Rhodians* by their Minister *Astymedes*, they were admitted into the Friendship of the Republick; and were more strictly united to her than ever. The Senate thought it good Policy not to multiply Enemies in the East without Necessity, while there was any Apprehension of Danger from the united Powers of *Eumenes* and *Antiochus*.

§. 27. During the present Consulship (of *A. Manlius Torquatus*, and *Q. Cassius Longinus*) *Paulus Æmilius*, who was one of the *Censors*, contributed much to the Tranquillity of *Rome* by his great Prudence and Moderation. He finished the Exercise of this Office with a Lustration, and found in *Rome* three hundred thirty seven thousand five hundred and fifty two Citizens fit to bear Arms. Soon after the Expiration of his *Censorship* he fell sick of a lingering Disease, which in the End carried him off. He would fain have softened the Rigours of the Captivity in which the unfortunate Prince, whom he had conquered, spent his Days at *Alba*. But he had not Interest enough either to get the Dungeon into which *Perfes* was thrown changed for a more convenient and decent Lodging, or to procure him a Table suitable to his Dignity. Some *Perfes dies*.  
Historians say, that this dethroned King killed himself, by refusing to take any Nourishment; and others, that the Soldiers of his Guard made it their Business to hinder him from sleeping, and miserably destroyed him that Way. One of his Sons who survived him, was after a long Captivity reduced to get his Bread, sometimes by doing the Business of a Scribe, and sometimes by working as a Turner. He is said to have excelled in those small Things, which require a very nice Hand. Thus was the Race of the Kings of *Macedon* entirely extinguished by the Misconduct of a Prince, who made it Matter of Sport to treat Religion with Contempt, assassinate Kings and oppress his People.

590. §. 28. For some time past *Rome* had had no Enemies to contend with, except in *Liguria* and *Cisalpine Gaul*; but now, when *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* and *M. Ju-* 289th Con-  
*ventius Thalna* were raised to the Consulship, the latter was obliged to sail with an fulship.  
Army into *Corfica* to quell a Rebellion there, while the other marched against the *Ligurians*. However, neither of these Wars was in reality more than an Amusement. The Republick had no important Affairs on her Hands except in the East. Her Apprehensions of the Engagements between *Eumenes* and *Antiochus* were not totally removed, and she therefore appointed two Commissioners to go into



*Pergamus*, and try to discover the real Intentions of those Princes. *Sulpicius Gallus* Year of and *M. Sergius* in their Way thither visited *Achaia*, and by their Violences and *ROME* imprudent Conduct increased, instead of lessening the Dissentions and Discontents 590 in that Country. But when from *Greece* they came into the Dominions of *Eumenes*, the Subjection of foreign Kings to the imperious Republick appeared in its strongest Light. The *Roman* Deputies published an Edict, giving all *Eumenes's* Subjects leave to bring their Complaints against their King to *Pergamus*; and there they erected their Tribunal of Inquisition in the *Gymnasium*. For ten Days together they heard the Complaints of Multitudes of Malecontents who deposed against their Sovereign. These inconstant *Asiatics* hoped from the favourable Reception they met with, that they should obtain some Change in the Government; however, their Hopes, their Accusations, and all the Bustle made by *Sulpicius* and his Colleague came to nothing. §. 29, 30. Whilst *Memmius* and *Mamilius*, the two

\* See the Account of Antiochus Epiphanes's Death p. 525.

Deputies appointed to visit *Syria*, were on the Road from *Egypt* to *Antioch*, they receiv'd the News of *Antiochus Epiphanes's* \* Death, and that he was succeeded in the Throne by his Son *Antiochus Eupator*, under the Guardianship of *Lysias*, the young Prince being but nine Years old. *Lysias* had commanded the *Syrian* Troops against the *Jews*, and having been defeated three times by *Judas Maccabeus*, had made some Advances towards a Peace. He had granted the Holy Nation the Liberty of practising their own religious Ceremonies, and of living according to their own Laws. Nevertheless *Judas* did not neglect to make use of the Mediation of the *Roman* Deputies to strengthen the Peace he had obtained. He wrote a submissive Letter to *Memmius* and *Mamilius* in the Name of the People, and received a favourable Answer confirming what *Lysias* had granted.

When the News of *Antiochus Epiphanes's* Death, and of the Advancement of *Antiochus Eupator* to the Throne of *Syria* came to *Rome*, it roused the Ambition of *Demetrius*, who had been twelve Years a Hostage at *Rome*, and brought up from his Infancy among the *Romans*. He was the Son of *Seleucus* the late King's elder Brother, and his Right to the Crown of *Syria* was indisputable. Being admitted to an Audience by the Senate, he strongly pleaded his Cause before them, and begged Leave to return Home and take Possession of his Right. Nothing could be more just than his Request; but the Politicians among *The Fathers* thought it more for the Interest of *Rome* to have a Child upon the *Syrian* Throne. Let us make *Antiochus*, said they, the Ward of the Republick, and appoint him Guardians to govern his Dominions in the Name and under the Direction of the *Roman* Senate. Accordingly three Men were appointed for this Purpose, of whom *Cn. Octavius* was the Chief. It is surprizing that the Senate should pass such a Decree and the People confirm it, without the Consent or Privity of the *Syrians*: But such was the despotick Power which the Republick assumed over Kings and Kingdoms. Nor were the *Romans* satisfied with doing this Injustice to *Demetrius*, they gave Instructions to their Commissioners to burn all the Ships with Decks belonging to their Ward, disable his Elephants from Service, and in a Word weaken as much as possible the Forces of his Kingdom. §. 31. Before *Octavius* and his Colleagues arrived in *Syria* new Consuls were chosen at *Rome*, *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica* and *C. Marcius Figulus*; but these new Magistrates, upon some Defect discovered in the Ceremonies of their Inauguration, soon abdicated, and *P. Cornelius Lentulus* with *Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus* were promoted to the Consulate in their stead. *Octavius* in his Way to the Dominions of young *Antiochus* passed through *Cappadocia*, where *Ariarathes* the King of this Country knowing the Temper of the *Syrians*, offered to conduct him into *Syria* with an Army to prevent Insurrections there; but the proud *Roman* confiding in the Majesty of the *Roman* Name declined any other Protection.

290th Consulship.

§. 32. When he arrived at *Laodicea*, a maritime City between *Tripolis* and *Antioch*, he began to put the severe Orders of his Republick in execution, to burn the Ships and disable the Elephants. Strange Presumption! thus to act the Sovereign before he had taken Possession of the Regency. His Pretence was the Treaty made with *Antiochus the Great*, by which the *Syrians* were to build no more Ships of War, nor tame any more Elephants; but this did not satisfy the People. They were highly exasperated, and their Rage against *Octavius* emboldened an *African*, whom *Lysias* had hired to assassinate him, to put the Design in execution by stabbing him in a Bath. When the News of this Murder, and of the Suspicion which *Lysias* lay under of having been concern'd in it, came to *Rome*, it revived the Hopes of *Demetrius*; and he applied once more to the Senate for Leave to go and take Possession of the Kingdom which of right belonged to him. Being a second time refused, he resolved to follow the Advice which his Friend *Polybius*, a yet abler Politician than Historian, had given him before his last Application to *The Fathers*, which was to make his Escape from *Italy*, go into *Syria*, and shew himself to his People, who would undoubtedly recognize his Title to the Throne. §. 33. This Scheme he happily put in execution by the Assistance of *Menithyllus* the

591.

*Octavius*, appointed Regent of *Syria* by the *Romans*, is there assassinated.

Minister



Year of Minister and Agent of *Ptolomy Philometor* at *Rome*. The Senate were not informed  
*ROME* of his Escape till six Days after he had set sail, when it was too late to send after him;  
 591. and they waited without much Uneasiness to hear of the Prince's Arrival and Ad-  
 ventures in *Syria*.

§. 34. In the mean time *Ptolomy Physcon* came to *Rome* to plead his Cause against his elder Brother *Philometor*, who had been there ever since the last Year. *Physcon* had driven him from the Throne, and obliged him to go and seek the Protection of the Senate. The *Romans* had formerly adjudged *Cyrenaica* to *Physcon*, and what he now ask'd was to have the Island of *Cyprus* added to his Share. The Demand was not equitable; but the Senate thinking it for the Interest of the Republick to make a more equal Division than they had done before of the Dominions of *Egypt* between the two Brothers, granted the Island to the Petitioner, and appointed some Commissioners to put him in Possession of it.

§. 35. About this time the *Rhodians* gave a signal Proof of their Submission to *Rome*. *Calynda* a City of *Garia* was besieged by the *Caunians*, and relieved by the *Rhodians*. The *Calyndians* had promised to yield their City to the latter, as soon as it should be delivered from the Enemy; but the *Rhodians* durst not accept of the Surrendry, till they had sent to *Rome* and obtained the Approbation of the Senate.

592. §. 36. And now *M. Valerius Messala* and *C. Fannius Strabo* were chosen *Consuls* 291<sup>st</sup> Con-  
 for the new Year. It is probable that one of them was employed to keep *Liguria* *fulship*.  
 in Awe, and that the other went into *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, but there is no Account  
 of their military Exploits. A new Law call'd *The Fannian \* Law*, because drawn \* See p.  
 up by *Fannius*, was pass'd by the Republick this Year to restrain immoderate Ex- 534.  
 pences at Feasts and Entertainments; and some foreign Rhetoricians and Philoso-  
 phers who kept Schools at *Rome* were banished thence by a Decree of the  
 Senate.

§. 37. During these Regulations at Home the *Romans* did not neglect the Affairs  
 of *Syria*; they sent three Commissioners thither to watch the Steps of *Demetrius*. *Soter gets*  
 This Prince landed first in *Lycia*, and wrote thence a respectful Letter to the Se- *Possession of*  
 nate. Then he continued his Voyage to *Tripolis*, where he no sooner appeared but *the King-*  
 he was proclaimed King by his Subjects. In order to increase the Number of his *dom of Sy-*  
 Friends he declared in all Places wherever he came that he was sent by the *Roman* *ria*.  
 Senate to take Possession of his Dominions. By this Means he made himself Master  
 of *Apamea*, and his Army increased every Day. He marched it to the most Eastern  
 Part of the Kingdom of *Syria*, of which *Babylon* was the Capital. *Timarchus* was  
 the Governor of it, and his Administration was insupportable to the People. *De-*  
*metrius* deliver'd the Country from him, and put him to Death, and from thence  
 got the glorious Surname of *Soter* or Deliverer. After this *Antioch* opened her  
 Gates to him. *Lysias* and his Ward *Antiochus Eupator*, though at the Head of an  
 Army, thought it safest to throw themselves at the Feet of their lawful King, and  
 therefore desired an Audience: But this was refused, which as soon as their Soldi-  
 ers understood, they put them both to Death, believing they should thereby make  
 their Court to *Demetrius*.

## B O O K XLVII.

§. 1. *Demetrius* having got Possession of the Throne of *Syria*, applied himself to  
 gain the Favour of the *Romans*, who he knew had endeavoured to ex-  
 clude him from his Right, only because they doubted whether he would be so sub-  
 missive to their Commands as they desired. His first Point was to get himself ac-  
 knowledged King by *Tib. Gracchus*, the *Roman* Deputy for the Affairs of the *Le-*  
*vant*, who was now in *Cappadocia*. *Demetrius* sent repeated Assurances to him of  
 his inviolable Attachment to the Interests of *Rome*, and *Gracchus* being willing to  
 be persuaded, recogniz'd his Title. Then the King sent an Embassy to *Rome* with  
 a rich Present of a Crown of Gold; at the same time he delivered up both the  
*African* who had murder'd *Octavius*, and a certain Orator named *Isocrates*, who had  
 harangued the People and applauded the Assassination. The Senate accepted the  
 Present, and gave the King seeming Proofs of a perfect Reconciliation, but they rejected  
 the two Victims, as by no Means an adequate Satisfaction to the Republick for the  
 Offence committed against her. Thus by mixing Evidences of Friendship for the  
 Sovereign, with Marks of Resentment against the Nation, the politick *Romans* kept  
 the *Syrians* divided between Fear and Hope.

593. §. 2. The *Consuls* for the new Year, *L. Anicius Gallus* and *M. Cornelius Cathegus*, 292<sup>d</sup> Con-  
 went rather to encamp than make War, one in *Liguria*, the other in *Cisalpine Gaul*. *fulship*.  
 The Republick made it her chief Business to keep all the Princes of the East in  
 their Submission and Dependence on her; and to the end that one or other of them  
 might



- might always give her Notice of what Schemes were forming in the *Levant*, she fomented Divisions and Distrusts among them. *Judas Maccabæus* applied to her for Protection against *Demetrius*, and it was readily granted: The *Romans* enter'd into a Treaty of Confederacy with the *Jews*; and then the Senate wrote the following imperious and threatening Letter to the *Syrian*. *Why have you insulted and oppressed the Jewish Nation? Know that the Jews are our Allies. If you give them the Trouble to send another Embassy to complain of you, we will treat you as an Enemy, and pursue you by Sea and Land.* But this Letter doubtless did not arrive till *Judas Maccabæus* was slain in a Battel, where he commanded only eight hundred Men against a numerous Army of *Syrians* under *Bacchis*. §. 3. Whilst the *Jews* were lamenting the Death of *Judas* (who was succeeded by his Brother *Jonathan* in the Command of their Troops and in the Pontificate) the *Romans* were bewailing that of *Paulus Æmilius*. No Man, except *Scipio Africanus*, had done his Country more important Services. By his Conquest of *Macedon* he had secured to his Republick the Sovereignty over all the East: And he had done her as much Service by his exemplary Virtues as by his Victories. In the midst of that Licentiousness introduced with Riches into *Rome*, he kept up in Repute Frugality, Continnence, a Contempt of Wealth and a Love of Equity. §. 4. The present Consuls signalized themselves but little in their Administration, and their Successors *Cornelius Dolabella* and *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, yet less. §. 5. And in the following Consulship of *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *C. Popillius Lenas*, the Affairs of the East were what chiefly engaged the Attention of the Republick. *Demetrius*, to revenge himself on *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia* for refusing to marry his Daughter, had driven him from his Throne, and placed *Orofernes*, a supposititious Son of the late *Cappadocian* King, upon it. *Ariarathes* fled to *Rome* for Refuge. He pleaded his own Cause before the Senate, and some Ambassadors from *Orofernes* defended that of their Master, and asserted his Legitimacy. They alledged, that *Orofernes* was really the elder Brother of *Ariarathes* by the same Father and Mother, though the Mother, out of Partiality for her younger Son, had persuaded her Husband into a Belief that the elder was neither his Son nor hers. The *Romans* followed the common Maxims of their Policy, which was to divide the Strength of Kingdoms as much as possible, and therefore order'd *Cappadocia* to be shared between the two Competitors. §. 6. And this same Policy made them adhere to their former Determination with Regard to the two *Ptolomies*, who were again at Variance about the Island of *Cyprus*; the Grant of it was confirmed to the younger, to make the Balance of Power equal between them.
- §. 7. But this sovereign Will of the *Romans* was not equally revered in all Places. The *Dalmatians*, who bordered upon *Illyricum*, did not scruple to make Incursions and commit Robberies there, though it was a Country tributary to the Republick. Nay, they would scarce vouchsafe an Audience to *Fannius* the *Roman* Ambassador, who came to complain of their Proceedings and demand Satisfaction. The Senate therefore upon the Report which *Fannius* made of the haughty Treatment he had met with resolved to begin a War with *Dalmatia*, but not immediately; and another Embassy into *Africa*, at the Head of which was *Cato the Censor*, paved the Way for the third War with *Carthage*: So that these two great Enterprizes took their Rise in the Consulship of *Sex. Julius Cæsar*, and *L. Aurelius Orestes*, one of the most peaceable Years that *Rome* had ever known. *Masiniſſa* had invaded *Tysca*, a rich Province belonging to the *Carthaginians*, and the Dispute was referred to the Arbitration of the Senate of *Rome*. The *Fathers* were always inclined to favour the Encroachments of the *Numidian* upon *Carthage*, but they were unwilling to pronounce in this Cause, for fear of bringing a Disgrace upon themselves by a Decree notoriously unjust. They ordered Commissioners therefore to go and determine the Dispute upon the Spot. But when *Cato* and his Colleagues arrived there, the *Carthaginians* would not accept of them for Judges. The Great *Scipio*, said they, settled our Limits by a Treaty of Peace. The Cause has been already decided by that Conqueror, that Arbiter of *Africa*. To alter his Appointments would be to reflect on the Memory of the greatest of Men. This Declaration provoked the Pride of *Cato* to the highest Degree; however, he dissembled his Resentments, and leaving *Tysca* a Prey to *Masiniſſa's* Troops, went to *Carthage*. There he examined every thing with a malicious Eye, in order to find Pretences to exercise his Revenge one Day on that unfortunate City. When he returned to *Rome*, he reported that *Carthage* was grown immensely rich and populous, that her Magazines were crowded with Stores, and her Ports full of Ships; and that the War she was making with the *Numidian* was only an Introduction to a more important one with *Rome*, and concluded with a warm Exhortation to the Senate to lose no time, but immediately send Forces utterly to destroy a City and Republick, which while they subsisted, would ever be an Obstacle to the sovereign Authority of *Rome*, both in the East and South. It is also reported, that he brought from *Carthage* some very large

Year of  
ROME  
593

Paulus Æmilius dies.

293d Consulship.

294th Consulship.

295th Consulship.

The first Occasion of the third Punic War.

594.

595.

596.



Year of large Figs which kept fresh through the whole Voyage, and that shewing them to ROME the *Conscript Fathers* in one of the Lappets of his Robe, he added, *The Country*

596. *where this fine Fruit grows is but three Days Voyage from Rome.* And from this time he was ever inciting them to destroy *Carthage*. Every time he spoke there, be the Subject what it would, he always concluded with these Words, *I am also of Opinion that Carthage should be destroyed.* It is probable that his Wishes would have been sooner accomplished, if *Scipio Nasica* had not constantly and steadily opposed him in this Particular. After the Death of *Paulus Æmilius* these two Men had the chief Sway in the Senate, and almost all Affairs were determined according to their Opinions. §. 9. The two new Wars which were going to break out were doubtless what induced the *Conscript Fathers* to order the *Quæstors* to take an exact Account of the great Riches which had been so long heaping up in the publick Treasury. They found seventeen hundred and twenty seven Pounds weight of Gold, and ninety two thousand three hundred and eighty five Pounds weight of Silver, the whole amounting in Value to about three hundred sixty thousand fifty one Pounds *English Money*, which must have been a prodigious Sum at that time, since the Republick undertook all her future Wars upon the Strength of this Fund, without laying any Tax on the Citizens of *Rome*. And now the Romans 296th Con-  
597. raised to the Consulate *C. Marcius Figulus* and *L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus*. The *fulship*. former was appointed by the Senate without drawing Lots to carry the War into *Dalmatia*. Having crossed the *Adriatick* with his Army, he landed in *Illyricum* and marched thence against the Enemy, who were a savage kind of People, brave, but ignorant in the Art of War. The Consul, through want of Caution, was surprized and defeated by them in the first Battel; after which, the Winter approaching, both Armies quitted the Field till the return of good Weather. Then *Figulus* proceeded with more Circumspection, and took some Towns of Importance, which he reduced to Ashes. But the Glory of happily finishing this War was reserved  
598. for his Successor. §. 10. *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, and *C. Claudius Marcellus* 297th Con-  
being chosen Consuls for the new Year, it fell by Lot to the former to continue the *fulship*. War against the *Dalmatians*. *Nasica* laid Siege to *Delminium* their Capital, and observing that all the Houses were built of Wood, and covered only with combustible Matter, he made use of his *Catapultæ* and *Balistæ* to throw into the Town lighted Torches, which set it on Fire in many Places; and whilst the Inhabitants were labouring to save their Effects, and the Soldiers of the Garrison were busy in plundering, the Romans scaled the Walls. And thus the Consul, almost without any Loss, made himself Master of a City, the Conquest of which was attended with that of all *Dalmatia*. His Colleague *Marcellus* gained likewise some Advan-  
tages against the *Ligurians* and other Nations, for which he was honoured with a Triumph. *Dalmatia conquered by the Romans.*

§. 11. These repeated Prosperities of the Republick, and especially the Conquest of *Dalmatia*, made the Roman Name more and more revered by the Nations in the East. They referred their Quarrels with one another to the Arbitration of the Senate; particularly the *Athenians* at this Time appeal'd to the *Conscript Fathers* from a severe Sentence \* passed against them by the Tribunal of the *Sicyonians*, and they \* See p. obtained Redress.

§. 12. But *Prusias* King of *Bithynia* did not now pay 548. so ready an Obedience to the Orders of the Senate as formerly. He had invaded the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, of which *Attalus* was now Regent, his Nephew and Pupil the Son of *Eumenes* being a Minor. Rome sent Ambassador after Ambassador to *Prusias*, and commanded him to cease his Hostilities, but all in vain; and she was obliged at last to raise up her Allies in the East against him, and thereby terrify him into a Submission to her Dictates. §. 13. And while Rome thus made herself feared Abroad she reformed Abuses at Home. Two Laws †, *The Ælian* and *The Furian* † See p. were passed at this time, to rectify some Disorders in those Assemblies of the Peo- 551. ple which were held for making new Laws.

599. And now the Republick having chosen *Q. Opimius Nepos* and *L. Posthumius Al-* 298th Con-  
*binus* to be Consuls, she resolved to send them to conduct two Wars in the West, *fulship*. whilst the Senate took care of Affairs in the East. *Postumius* was ordered into *Spain*, and *Opimius* into *Transalpine Gaul*. §. 14. The Avarice and Extortions of the Roman *Prætors* in *Spain* had caused almost a general Revolt there. The Legion commanded by the *Prætor Calpurnius Piso* had been defeated by the *Lusitanians*, and he himself with his *Quæstor Torentius Varro* had been killed in the Battel. It was this ill News which induced the Romans to order *Postumius* thither, but his Wife a little before his Departure from *Italy* having given him a slow Poison, he was taken so ill at Sea, that he could not bear the Motion of the Ship, and was brought back to *Rome* where he died in seven Days after his Return. *Acilius Glabrio* was chosen Consul in his room, but the Senate did not send him into *Spain*, nor thinking him qualified to undertake the Re-establishment of their Affairs in that Country.



*The Ro-* §. 15. As for the *Consul Opimius*, he made a successful Campaign in *Transalpine* Year of  
*mans pene-* Gaul. It was the first time that the *Roman* Forces had penetrated into that Coun- ROME  
*trate, for the* try. The Hostilities of the *Ligurians* against the *Marseillians*, the old Friends of 599.  
*first Time,* Rome, were what drew the *Romans* thither. §. 16. In the mean time the  
*into Trans-* Senate was busied in putting an End to some fresh Quarrels between the two *Ptolo-*  
*alpine Gaul.* *mies.* *Philometor* had not only refused to yield *Cyprus* to his Brother, but had stir-  
red up *Phyſcon's* own Subjects in *Cyrenaica* to take Arms against their King. The  
latter came to *Rome* and shewed the Wounds he had receiv'd in the Battel where  
he was defeated by the Rebels; and he implored the Protection of the *Romans*  
against his Brother, who, he said, had given him those Wounds with his own Hand.  
The Senate adhered to their former Decision in favour of *Phyſcon*, and not only  
sent five Ambassadors in different Ships into *Egypt* to urge *Philometor* to a Compli-  
ance, but wrote Letters to all the Allies of *Rome* in the *Levant* to take Arms against  
him, in case he refus'd to obey their Decrees. However, *Philometor* was not ter-  
rified by all these Measures taken in favour of *Phyſcon*. He resolved to maintain  
himself in the Possession of *Cyprus*; and he succeeded contrary to the Expectations  
of all the East. He defeated *Phyſcon*, who had landed in *Cyprus* with a numerous  
Army of the *Roman* Allies, and took him Prisoner. However, he would not put  
him to Death, he acted a more generous and more politick Part, he set him at  
Liberty, and restored *Cyrenaica* to him; and then *Phyſcon* of his own Accord gave  
up all Pretensions to *Cyprus*. Thus *Egypt* was settled in Peace, and the two Bro-  
thers lived in good Intelligence with each other and with *Rome*.

§. 17. About this Time *The Tribunes of the People* at *Rome* did an Act of Justice  
which gained them great Honour, and well deserves to be remark'd. A *Roman*  
Citizen named *Cotta* had some Way got into the *Tribuneship*, purely to screen him-  
self from his Creditors who prosecuted him. He thought himself safe in an Office  
which made his Person inviolable. But the rest of the *Tribunes*, ashamed of such  
a Colleague, threatened him to take the Cause of his Creditors into their Hands if  
he did not pay them or give them Security.

299th Con-  
sulship.

Ever since the Year 531 it had been customary for the *Consuls* not to enter upon  
their Office till the Ides of *March* (our fifteenth of *March*;) But this Year the  
Necessity of sending a *Consul* without Delay into *Spain*, made the *Romans* assemble  
their *Comitia* for the grand Elections several Months before the usual time. *Q. Ful-*  
*vius Nobilior* and *T. Annius Luscus* were now promoted to the *Consulate*, and they  
were the first *Consuls* installed on the first of *January*, their Predecessors abdicating  
to make Way for them: And from this time to the end of the Republick, the first  
of *January* was always the Day for the two chief Magistrates to take Possession of  
the *Fasces*.

600.

*The Ro-*  
*man Armies*  
*unsuccessful*  
*in Spain.*

And now *Rome* was wholly intent on the important War she had to main-  
tain against the Rebels in *Spain*. Above half this vast Continent was in a Flame.

*Fulvius* was sent thither with a considerable Army, and landed at *Tarragona*.

§. 18. From thence he marched against the *Segedani* and *Aravacæ*, two neigh-  
bouring Nations near the Springs of the *Duero*, who had united their Forces to  
the Number of twenty five thousand Men, under the Command of a brave Ge-  
neral named *Carus*. *Carus* laid an Ambush for the *Consul* in a Wood, surpriz'd  
him, and killed six thousand of his *Legionaries*, but pursuing the Fugitives with  
too much Ardour into the Plain, he was there attacked by the *Roman* Horse, who  
had not yet engaged, and lost as many Soldiers as the Enemy had done, together  
with his own Life. This Battel was fought on the Feast of *Vulcan*, a Day which  
the Republick ordered should ever after be deemed *Unlucky*, like those on which she  
had lost the Battels of the *Allia*, *Cannæ*, &c. For though the Numbers slain on  
each Side were equal, the Loss of six thousand *Legionaries* transported into *Spain*  
was a much greater Loss to the *Romans* than that of the same Number of Men  
was to the *Spaniards* in their own Country. However it is probable that  
this Regulation was owing to an excessive Resentment against the *Consul Fulvius*.

§. 19. The *Spaniards* having assembled their Forces near *Numantia*, and having  
chosen two new Leaders, came to a second Engagement with the *Romans*. The  
latter gained the Day by the Means of some Elephants which they had received  
from *Masniſſa*. The *Spaniards* of this Country having never seen any of these  
huge Beasts before, were terrified by them, and the Smell of them alone put their  
Horse into Disorder. But the *Consul*, after this Victory, imprudently attempting  
to scale the Walls of *Numantia* (whither the Enemy had retired) by bringing his  
Elephants near them, to serve him instead of the wooden Towers used in Sieges,  
one of them was wounded; and the hideous Noise this Beast made frightening  
the rest of the Elephants, they turned upon the *Roman* Legions and put them into  
Disorder. The Besieged took Advantage of the Accident, sallied out, totally de-  
feated the *Consul's* Troops, and killed four thousand of them. *Fulvius*, after this  
ill Success and some other Disasters which followed it, durst not separate his  
Troops



Year of Troops and put them into different Quarters, even during the Winter. He ROME kept them encamp'd in the Field all the Winter Season, which became so severe, that great Numbers of his Men perished with Cold, Want and Fatigue.

600. §. 20. Nor was the Campaign which the Roman Prætor Mummius made in *Lusitania* much more successful: He lost the best part of his Army, together with his Camp in the first Battel he had with the Rebels; and the Advantages he gained afterwards did not sufficiently repair that Loss.

§. 21. However, the Check which the Romans received in *Spain* did not lessen the Respect which was paid them in other Places. Young *Attalus*, Son and Heir of *Eumenes* the late King of *Pergamus* came to *Rome* to do Homage to the Republic for his Crown, and was kindly received and treated with Honour. *Demetrius Soter* also sent his Son *Demetrius* to *Rome* to be there educated. He hoped by this Means to get the Senate's Approbation of his Son's Succession to the Throne after him, which otherwise would be precarious. But now the Romans remembring the Reasons they had to be discontented with the Father, they made no Preparations for the young Prince's Reception, and scarce treated him as a King's Son. The Prince's Governors were so provoked at this Usage, that they very soon carried him privately back into *Syria*. The sudden Escape of young *Demetrius* from *Rome* gave the Romans as great Offence as that of his Father had formerly done; and they now resolved to take Revenge for both. There were then at *Rome* a Prince and Princess, who were said to be the Children of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and in all Appearance were so. *Heraclides*, one of the chief Lords of *Syria*, having been affronted by *Demetrius Soter*, and having made his Escape from the Syrian Court, The Senate was likewise at *Rome* waiting for a favourable Opportunity to produce these two of Rome Children, *Alexander* and *Laodice*, to the Senate. He laid hold of the present Mo-decree the ment, when the Romans were full of Resentment for the Escape of *Demetrius*, to Kingdom of present the Prince and Princess to the Conscript Fathers, and obtained the following Syria to A-Decree in their Favour. Having examined into the Petition of *Alexander* and *Laodice*, Alexander the Children of *Antiochus Epiphanes* King of *Syria*, the Friend and Ally of the Ro-the Son of man People, we give the Son leave to recover the Rights of his Father; and our Will Antiochus and Pleasure is, that our Allies assist him in recovering his Dominions. piphanes.

601. §. 22. And whilst *M. Claudius Marcellus* (who with *L. Valerius Flaccus* had been 300th Con- raised to the Consulate for the new Year) was preparing to pass with eight thou- fulship. sand Foot and five hundred Horse into *Spain*, *Alexander* appeared in *Syria* with a formidable Army. It consisted of the Troops with which the Kings of *Pergamus*, *Cappadocia* and *Egypt* had furnished him at the Sollicitation of the Romans. He was also joined by *Jonathan Maccabæus* with the Forces of *Judæa*, and coming to a Battel soon after with *Demetrius* the latter was routed, and lost both his Kingdom and his Life.

§. 23. *Marcellus* having landed in *Spain*, and carried on the War successfully for some time, was very desirous of settling a general Peace there before his Consulship expired, that he might have a Triumph on that Account at his return to *Rome*. The Articles of the Peace were agreed upon between him and the Rebels, and only wanted to be ratified by the Senate. To this end the Rebels sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, and they were accompanied by some Agents from *Marcellus*. But the Fathers seeing through the Designs of the Consul, and being likewise counselled by some Deputies from two Provinces in Friendship with the Romans not to grant the Peace desired, they resolved to pursue the War with more Vigour than ever.

§. 24. In the mean time a War began to break out in *Africa*. *Carthage* being continually harrassed by the Invasions of *Masinissa*, and tired out with the Parti- Carthage provokes the ality and Injustice of the Roman Republick, took a bold Step which was the first Romans to Cause of her Destruction. Having entered into an Alliance with *Archobarzanes* the begin a Grandson of *Syphax*, and King of one Part of *Numidia*, she engaged him to march third Punic with a great Army to the Frontiers of *Masinissa's* Dominions. The Senate looked War. upon this Step as a Breach of the Treaties made between her and the States of *Africa*, none of which were by those Treaties to take Arms without the Consent of the Republick: So that *Cato* had now a fair Opportunity to display his Hatred against the *Carthaginians*. It is not, said he, so much against *Masinissa* as Rome, that these Preparations for War are levelled. *Masinissa* is only the Pretence, Italy is the Point in view. Hence that vast Number of Gallies which I saw in the Port of *Carthage*. To neglect my Advice is to neglect the Glory and Safety of *Rome*. But as great a Sway as *Cato* had in the Republick, *Scipio Nasica* had still a greater; and he prevailed to have the War deferred till an Embassy should be sent to *Carthage* to examine without Passion into the true State of Affairs there. *Nasica* was himself named Ambassador for the Negotiation he had proposed, and when he came into *Africa*, conducted himself with great Prudence and Moderation. He made himself the Mediator between *Carthage* and *Masinissa*, and obtained of the latter a Consent to restore the Lands which had occasioned all the Quarrel. Thus all Commotions would



would have been quieted and *Carthage* saved, if it had not been for a seditious *Carthaginian* named *Gisgo*, a Man in Office and in Favour with the People. This Wretch in their publick Assemblies spoke vehemently against the Peace which had been just negotiated, and so inflamed the Populace, that they would have offered Violence to *Nasica*, if he had not escaped by Flight; and as there were about forty Persons in the Senate of *Carthage* who had been wise enough to approve the Peace, these were condemned to perpetual Banishment. The Senate was highly incensed at the Treatment their Ambassador had met with from the *Carthaginians*, and *Cato* was much rejoiced to find *Nasica* at his Return agree with him thus far, That *Carthage* deserved to be destroyed. However, the Vengeance of the Republick was suspended for the present on Account of the War she had just proclaimed against the *Celtiberians* in *Spain*. Year of  
ROME  
601.

301st Con-  
sulship.

§. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29. But now when *L. Licinius Lucullus* and *A. Postumius Albinus* being chosen *Consuls*, were ordered to raise new Levies to recruit the *Legions* in *Spain*, they found that none of the Citizens were willing to go thither, either as Officers or private Soldiers. The Accounts they had received of the Hardships which the Troops under *Fulvius* had suffered, by spending a whole Winter in Tents, discouraged them; and what is more extraordinary, the *Tribunes of the People* protected those who refused to enlist themselves. The Senate and *Consuls* were much perplexed what Method to take. At length *Scipio Æmilianus*, the Son of the late *Paulus Æmilius*, extricated them out of their Difficulties. Being but thirty three Years old, his Age had excluded him hitherto from any of the great Employments civil or military, but yet he had made himself noted for an extraordinary Prudence. One Day, when the People were assembled for the Enrolments, he desired Leave to speak to them, which being granted he mounted the *Rostra*, and made an Harangue full of the true *Roman* Spirit. The Ardour he express'd for the Service of his Country, and his offering to go himself into *Spain*, and serve there in any Capacity the Governors of the Republick should think fit, had such an Effect, that the People were now as solicitous to have their Names enroll'd as they had before been backward to it. Then the *Consuls* drew Lots for their Provinces. *Spain* fell to *Lucullus* and *Cisalpine Gaul* to *Postumius*. It is uncertain whether *Scipio Æmilianus* served under *Lucullus* as one of his Lieutenant Generals, or only as *Legionary Tribune*; but whatever was his Post, he gained all the Glory that was acquired during the War. Both *Lucullus* who commanded in *Hither Spain*, and the *Prætor Sulpicius Galba* who commanded in *Lusitania*, made themselves infamous by the basest Treachery \*, Cruelty and Avarice, but *Æmilianus* acquired a high Reputation of Probity even among the Enemy. And as for his Bravery, he not only slew in single Combat a *Spaniard* of a gigantick Stature, who had challenged the boldest of the *Romans* to fight, but obtained from the *Roman* General a Mural and a Civic Crown, for two Exploits which entitled him to those Rewards. *Lucullus*, probably out of Jealousy, sent him soon after into *Numidia*, under Pretence of desiring some Elephants of King *Masinissa*. 602.

\* See p.  
570 and  
573.

§. 30. In the mean time *Gulussa* the Son of *Masinissa* arrived at *Rome*, and confirmed the Accounts which the Senate had received from several Quarters, that Preparations were making at *Carthage* for an open Declaration of War with the Republick. He told the *Conscript Fathers* that when he and his Brother *Micipsa* went to *Carthage* to solicit the recalling of those Exiles who had been banished for their Attachment to the Interest of his Father and of *Rome*, the *Carthaginians* had not only refused them Entrance into the City, but had laid an Ambush to surprise them in their Return, had fallen upon them on a sudden, and killed some of their Attendants. *Cato* immediately took Occasion from this Account of the Affront offered to the *Numidian* Princes, to repeat again the Words which he had so often uttered, *There is no Safety for Rome till Carthage be destroyed*. But the Advice of his Opponent *Nasica* still prevailed, and at his Motion Deputies were sent into *Africa* to inform themselves upon the Spot of the Preparations the *Carthaginians* were making by Sea and Land. The Deputies soon returned, and reported that *Carthage* had undoubtedly a Design to make War in some other Place than the Continent of *Africa*, that her Fleet was numerous and well equipped, and that her Land Forces made a formidable Army. But notwithstanding these Appearances, and all the Eloquence of *Cato*, *Nasica* had Influence enough over the Senate to suspend their Decree against the *Carthaginians*. *We ought to try all Means*, said he, *before we come to Extremities*. *Carthage it is true has been guilty of an Infraction of the Treaties: But may she not repent of her Fault? And does it not become the Magnanimity of the Romans, to point her out the Way to shew her Repentance? Let us order the Carthaginians to burn their Fleet and disband their Troops, and then regulate our Resolutions by their Submission or Disobedience*. The steady Moderation of *Nasica* was again applauded, and all the Senators yielded to his Opinion; *Carthage* was allowed Time to breathe, and to submit. §. 31. The Republick at this time gave



Year of gave two other remarkable Instances of their Deference for this worthy Patriot. *ROME Polybius* (the Historian) whom he had taken into his Friendship and Confidence,

602. had prevailed with him to intercede with the Senate in favour of those *Acheans*, who had been so long detain'd at *Rome* in Captivity. At the Request of *Nasica* they were suffered to return into their own Country. The Senate likewise at his Motion, who was zealous for a Reformation of Manners, order'd a Theatre for Comedies, which by the Direction of the *Censors* was building at the Expence of the Publick, to be demolished; and they decreed that no Theatres should be built within the Walls of *Rome*, nor any Comedies acted within a Mile of it.

603. §. 32. And now the Republick chose new *Consuls*, *T. Quinctius Flaminius* and 302d *Con-*  
*M' Acilius Balbus*. The Historians have not told us how they were dispos'd of. It *fulship.*  
is probable that one of them staid at *Rome* to punish and put a Stop to the Practice of poisoning, which of late was grown very common there. The Poisoners were found to be for the most part Women, and were condemn'd to die. And it was at this time that a young Woman gave that singular Instance of Filial Affection so much admired by the Antients. The Goaler, to whom one of the Criminals was deliver'd over to be privately executed in Prison, did not immediately strangle her, but left her to starve to Death in a Dungeon. Her Daughter had just lain in, and being frequently admitted to visit her Mother, preserved her Life by suckling her. The Goaler was surprized to see his Prisoner live so long, having always taken care to search the Daughter, and hinder her from conveying any Provisions to her Mother. The thing was at length discovered, the Criminal pardon'd in Consideration of her Daughter's Virtue, and a Maintenance for Life order'd by the Senate for both; and to perpetuate the Memory of the Action, the Prison was turned into a Temple, and consecrated to *Filial Piety*.

§. 33, 34. While *Rome* was thus busied in domestick Affairs, a bloody War was carrying on between *Carthage* and *Masinissa*. The *Numidian* King, though now almost ninety Years of Age, had lost little of his Vigour of Mind or Strength of Body; and to revenge the Affront which had been offered to his two Sons by the *Carthaginians*, he raised a powerful Army and laid Siege to *Oroscofa*, one of their Cities. *Carthage*, upon this News, sent out a considerable Number of Forces under *Asdrubal*, the present Head of the Republick, to relieve the Place. In the first Battels between the two Armies the *Numidians* had always the Disadvantage. At length *Masinissa* pretending Fear retired before the Enemy, and by Degrees drew them to a Place where the Ground favoured him. The Armies were now each of them above fifty thousand strong, and they came to a general Engagement, in which the Victory declared for the *Numidians*. However, as this Victory was not decisive, *Scipio Aemilianus*, who, being just before arrived, had from an Eminence been a Spectator of the Battel, undertook to negotiate a Peace between the two Parties.

§. 35, 36, 37. But his Mediation proved ineffectual, and Hostilities were renewed. Both Armies became greatly distressed for want of Provisions, but the *Carthaginians* suffered most, and they were at length reduced to such Extremity, that they yielded to all the Conditions of Peace imposed by the *Numidian*, who among other Things obliged them to pass under the Yoke unarm'd and half naked. And now *Gulussa*, the Son of *Masinissa*, remembring the Ambush which the *Carthaginians* had treacherously laid for him at his return from their Capital, resolved to revenge this perfidious Act by another. With his *Numidian* Horse he pursued the unarmed Multitude, who were marching Home, and fell upon them, when they had neither Weapons nor Courage to defend themselves, nor Strength to fly. Of fifty eight thousand Men only *Asdrubal* and some other Officers of Distinction escaped to *Carthage*. The *Romans* had sent Ambassadors into *Africa*, under Pretence of putting an end to the Differences between *Carthage* and *Numidia* in an amicable Manner; but they had private Instructions not to do it, unless they found that *Masinissa* was defeated. Accordingly, when the Ambassadors saw how Matters went, they suffered the *Numidian* to push his Enemies to the utmost Extremity. And now the *Romans*, taking Advantage of the prodigious Loss the *Carthaginians* had sustained, deferred no longer to declare War against them, notwithstanding that the latter sent an Embassy to *Rome*, offering all kinds of Submission. Cato in a long Harangue \* urged the Senate to attempt the total Destruction of *Carthage*. \* Vid. p. 580.  
But this Project was again opposed by *Scipio Nasica*. He represented † to the *Conscript Fathers* the great Benefits which accrued to *Rome* from her having such † Vide p. 581.  
a Rival as the *African* Republick; particularly that it made her act with more Caution and Justice than she would otherwise do, in deciding the Quarrels between foreign Nations; and that it preserved her from that Security Abroad which would inevitably produce civil Dissentions at Home; and he thus concluded his Speech: *Let us chastise and impoverish Carthage, but let us not destroy her*. And it is probable that *Rome* design'd no more at this time. It was an Event which afterwards happened that led her to take that surprizing Resolution of totally destroying her Rival.



## B O O K XLVIII.

303d Con- §. 1. **A**S soon as *L. Marcius Censorinus* and *M. Manilius Nepos* the *Consuls* for  
fulship.  
The third against *Carthage* to be proclaimed in the *Comitia* of the People. The Reasons af-  
Punic War. signed for it were, *That Carthage, contrary to her Covenants in the last Treaty of*  
*Peace, had fitted out a great Number of Ships of War; That she had gone beyond her Limits*  
*to attack the King of Numidia, the Friend and Ally of the Roman People; and lastly,*  
*That she had refused to let Gulussa, the Son of Masinissa, enter within her Gates,*  
*though conducted by Roman Ambassadors.* §. 2. And now when the Command  
of the *Roman Fleet* had fallen by Lot to *Marcius*, and that of the Land Forces to  
*Manilius*, and when they had prepared all Things for their Expedition into *Africa*,  
Ambassadors arrived at *Rome* from the People of *Utica* who, weary of the *Carthagi-*  
*nian* Government, desired to be admitted into an Alliance with the *Romans*, and  
offered to surrender up their City to the Republick at Discretion. This new and  
unexpected Advantage occasioned a Change in the Resolutions of the Senate, who  
now strictly enjoined the *Consuls* to push the War till they had utterly destroyed  
*Carthage.* §. 3. The *Carthaginians*, terrified by the Defection of *Utica*, and  
the great Preparations which were making at *Rome* against them, could think of  
no Means whereby to avert the impending Storm, but to yield themselves and their  
Dominions up to the *Romans* by way of DEDITION. This Word implied the  
most absolute Surrendry of Life, Liberty, and every thing they possess'd. To this  
end they dispatched Ambassadors to *Rome*, who being admitted to an Audience by  
the Senate, with Tears pronounced in the Name of the *African Republick* the  
fatal Word. The *Conscript Fathers* seemed satisfied with it, and promised that the  
*Carthaginians* should continue to enjoy their Lands, Effects, Liberty and Laws as  
before, provided they would send three hundred Hostages to the *Consuls* who were  
now in *Sicily*, and would farther do what the *Consuls* should command them. Ac-  
cordingly these Hostages were sent to the *Consuls* at *Lilybaeum*, who immediately  
after set sail for *Utica*, and there landed their Troops to the Number of seventy  
four thousand Men, Horse and Foot. §. 4. It is easy to judge of the Con-  
sternation the *Carthaginians* were in when they beheld so terrible an Enemy in their  
Neighbourhood, and heard War declared against them, even after the Submissions  
they had made. §. 5. They sent Deputies to the *Consuls* to expostulate with  
them, and to learn their Intentions. *Marcius* answer'd, that he would gradually  
communicate to them the Orders he had received from the Senate, beginning with  
that which required most Dispatch; and then added, *Since you are under the Pro-*  
*tection of Rome, and sincerely desire Peace, what Occasion have you for that vast*  
*Number of Arms with which your Magazines are filled? Bring them hither, and*  
*thereby give us a fresh Proof that your Love of Peace is not merely feigned.* The De-  
puties were at first stunn'd with this Demand, but recollecting themselves, remon-  
strated to the Consul, *That Carthage had other Enemies to contend with, besides Ro-*  
*mans, and therefore could not safely be without Arms; That she was in Danger of be-*  
*ing attacked by Asdrubal, whom she had condemned to die for having offended Rome by*  
*the late War against Masinissa, and who having escaped, had got together an Army of*  
*twenty thousand Men.* But to this the Consul briskly replied. *Be easy, Carthagini-*  
*ans, Rome will provide for your Safety. Obey, and be in no Concern about any thing*  
*else.* Upon this the *Carthaginians*, without any Fraud, delivered up their Arms and  
Engines of War, and suffered the *Roman Quæstors*, who were sent to *Carthage* for  
that Purpose, to burn all their Gallies in the Port. §. 6, 7, 8. The most ve-  
nerable old Men of the City, and the Priests belonging to the Temples attended the  
Carts which carried the Arms from the Magazines of *Carthage* to the *Roman Camp*;  
and then these Deputies presenting themselves before the *Consuls*, waited to hear  
their last Doom. *Marcius* told them that he had but one thing more to demand of  
them in the Name of the *Roman People.* *Rome, said he, requires that you abandon*  
*your City, which we have Orders to level with the Ground. You may build yourselves*  
*another where you please, provided it be ten Miles from the Sea, and without Walls or*  
*Fortifications.* The Deputies at the hearing of these Words became quite frantick with  
Grief, Rage and Despair; it was some time before any of them could compose himself  
enough to make Remonstrances to the Consul. At length one *Hanno* being a little  
more sedate than the rest, endeavour'd in a long Speech to move the *Consuls* Com-  
passion, and in the Conclusion of his Speech entreated them, that they would at  
least allow the *Carthaginians* time to make fresh Application to the Senate of *Rome.*  
The *Consuls* were inflexible, they would neither recede from the Sentence they  
had pass'd, nor consent to suspend the Execution of it. The Deputies returned to  
Carthage



Year of Carthage and made their Report, and then the whole City was nothing but Horror  
ROME and Confusion. The People broke into the Senate House, and assaulted those who  
604. had advised the giving Hostages, and delivering up the Arms which they now  
wanted for their Defence. They did not spare even the Deputies themselves, but  
threw Stones at them, and dragged them through the Streets with Ignominy, as  
inauspicious Ambassadors. Nevertheless among this great Number of raving Pec-  
ple, there were a few who, less transported than the rest, shewed some Appearance  
of Reason. They shut the Gates of the City, and gathered together upon the  
Ramparts great Heaps of Stones to serve them instead of other Arms in case of a  
Surprize. And at length when the first Storm was a little appeased the Senators  
assembled, and resolved to sustain a Siege. They began with taking the Malefac-  
tors out of Prison, giving the Slaves their Liberty and incorporating them in the  
Militia. Then a Pardon was granted to *Asdrubal*, who had been condemned to die  
only to please the *Romans*, and he was invited to employ, in the Defence of his  
Country, the twenty thousand Men he had raised, and another *Asdrubal* was appointed  
to govern the City. By order of the Senate the Temples and Porticoes were all  
turned into Work-houses, where Men and Women were continually employed in  
making Arms. They every Day made a hundred and forty four Bucklers, three  
hundred Swords, a thousand Darts, and five hundred Lances and Javelins. As to  
*Ballistæ* and *Catapultæ*, though they wanted proper Materials for them, their In-  
dustry supplied that Defect. Where Iron and Brass were wanting they made use of  
Gold and Silver, and the Women freely cut off their Hair to supply the Place of  
Tow and Flax. Without the Walls *Asdrubal* employed his Troops in getting to-  
gether Provisions and conveying them to *Carthage*, so that there was as great Plenty  
there as in the *Roman* Camp. In the mean time the *Consuls* delayed to draw near  
to the City in hopes that the *Carthaginians*, whom they thought destitute of  
Necessaries to sustain a Siege, would upon cool Reflection submit; and this Delay  
cost the *Romans* many Battels and a great deal of Blood. [§. 9. *The Situation, Vide p.*  
*Extent and Fortifications of Carthage are described.*] §. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. The 594.

*Romans* finding themselves deceived in their Expectations came before the Place and  
invested it; they soon perceived, by a fruitless Attempt they made to scale the Walls, *The Ro-*  
that the City could not be taken by Assault, that the Siege must be carried on in mans be-  
form, and that it would be a long one. For besides that *Carthage* contained seven siege Car-  
hundred thousand Souls, *Asdrubal* was drawing near with his Army to defend it. thage.  
Any other Nation but the *Romans* would have been discouraged and have abandon-  
ed the Enterprize, but Constancy was the peculiar Virtue of this People. In the  
first Attacks the *Romans* had always the Disadvantage; and they every Day per-  
ceived more and more the Dangers of the Undertaking in which they were en-  
gaged. They found it difficult to get Provisions either by Sea or Land; and be-  
sides this, being encamped near a Marsh, the Exhalations drawn from it by the Heat  
of the Season infected the Air, and caused a Sickness among them. *Marcus* or-  
dered his Fleet to draw as near the Shore as possible to receive the Troops and  
transport them to a healthier Place, but still within reach of *Carthage*. *Asdrubal*  
who commanded in the City having Notice of this Motion, ordered all the old  
Barks, which the *Romans* had spared, to be got together, made Fireships of them,  
and taking the Advantage of the Wind which blew towards the Enemy, let them  
drive upon their Ships. The *Roman* Fleet was almost all consumed. Soon after  
this Disaster *Marcus* returned to *Rome*, to preside at the grand Elections, and *Ma-*  
*nilius* continued the War with no better Success. He would have lost his whole  
Army in a rash \* Enterprize, if it had not been for the Bravery and Conduct of \* See p.  
*Scipio Æmilianus*, who being only *Legionary Tribune* at this Time, performed an 599.  
Exploit like that of *Horatius Cocles*. With three hundred Horse he sustained the  
Attack of all the Forces commanded by *Asdrubal* the *Carthaginian* General in the  
Field, and covered the *Legions* while they passed a River in their Retreat before the  
Enemy. Then he and his Companions threw themselves into the Stream, and swam  
cross it. By this and many other glorious Actions of Valour, Prudence and Pro-  
bity, *Æmilianus*, in this unfortunate Campaign, established himself so undisputed a  
Reputation of true Heroism, that even *Cato* himself, who is said never to have  
commended any body before, gave him the Praises due to him. *Cato* died soon af-  
ter at the Age of eighty four or eighty five: Before he expired, he foretold that  
*Carthage* would never be reduced till *Æmilianus* undertook it.

§. 15. The Arms of the Republick were yet more unsuccessful this Year in Spain *The Roman*  
than in *Africa*. *Vetilius* the *Roman Prætor*, who commanded ten thousand Men in *Arms un-*  
the *Farther Province*, lost four thousand of them in a Battel against the *Lusitanians* *successful in*  
under the Conduct of *Viriathus* (who from a Captain of *Banditti* was become Ge- Spain.  
neral of the Rebels.) *Vetilius* was himself taken Prisoner; but the Soldier who took  
him seeing him old and heavy, and fancying he would not sell well, killed him.  
Upon the News of this Disaster, the Republick in all haste sent *C. Plantius* into  
Spain



*Spain* with a Reinforcement of ten thousand Foot and thirteen hundred Horse, and these being joined by those *Spaniards* who adhered to the *Romans* made a formidable Army. However *Viriathus* entirely defeated likewise this new General and new Army in a pitched Battel. Year of ROME 604.

Macedon  
revolts from  
the Ro-  
mans.

§. 16. Nor were these all the Losses which the *Romans* sustained this Year. In *Macedon* the Work of *Paulus Æmilius* was totally overturned, and that tributary Republick was become an independent Monarchy. One *Andriscus* (who falsely pretended to be Son of *Perfes* by one of his Mistresses, and took the Name of *Philip*) being assisted by the *Thracians*, had partly by Force of Arms and partly by Persuasion engaged the *Macedonians* to own him for their King, and had also conquered a part of *Theffaly*. *Scipio Nasica*, whom the Senate ordered into *Greece* to learn the true State of Things, sent them the foregoing Account. By the Assistance of the Allies, and particularly the *Achæans*, he made a Shift before he returned to *Rome* to drive the false *Philip* out of *Theffaly*. But the *Prætor Juventius Thalna* who succeeded *Nasica* in *Greece*, and rashly undertook to force his Way through the narrow Passes into *Macedon*, lost both the *Legion* he commanded and his own Life. By this Means *Theffaly* became an easy Conquest to *Philip*, who being now settled on his Throne, and elated with his Prosperity, shewed himself a thorough Tyrant; and by his Avarice, Oppressions and Cruelty amply revenged *Rome* on the *Macedonians* for their Revolt.

304th Con-  
sulship.

Masinissa  
dies.

§. 17. *Sp. Postumius Albinus Magnus* and *L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsonius* were chosen *Consuls* at *Rome* for the new Year. The Conduct of the War in *Africa* fell by Lot to the latter. However, he did not hasten to his Province, but let *Manilius* continue to act there for some time with the Title of *Pro-Consul*. During this Interval *Masinissa*, at about ninety Years of Age, died at *Cyrtha* his Capital, and left his Dominions to be divided between his three legitimate Sons, appointing *Scipio Æmilianus* his Executor to make the Division in such manner as his Prudence should Dictate. *Æmilianus* repaired to *Cyrtha* to discharge the Trust reposed in him, but not thinking it adviseable to dismember the Kingdom of *Numidia*, he decreed, that each of the Brothers should have the Title of King, and only divided the Regal Functions among them, suitably to their Characters and Inclinations. To *Micipsa*, who was a Prince of great Prudence, but loved a sedentary Life, he allotted the Government of the Finances; to *Gulussa*, who delighted in War, he gave the Command of the Troops; and *Mastanabal* the third Brother being a Man of Letters, was constituted supreme Judge in all civil Causes. Thus the three Brothers, though all Kings, were Ministers to each other; and what is very admirable, an uninterrupted Concord reign'd among them. They were all pleased with the Disposition *Æmilianus* had made; and *Gulussa*, to shew his Gratitude to him, attended him back to the *Roman* Camp with a Body of *Numidian* Horse, which he successfully employed in the Service of the Republick. (His Father *Masinissa* had lent the *Romans* no Assistance in this War. They had undertaken it without imparting their Design to him, and this had piqued him.) §. 18. 19. *Æmilianus*, soon after his Return to the Army before *Carthage*, found Means to have a private Conference with *Phameas*, General under *Asdrubal* of the *Carthaginian* Cavalry, and brought him over, together with two thousand two hundred of his Horse, to the *Roman* Interest. *Phameas* was an able Commander, who by his Bravery and Skill in War had exceedingly distress'd and harra's'd the *Roman* Army, so that the gaining of his Friendship was reckoned an important Acquisition; and the *Pro-Consul Manilius* sent him soon after with *Æmilianus* to *Rome*, to receive the Honours and Rewards which he deserved from the Republick. The *Pro-Consul* at the same time wrote a Letter to the Senate, doing Justice to *Æmilianus*, to whom he acknowledged himself indebted for whatever Successes he had met with.

Whilst *Æmilianus* was receiving the Applauses of the Senate and People at *Rome*, the *Consul Piso* and the *Prætor Mancinus* arrived in *Africa* to continue the War there; and whether they despaired of taking *Carthage*, or had a Mind to distinguish themselves by a different Conduct from that of *Marcus* and *Manilius*, they, instead of pursuing the Siege of the Capital, applied themselves wholly to take some other Cities on the *African* Coast, which they attacked both by Sea and Land. The Success did not answer their Expectations. They were repulsed with Loss before *Clypea*, nor could they take *Hippogreta*, though they besieged it almost the whole Summer; and in short, without having performed one valiant Action in all the Campaign, they were at length forced to retire with the Army and Fleet to *Utica* and spend the Winter there.

§. 20. In the mean time the *Carthaginians* sent Deputies to the new King of *Macedon* to make an Alliance with him, and to encourage him to continue the War against the *Roman* Republick. They promised to assist him hereafter with Ships and Money, to maintain him in the Possession of his Throne. The Histori-



Year of ans have not told us the Answer which the *Macedonian* returned; but whatever *ROME* were the Engagements he entered into with *Carthage* they were of little Service to  
605. him. The *Prætor Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, who now commanded the *Roman* Forces

against him, defeated his Army in two pitched Battels, the first in *Macedon* and the second in *Thrace*, where one of the petty Kings of the Country, to whom he fled for Refuge after the Battel, deliver'd him up Prisoner to the *Romans*. This Impostor was no sooner reduced but another started up, who called himself *Alexander*, and pretended likewise to be a Son of *Perfes*. His Followers were rather a Mob than an Army, and they were easily dispersed and quell'd.

*Macedon reconquered by the Romans.*

606. §. 22. The News of the reconquering of *Macedon* raised the *Romans* out of that general Dejection into which they were fallen, on account of their ill Success the two last Years. And now all Eyes at *Rome* were fixed on *Scipio Æmilianus*, as the only Man who could recover the Reputation of the *Roman* Arms in *Africa*. And though he was too modest in the midst of Applause to carry his Pretensions beyond the Rank to which a Man of his Age might legally aspire, and aim'd at nothing higher than the *Ædileship*, yet the People promoted him to the *Consulate*. The  
305th Consulship.  
Scipio Æmilianus.

*Villian Law*, which required every Candidate for the *Consulship* to be forty three Years old, was dispensed with in his Favour, and at the Age of thirty seven he took Possession of the *Fasces*. Nor would the Republick suffer him to draw Lots with his Colleague for the Conduct of the *Carthaginian* War; he was appointed to succeed *Piso* by a Decree of the Senate and People. The same Decree gave him Power to raise as many Volunteers as he pleased, and to demand Succours in the Name of the Republick of all the Kings and Nations her Allies. These Marks of Distinction were strong Proofs of the high Expectations his Country had from him; nor were they disappointed.

§. 23. *Æmilianus* sailed from *Italy*, and entered the Port of *Utica* with his Fleet and new Levies, just at the Time when three thousand five hundred of the *Roman* Army before *Carthage* were in imminent Danger of being destroyed, either by the Sword of the Enemy or by Famine. These bold Enterprizers (in the Absence of *Piso* their General, who was making IncurSIONS into the inland Country) had seized *Megalia* one of the Suburbs of the City, but had not furnished themselves with any Provisions to subsist there; and as this Post was situated upon a Rock, washed on two Sides by the Sea, and there was no retiring from it but over Precipices, their Case was desperate. The new Consul

signalized his Arrival in *Africa*, by rescuing this Body of *Roman* Citizens out of Danger into which they had brought themselves by their Imprudence.

§. 24. His next Business was to restore Discipline in his Army, which had been much neglected by his Predecessors. The *Roman* Soldiers were become a Gang of Robbers. Without any Orders from their Commanders they made IncurSIONS into the Country, plundered the Farms, and sold their Booty at low Prices to covetous Merchants, who crowded to the Camp to make cheap Purchases. Quarrels often arose among these *Banditti* about sharing the Spoil, and many of them were killed in Duels. The Consul having happily reformed these Abuses, applied himself wholly to the taking of *Carthage* alone, as the only Means to reduce at once the *African* Republick.

§. 25. His first Attack was upon *Megalia*, which he carried by Assault, the *Carthaginians*, who had been posted there to defend it, retiring into the Citadel of *Byrsa*. *Asdrubal*, who had commanded the Forces of his Republick in the Field, was now Governor of *Carthage*. [He had got rid of his Rival, the other *Asdrubal*, by accusing him before the Senate of Treason; a Charge which was the more easily believed by the Senators, because the latter was Nephew to *Gulussa* (the Son of *Masinissa*) who served in the *Roman* Army; and without giving him time to justify himself, they had knocked him on the Head in the Senate House.] *Asdrubal* was so enraged at the Loss of *Megalia*, that to revenge it, he ordered all the *Roman* Captives, who had been taken the two last Years, to be brought upon the Rampart, and there murdered in the most cruel Manner, in Sight of the *Roman* Army. His further Design in this was to make the *Carthaginians* desperate, by rendring a Reconciliation with the Enemy utterly impracticable.

*The Siege of Carthage renew'd.*

§. 26. The Consul's next Enterprize was to shut up all the Avenues on the Land-side of *Carthage*, that she might receive no Provisions that Way; and this he did by drawing Lines of Circumvallation and Contravallation, three Miles long cross the Neck of Land which joined the *Isthmus*, whereon *Carthage* stood, to the Continent.

§. 27, 28. Then he applied himself to block up *The Old Port*, in order to hinder Provisions from being brought to the City that Way (*The New Port* was shut up by his Fleet;) and this likewise the *Romans* effected with immense Labour, by raising a Mole in the Sea. But now Despair carried the *Carthaginians* to attempt and execute Things which seemed beyond the Power of Man. With miraculous and incredible Industry they in a little time cut out a new Passage into the Sea, whereby they could sometimes receive Necessaries which were sent them by their Troops in the Field. And not only this, but they built a Fleet of fifty *Triremes*, with which they ventured to give the Enemy's Fleet

Battel.



Battel. The Action lasted the whole Day, and was glorious both for the Besiegers Year of and Besieged, little Advantage being gained on either Side. §. 29. But when *ROME* soon after this Engagement the *Consul* attempted to make himself Master of a Terra 606. rafs which covered the City on the Side next the Sea, the Besieged signalized their Resolution in the most remarkable manner. Great Numbers of them, naked and unarmed, waded through the Water, and with lighted Torches set Fire to his Machines, and put his Troops to flight. However, he soon after gained his Point, and made a Lodgment of four thousand Men upon the Terrafs. §. 30, 31. This being an important Post, because it pent *Carthage* in on the Sea-side, *Æmilianus* took great Care to fortify and secure it against the Sallies of the Enemy; and then Winter approaching, he suspended all further Attacks upon the Place till the return of good Weather. Nevertheless, the *Consul* was far from being idle during the cold Season. The *Carthaginians* had a numerous Army strongly encamped near *Nepheris*, about twenty four Miles from the Capital. *Æmilianus* undertook with a part of his Troops to force their Lines, and succeeded. Seventy thousand of the Enemy were slain and ten thousand taken Prisoners. §. 32. *Asdrubal* who commanded in *Carthage* being disheartened by this Misfortune, and moved with the Misery of the Besieged who were perishing by Famine, solicited and obtained an Interview with *Gulussa* the *Numidian* King, hoping by his Mediation to prevail on the *Consul* to spare the City. This was all he ask'd, and upon this Condition offered, in the Name of the *Carthaginians*, to submit to Slavery itself. *Gulussa* undertook to intercede with the *Consul*, and among other Arguments, urged to him the approaching Expiration of his *Consulship*, and the Hazard he was in of being robbed of the Glory of finishing the War by a Successor. But this Negotiation was fruitless; *Æmilianus* offered Life and Liberty to *Asdrubal*, and to any ten Families he should name, but absolutely refused to recede from his Instructions, with Regard to the Demolition of *Carthage*. Which when *Asdrubal* understood from *Gulussa* at a second Interview, he immediately assumed the Airs and Gestures of a Bully: No, cried he, striking hard and often upon his Thigh, *The Sun shall never see Carthage destroyed and Asdrubal alive*. Big Words, which he soon contradicted by his Actions!

306th *Consulship*.

§. 33, 34, 35. The Time for the grand Elections at *Rome* being come, the Republick chose *C. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Mummius Achaicus* to be the new *Consuls*; but *Æmilianus* was continued General of the Army in *Africa* in Quality of *Pro-Consul*. Early in the Spring he renewed the Siege of *Carthage*, took the little Island of *Cotbo* which divided the two Ports, and thereby opened a Way for his Troops into the City itself. Here the Slaughter was inexpressibly great and dreadful. The Air rung with Shrieks and Lamentations. Some were hewn in pieces by the Sword, others threw themselves down from the Tops of their Houses, whither they were pursued, and the Streets were filled with dead and mangled Bodies. And the Destruction was yet greater, when, by Order of the *Pro-Consul*, Fire was set to that Quarter of the Town which lay next to the Citadel. Incredible Multitudes perished in the Flames and by the Fall of the Houses. When the Fire had lasted six Days, and there were Houses enough demolished for the *Pro-Consul's* Purpose, he ordered the Rubbish to be removed, and a large Area to be made where all his Troops might have room to act. §. 36. Then he appeared with his whole Army drawn up before *Byrsa*, the Citadel; and this Sight so terrified the *Carthaginians* who had retired thither, that first of all twenty five thousand Women, and soon after thirty thousand Men came out of the Gates, looking all so pale and ghastly that they moved Pity. They threw themselves prostrate before the *Roman* General, asking no Favour but Life. This the *Pro-Consul* readily granted, not only to them but to all that were in *Byrsa*, excepting only the *Roman* Deserters, whose Number amounted to nine hundred. *Asdrubal* set these Men to guard his Wife and Children, and then surrendered himself Prisoner to the *Pro-Consul*. The Deserters being reduced to Despair, retired into the Temple of *Æsculapius*, resolving to defend themselves to the last Extremity; and when they found there was no Way to escape, they set Fire to the Temple, chusing rather to perish in the Flames, than to deliver themselves up to the Vengeance of *Rome*. As the Fire spread they retreated from one Part to another, till they got to the Roof of the Building. Here *Asdrubal's* Wife appeared, finely adorned, as if the Day of her Death had been a Day of Triumph to her. She uttered the most bitter Execrations against her Husband, whom she saw standing below with *Æmilianus* before the Temple; and then added, *Base Coward, not all the mean Things thou hast done to save thy Life shall avail thee, thou shalt die this instant in thy two Sons*. Which said she drew out a Dagger and stabbed them both. Then while they were yet struggling for Life she threw them from the Top of the Temple, and leaped down after them into the Flames.

607.



Year of §. 37. So many Scenes of Horror drew Tears from the Eyes of the Roman General himself, and cast him into a pensive Silence. The utter Destruction of a  
607.

Capital which had subsisted near seven hundred Years, given Law to so many Provinces, and extended her Fame so far by Sea and Land; the miserable Fate of her Inhabitants, partly destroyed by Fire and Sword, and the rest reduced to Slavery, these Things greatly affected him. At length recovering himself from his deep Musings, he repeated two Lines of *Homer*, in which the Poet makes the Destruction of *Troy* to be foretold. *The Day will come when proud Troy shall fall a Prey to the Flames, and the Sword shall mow down Priam and his People.* The Pro-Consul sighed as he pronounced these Words; and *Polybius*, who was always near him, ventured to ask him, what he meant by *Troy* and the People of *Priam*. *Æmilianus*, without naming *Rome*, gave him sufficiently to understand, that he feared his own Country would meet with the same Fate as *Ilium* and *Carthage*. *The greatest States*, said he, *have their Periods, after which Fortune overturns what she took Pleasure in raising.* When the Pro-Consul had given up the City to be plundered by the Soldiers, and had distributed the Rewards of Valour among them, he sent Advice to the Senate that he had finished the War in *Africa*; at the same time he desired new Instructions from the *Conscript Fathers* as to the Demolition of the Walls, Temples and Houses of *Carthage*. His good Nature and Compassion made him willing to spare what yet remained of them; and he was resolved to shew the World, that if he must use the utmost Severity it should be purely in Obedience to Authority.

§. 38. The Joy at *Rome* was inexpressibly great on the News of the total Destruction of the *African Republick*. Those of the Citizens who told the News to others embraced them at the same time, and they congratulated one another upon it, as if each of them had gained some personal Advantage. Some few indeed, of more Foresight than the rest, entered into *Nasica's* Fears. *We have now*, said they, *no Rival left. The Gods grant that the Virtue of the Romans may not suffer by it. Our Dread of the Carthaginian Republick kept us in Concord. It is now to be feared that foreign Wars will be succeeded by intestine Divisions. We are too restless a People to continue idle. Rome will tear and rend her own Bowels for want of other Enemies to fight or fear.* However, the Multitude enjoyed the present Advantages, and gave themselves no Concern about Futurity. The Regulations made by the Senate and sent to the Roman General were these. 1. *The City of Carthage, with Byrsa and Megalia, shall be entirely demolished, and no Traces of them left.* 2. *All the Cities that have given Carthage any Assistance shall be dismantled.* 3. *Rewards shall be given to those Cities which declared for the Romans; and their Territories shall be enlarged with Lands taken from the Enemy.* 4. *Utica, which surrendered the first to the Romans, shall be amply recompensed; all the Lands between Carthage and Hippo shall be divided among her Inhabitants.* 5. *All the Africans of the Carthaginian State, both Men and Women, shall pay an annual Tribute to the Roman People at so much per Head.* 6. *The whole Country which was subject to the Carthaginians shall be turn'd into a Roman Province, and be governed by a Prætor in the same manner as Sicily.* 7. *Rome shall send ten Commissioners into Africa, there to settle jointly with the Pro-Consul the State of the new Province, see the Statutes observed, and decide all Disputes.* This Decree was carried by the ten Commissioners to *Æmilianus*, and strictly executed. But before the Pro-Consul destroyed *Carthage*, he performed all the Ceremonies that were required on such Occasions. He offered Victims to the Gods, and caus'd a Plough to be drawn round the Walls of the City. (This was customary as well when Cities were to be demolished as when they were to be built.) We may judge of the large Extent of *Carthage* by the time it took to reduce it to Ashes. Though the Fire began in all Quarters at the same time, it continued for seventeen Days together before all the Buildings were consumed. When the Demolition was finished, and *Æmilianus* with the Commissioners had settled the Affairs of the new Province, he embarked his Troops, returned to *Rome*, was there honoured with a magnificent Triumph, and took the glorious Surname of *The Second Africanus*.

*Carthage destroyed.*

§. 39. *Carthage* was not the only great and wealthy City which the Romans gave a Prey to the Flames in this remarkable Year. *Corinth* had the same Fate. The Occasion of it was this. A Dispute arising between the *Lacedæmonians* and the rest of the *Achean Confederacy*, the Romans sent Ambassadors into *Greece* to determine the Cause upon the Spot. *Polybius* says, that these Ambassadors exceeded their Commission, and that their Instructions were only to threaten the *Acheans*, in order to bring them to Concord. But be that as it will, when they came to *Corinth*, they assembled the Diet of *Achaia*, and there declared that it was the Will of the Senate and People of *Rome*, that *Corinth*, *Lacedæmon*, *Argos*, *Heraclea* in *Phlotis*, and *Orchomenos* in *Bæotia*, all which Cities were not anciently of the *Achean* Circle, should immediately become independent of the General Confederacy,

*Corinth destroyed.*



racy, and be governed by their own Laws. The *Corinthians* were so provoked at this Decree that they insulted the Ambassadors, and forced them to fly for their Lives. It is not to be doubted but the *Roman* Senate were full of Indignation at the Affront offer'd to their Ministers. However, as *Carthage* was not taken at this time, they thought it adviseable, before they engaged in a new War, to endeavour by a second Embassy to bring the *Acheans* to Reason. *Sextus Julius*, a Man of Prudence and of a pacifick Disposition, being ordered with two more into *Peloponnesus* for this Purpose, the *Achean* Diet assembled at *Ægium* to hear him. But though he conducted himself with great Moderation, offering Pardon for what was past, and avoided saying any thing of the Dissolution of the general League, or even of separating *Lacedæmon* from it, his Negotiation proved fruitless. *Diæus* and *Critolaus*, two turbulent Men, who were successively placed at the Head of the *Achean* Republick, insinuated to the *Acheans* that the Condescension of *Rome* was owing to her Fears; and their Influence was such, that not only the new Ambassadors were treated with Contempt, but War was declared against the *Lacedæmonians*, and consequently against the *Romans*, who had espoused their Cause. *Metellus* was still in *Macedon* at the Head of the *Prætorian* Army with which he had vanquished the two Impostors *Philip* and *Alexander*; and he no sooner heard of this Step taken by the *Acheans*, but without waiting for any Orders from the Senate, he advanced with his Troops towards *Greece* by the Way of *Theffaly*. He Overthrew the Forces of *Critolaus* the *Achean* General near *Scarphea* in *Locris*, and then hearing that the *Consul* *Mummius* was coming with an Army from *Italy* to finish the War, he would fain have had the Honour of settling a Peace with the Enemy, before the Arrival of his Successor. But *Diæus*, whom the *Acheans* had chosen in the Place of *Critolaus* (who killed himself after his Defeat) was so headstrong and untractable, that he despised very advantageous Offers. At length *Mummius* appeared before *Corinth* with an Army of twenty three thousand Foot and three thousand five hundred Horse, and ordered *Metellus* back into *Macedon*. The *Achean* Forces were all shut up in *Corinth*, intending to sustain a Siege; but the *Consul* by pretending Fear, encouraged *Diæus* to draw his Troops out into the Plain and offer him Battel. *Mummius* declined it, and retired before the Enemy till he had decoyed them into a Valley, where the *Romans* having all the Advantage of the Ground gave them an entire Overthrow. *Diæus* fled to *Megalopolis*, set Fire to his House, threw his Wife into the Flames that she might not fall into the Enemies Hands, and took Poison himself. The *Acheans* had been so confident of Victory that they had neglected to secure a Retreat to *Corinth*; a City of such Strength that *Diæus*, notwithstanding the Loss of the Battel, might have defended it longer than *Asdrubal* had done *Carthage*. The *Consul* found *Corinth* deserted, entered it without Opposition, and gave it up to be plundered by the Soldiers. The Riches found there were immense. *Corinth* may be said to have been the universal Magazine where *Europe* and *Asia* were furnished with Vessels of all sorts of Metals. The finest Statues for Temples and Palaces were likewise cast in this City, where Sculpture and Painting were brought to great Perfection. When the Spoils were put up to sale, the King of *Pergamus* offered near five thousand Pounds for a Picture of *Bacchus* by *Aristides*, which the *Consul* being no Virtuoso was so surprized at, that he fancied there was some magical Vertue in it, and therefore would not sell it but carried it to *Rome*, where it was placed in the Temple of *Ceres*. What Taste *Mummius* had in Painting and Statuary is further evident from the Bargain he made with the Captains of the Vessels who were to transport into *Italy* some of the greatest Master Pieces in those Arts; he covenanted with them, that in case any of the Statues or Pictures were lost, they should find him others in their stead. After the sacking of *Corinth*, nothing remained but to reduce it to Ashes; such was the Decree of the Senate, in order to strike a Terror into the rest of the World. Fire being set to every Corner of the City at the same time, the Flames soon reach'd the Centre, and there uniting formed one vast Conflagration; and then was produced that famous mixed Metal, which Art could never imitate. The celebrated *Corinthian* Brass was a Mixture of the Gold, Silver and Copper which the *Corinthians* had hid from the Soldiers, and which being now melted, ran together down the Streets in Streams. Thus was destroyed this famous City, which some make to have been founded as early as the Days of *Moses*, others in the Days of *Othniel*, above thirteen hundred Years before its Destruction. But it is more probable that it was built by *Alethes* the Son of *Hippotes*, one of the Descendants of *Hercules*, and that it did not subsist above nine hundred and fifty two Years.

Soon after this, ten Commissioners arrived from *Rome* to settle the Government of *Greece*; and they ordered that *Peloponnesus* should be reduced to the State of a *Roman* Province; so that the General Diets, and the Confederacy of the Cities were abolished, but each City continued to be governed by its own Laws, under the Superintendency of a *Prætor*, annually sent by the Republick into *Achaia*.



Year of As for the two Conquerors *Metellus* and *Mummius*, they both triumphed at their *ROME* Return to *Rome*, the former taking the Surname of *Macedonicus*, and the latter that of *Achaicus*.

607. And thus ended a Year which greatly extended the Dominions of the *Roman* Republick, and increas'd the Reputation of her Arms. However it must be own'd, that if on the one Hand it was remarkable for the Bravery of her Generals and Soldiers, it was no less so for the Avarice and Inhumanity of her Senate. To destroy every thing that gave them Umbrage, and to make War only for the sake of Plunder, what was this but to act the Part of Barbarians? In a Word, if *Rome* was now more formidable than ever, yet it must be allowed that she had less Virtue than in former Ages.



### ERRORS in the CONTENTS.

**P**AGE 3. Line 33. of *Leaves*, read of any thing like *Leaves*. p. 6. l. 44. after *Life*, add, as he did the *Battel*. Ibid. l. ult. *Carthage*, r. *Corcyra*. p. 18. in the Margin, r. *Flaminius marches*; and below, r. *between him and Nabis*. p. 29. l. 19. *strongest*, r. *shortest*. p. 35. in the Margin, r. *Scipio Asiaticus*. p. 48. l. 54. *Kings*, r. *Things*.

### ERRATA.

**P**AGE 7. Line 14. *Country*, r. *Field*. p. 8 l. 44. r. *their Demands were not that Vermina, &c. to the Prejudice of Massinissa, but only that &c.* p. 14. l. 23. r. *might have been a Bridge*. p. 22. l. 16. after *Villius*, r. *the former, who from being Consul there was now become Pro-Consul, was more intent*. p. 31. l. 22. *Helmets*, r. *broad Shields*. p. 45. l. 9. *Eastern*, r. *Western*. p. 51. l. 7. and, r. *having before*. p. 62. l. 7. r. *Pro-Consul*. p. 63. l. 2. *As he*, r. *As Alexander*. p. 70. l. 13. *unspeakable*, r. *unseasonable*. p. 73. l. 20. *sinking*, r. *being overpowered*. p. 87. l. 5. after, r. *before*. Ibid. n. 5. l. 13. r. *South west*. p. 105. l. 16. r. *Cato, though a good-natured Man, is a very severe Orator*. p. 107. l. 25. r. *Consul's Camp*. p. 110. l. 28. r. *sparing in his own Commendation*. p. 116. l. 2. *Journey*, r. *Voyage*. p. 119. l. 33. r. *without Arms*. p. 125. l. 30. r. *to fight, keeping their Ground*. p. 126. l. 51. r. *Lacedemonian*. p. 144. l. 14. dele *AE* of. p. 156. l. 50. at, r. *with*. p. 157. l. 37. *might*, r. *weight*. p. 160. l. 6. *unfortunate*, r. *infamous*. p. 164. l. 34. *Stolia*, r. *Achaia*. Ibid. ult. *Antiochus*, r. *the Faction of Antiochus*. p. 165. l. 29. r. *Attilius*. p. 171. l. 1. dele, and. Ibid. l. 2. *since*, r. *and that*. p. 179. l. 1. r. *treat the Stolians in the same manner if*. p. 181. l. 27. *laid waste by*, r. *disconsolate for*. p. 189. l. 37. r. *that it was the Consul's own Fault if he did not go*. p. 192. l. 29. *Recompence*, r. *Counterpoise*. p. 198. l. 4. *Corcyra*, r. *Corycus*. p. 199. l. 14. r. *He set out with Eumenes's Fleet which he found ready equipped*. p. 202. l. 32. *Acilius*, r. *Emilius*. p. 204. l. 35. *Eubaa*, r. *Elea*. p. 205. l. 43. *Athenians*, r. *Achaans*. p. 228. l. 17. r. *that all Lycaonia the two &c.* Ibid. l. 20. *Romans*, r. *Rhodians*. p. 235. l. 28. *takes not into*, r. *takes root in*. p. 240. l. 8. *They had likewise*, r. *But they had not*. Ibid. l. 9. *light Places would not*, r. *high Places would*. p. 254. l. 7. *Land*, r. *Band*. p. 262. l. 41. *thirty*, r. *twenty*. Ibid. l. 49. and *condemn'd him*, r. *in order to a Condemnation*. p. 268. l. 26. r. *Gracchus*. Ibid. l. 45. r. *Consul Emilius*. p. 272. l. 43. *Legionaries*, r. *Lustanians*. p. 277. l. 20. *leading &c.* r. *looking towards the Street Care was taken to shut up all the Windows on that Side*. p. 280. l. 9. *Hetruria*, r. *Liguria*. p. 282.

l. 17. *just*, r. *outward*. p. 285. l. 50. *Temper*, r. *Temperament*. Ibid. l. 53. *till*, r. *even*. p. 287. l. 4. r. *on the two Pratorian Legions were founded all their Hopes of Victory*. p. 293. l. 9. *The Senate &c.* r. *He therefore ordered the Farms to be let by Auction*. p. 294. l. 39. r. *he required great Exactness from his Servants*. p. 296. l. 9. *best*, r. *last*. p. 301. l. 30. *Lacedemonians*, r. *Macedonians*. p. 303. l. 42. *best*, r. *last*. p. 306. l. 18. dele, *called for Poison and*. p. 327. l. 46. r. *new Prator*. p. 333. l. 53. r. *though before thought*. p. 355. l. 39. *tiled*, r. *roof'd*. p. 366. l. ult. *Philip's*, r. *Perses's*. p. 375. l. 56. r. *honest Birth*. Ibid. l. 57. dele, *a numerous Offspring*. p. 396. l. 46. *Minucius*, r. *Mucius*. p. 398. l. 45. *People*, r. *Peace*. p. 405. l. 27. *Demetrius*, r. *Lucretius*. p. 406. l. 40. *retired again*, r. *was there for some time*. p. 413. l. 12. *Sister of those two great Men*, r. *the Daughter of Africanus*. p. 422. l. 12. *with*, r. *kill'd*. p. 427. l. 28. *fell down*, r. *ran under*. Ibid. l. 33. *its Fall*, r. *it*. p. 433. l. 19. *justified*, r. *satisfied*. Ibid. l. 50. *was that it sunk &c.* r. *was that of preserving entire the Esteem they had for Prusias*. p. 440. l. 30. *neither ought we*, r. *and we ought*. p. 442. l. 23. dele, *whilst at the same time*. p. 451. l. 41. *it*, r. *them*. p. 456. penult. *Fiercene's*, r. *Haughtiness*. p. 471. ult. r. *he was not attended by any one Macedonian*. p. 477. l. 24. *Army*, r. *Arms*. p. 483. penult. *Eumenes*, r. *Attalus*. p. 490. l. 1. *Macedon*, r. *a Freedman*. p. 499. l. 14. *were there*, r. *werethere*. p. 509. l. 2. r. *seeming Insensibility*. p. 515. l. 9. r. *Capital*. p. 530. l. 34. r. *Stone*, against which you have already stumbled. p. 535. l. 30. *the Army*, r. *Eupator's Army*. p. 539. l. 33. r. *credited to themselves*. p. 545. l. 41. *Journey*, r. *Voyage*. p. 551. l. 16. r. *going to overwhelm Prusias by*. Ibid. n. 29. l. 4. *The Greeks*, r. *The Gracchi*. p. 552. l. 13. *Cisalpine*, r. *Transalpine*. p. 554. l. 37. dele, *first*. p. 560. l. 2. *Cauceans*, r. *Cuneans*. p. 564. l. 53. r. *Consul*. p. 565. l. 18. r. *the two Kings*. p. 566. l. 23. *ought*, r. *deferw'd*. p. 567. l. 41. r. *any great*. p. 578. l. 49. r. *and they very*. p. 615. l. 46. *Port*, r. *Post*. p. 616. l. 34. r. *and as for you*.



*The following Advertisement is prefixed to the twelfth  
Volume in Quarto of the Original.*

*The Booksellers to the Reader.*

THE Subscribers had Reason to expect, that these four last Volumes [*the ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth, which were published together*] would complete the History of the *Roman* Republick. The Authors themselves proposed no more than twelve Volumes; but they have been forced to acknowledge that they confined themselves within too narrow a Compass.

THEY promised the Publick a complete History; and that nothing might be wanting in a Work of this Importance, they have made it their Business to lead the Reader, Step by Step, from the Foundation of *Rome*, to the Time when the Empire of the *Cæsars* began. They have followed the *Romans* into all those Parts of *Europe, Asia, and Africa*, to which these Conquerors extended their Dominion. They have regularly run through the several Ages of the Republick, given an Account of the different States of ancient *Rome*, and of her frequent Revolutions. After having brought together that vast Number of memorable Events, which succeeded one another in the Space of above seven hundred Years, they have shewn the gradual Increase, and prodigious Progress of this Capital of the World, according to the Order of Time. Nor is this all. To make the Reader thoroughly acquainted with the History of *Rome*, it was not sufficient barely to mention the Facts; it was necessary likewise to examine into the Springs and Circumstances of them. It was not enough to describe *Rome* in the Hurry of Arms, and the Splendor of Victory; they were likewise to consider from different Points of View the Genius of her Citizens, the Wisdom and Majesty of her Senate, her Proceedings at Home, her Negotiations Abroad, the Form of her Government, the Great Men she produced in all Ages, her Interests, Laws, Manners, Customs, Soldiery and Religion. In short, to make the Work as perfect as possible, it was necessary to collect into it whatever is most curious and worthy of Notice, both in the *Greek* and *Roman* Literature.

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EVERY Reader may now judge for himself of the Faithfulness with which the two Historians have executed a Scheme which was thought absolutely chimerical and impossible by some Men, whose only Merit is that of Abridgers. Neither learned Notes nor Dissertations on all Sorts of Literature which have any proper relation to the *Roman* History, nor Variations among the Ancients in their Accounts of historical Events, nor Monuments of any Sort which were necessary to establish the Truth of the Facts, nor Medals, nor Maps, nor Plans of Cities and Battels engraven by the most famous Artists are here wanting; nothing has escaped the Care and Attention of the two Historians. This Testimony we have had the Pleasure of extorting even from those who conspired together against the Work, long before it appeared. And indeed no one can refuse the Authors this Justice who has but cursorily perus'd the twelve Volumes, the least of which contains above eighty Sheets, the greatest Part printed in small Characters. The immense Labour of the two Authors sufficiently appears in the great Number and Variety of the Subjects which they here handle critically. Almost every Page presents us with some of the rich Fragments of learned Antiquity, digested into Order.

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T H E  MUSEUM

# Roman History.

## BOOK XXXVII.

S. I



THE Conclusion of the second *Punic* War had delivered *Rome* from continual Uneasiness; but then, it had on the other hand, multiplied her Labours. It was necessary for the Republick to keep a watchful Eye, over the Behaviour of *Carthage*, and of the Allies *Rome* had made in *Numidia*, and over the Dominions of King *Ptolomy* in *Egypt*. On the Side of *Asia*, *Attalus* indeed kept faithful to his Alliance with the *Romans*; but the League which the King of *Pergamus* had made with the *Rhodians*, and other *Greek* Nations, was

Year of  
R O M E  
DLII.

C. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS, P.  
ÆLIUS POE-  
TUS, Consuls.

thwarted by the Hostilities of *Philip* King of *Macedon*. Tho' this turbulent Prince had three Years ago made a Peace with the *Romans*; he now acted in such a manner, as must in all appearance soon draw all their Forces into his Territories. The *Athenians*, and many other Nations of *Greece* which were Confederates with *Rome*, wanted her Assistance to repel the Outrages of the *Macedonian* by Force. Besides, the *Spaniards* began to be wavering in their Fidelity; and *Italy* itself was not so perfectly settled in Peace since *Hannibal's* Departure, but that the Republick had reason to be under Apprehensions from some Enemies there. The *Gauls*,<sup>1</sup> *Boii*,

<sup>1</sup> The *Boii*, originally *Gauls*, inhabited the Territories of *Imola*, *Faenza*, and all the Lands along the Rivers which the *Italians* call the *Reno*, the *Idice*,

the *Utens* or *Montone*, and the *Santerno*. The Country between *Ravenna* and *Bologna* belonged to them. See Vol. 2.



Year of *Insubres*<sup>2</sup>, and *Ligures*<sup>3</sup>, were already talked of; and it was visible that their *R O M E* Hatred to *Rome* survived the Humiliation of *Carthage*. So that tho' the War in *Africa* was ended, the Republick could not promise herself one Year's Repose; and therefore had no Thoughts of shutting up the Temple of *Janus*. We now come to give a Detail of the new Steps she was obliged to take in *Africa*, *Asia*, and *Europe*. For she, from this time, extended her Care to all the three Parts of the known World.

DLII.  
C. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS, P.  
ÆLIUS PÆ-  
TUS, Consuls.

Livy, B. 31.  
c. 2.

THE *Consuls*, *Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Ælius Pætus*, were yet in their Office. The former, who had continued in *Sicily* with his Fleet, had only been a Spectator of the Peace which had been made with *Carthage*. The latter had been obliged to leave *Rome*, and take the Field against the *Boii*. The *Gauls* had taken up Arms again; whilst the *Romans* were forcing the *Carthaginians*, their Friends, to lay them down. The *Boii* had tumultuously entered the Territories of the Allies of *Rome*, and laid them waste. *Ælius* therefore hastily assembled two *Legions*, and joined with them about two thousand Auxiliaries, commanded by *Oppius*. Then he ordered this General to go before him, and enter the Country of the *Boii*, with a small Part of the Army, and ravage it. The *Consul* himself marched more slowly on with his *Legions*, and took the Road over the Mountains. *Oppius* penetrated into the Enemy's Country by <sup>4</sup> *Umbria*, and encamped near <sup>5</sup> *Mutilum*, to make his Incursions into the Fields of the *Boii*, from thence. The Corn was then ripe; and *Oppius* sent out Detachments to reap it. But he was not so cautious as to place Centinels, and such other Troops, at proper Distances, as were sufficient to sustain the Reapers. So that the *Boii* easily surrounded his Soldiers when busy at their Work, and made a terrible Slaughter of them. *Oppius* lost seven thousand Men in the Rout, and perished himself, without having given Battel. The Soldiers that were left, first retired to their Camp; and then finding that they had lost their General, resolved to go and join the *Consular* Army. But it was with Difficulty that they made their Way to it. They were forced to pass through Forests, which seemed impassable. Then the *Consul*, to revenge the Defeat of *Oppius*, advanced with them into the Country of the *Boii*; but the *Gauls* appeared no more in the Field. They left their Country to be pillaged by the *Romans*, who fell down on *Liguria*. The *Consular* Army spread Terror there, and forced the <sup>6</sup> *Ingauni* to enter into an Alliance with *Rome*. These were the only Exploits of *Ælius* during the Summer. He returned to the City loaded with more Spoils than Glory.

§. II. THE Senate were then engaged in a Multitude of Affairs, which increased upon them, as fast as the Republick enlarged her Dominions. What most embarrassed *The Conscrip*t Fathers at present, were the Complaints they had continually received from *Greece*, against the King of *Macedon*. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had very lately sent <sup>7</sup> Deputies to *Rome*, to inform the *Romans*, that *Philip* was soliciting the Cities of *Asia* to unite with him against them. The Republick was already

<sup>2</sup> The *Insubres*, who were descended from those ancient *Gauls*, who overspread *Italy*, got Possession of Part of the Dutchy of *Milan*, all *Crema*sko, and Part of *The Cremonese*.

<sup>3</sup> Old *Liguria* comprehended what is now called, *The Marquisate of Saluzzo*; the greatest Part of *Piedmont*, *Montferrat*, and *The County of Nice*; all the Coast of *Genoa*; *The Lordship of Mourgues*; and that Part of the Dutchy of *Milan*, which lies on this Side the *Po*.

<sup>4</sup> *Umbria* formerly reached on both Sides the *Apennines*, and comprehended a Part of *La Romagna*, *Romagna Fiorentina*, *The Marquisate of Ancona*, *The State of Fano*, *The Perusin*, *The Territory of Citta Castellana*, and the Dutchies of *Spoletto* and *Urbino*. It ought to be here observed, that *Livy* speaks of that Part of *Umbria* which was possessed by *The Sapi- nian Tribe*. Whereas we don't find the Name of this Tribe among the thirty five which had Suffrages at *Rome*. Perhaps the Historian meant by this Tribe, some particular Nation, which inhabited one of the Cantons of *Umbria*.

<sup>5</sup> *Mutilum* was then only a Fort, situated, ac-

cording to some Geographers, in that Part of *Cis- alpine Gaul*, which the Ancients called *Æmilia*, and which is now known by the Name of *La Romagna*. It is now the little City of *Modigliana*, or *Modiana*, which stands above *Faenza*, ten Miles from *Forli*. Nevertheless, the City here spoken of seems to have stood at the Foot of *The Apennines*, at a little distance from *Modena*, near a Place which the Natives call *Medolo*, or *Medola*. This Situation, as *Cluver* observes, agrees better with *Livy's* Narration.

<sup>6</sup> The *Ingauni* anciently inhabited a small Canton of *Liguria Maritima*. They were so called from the Name of their Capital, which the Geographers and Historians sometimes call *Ingaunum*, sometimes *Albingaunum*, and sometimes *Albigaunum*. This last Denomination may have been given to it, because it stood near the *Alpes*, which the Ancients called *Albi Montes*. It is now *Albenga*, or *Arbenga*.

<sup>7</sup> The *Romans*, on the other hand, had sent a so- lemn Embassy to *Egypt*, to *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, or *The Illustrious*, who had succeeded his Father *Pto- lomy Philopator*, about three Years since. The three Deputies were *Gaius Claudius Nero*, (probably the same



ready discontented with this Prince. She bore in mind the Injuries he had done the *Ætolians*, and other *Greeks*, her Allies; and the Succours he had sent with *Sospater* to *Carthage*: and the Senators gave the Ambassadors of *Rhodes*, and of *Attalus*, this Answer; *That the Republick would take care to secure their Countries against the Attempts of King Philip.*

Year of  
R O M E  
DLII.  
C. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS, P.  
ÆLIUS P O E-  
TUS, Consuls.

AND the Promise was almost as soon performed, as made. *The Conscrip* *Fa-*  
*thers* passed a Decree, whereby they empowered *Ælius* to chuse what General he  
thought fit, to go into *Macedon*, with the Fleet which *Cn. Octavius* was to bring  
back to *Sicily*. *Lævinus* was nominated by the *Consul*, for this Expedition; and  
he sailed, without Delay, from the Port of *Hipponium*<sup>8</sup>, with thirty eight Gallies.  
As soon as he appeared on the Coasts of *Macedon*, the Lieutenant-General *Aurelius*,  
who had long resided in *Greece*, to defend it with a small Body of *Roman* Troops;  
came to join *Lævinus*, and receive his Orders. The two *Romans* consulted to-  
gether about the State of *Greece* and *Macedon*; and agreed, that there was reason  
to suspect the Fidelity of King *Philip*. This Prince was assembling Ships together  
from all Quarters; and was either in Person, or by his Emissaries, stirring up Cities,  
Islands, and Provinces, to War. They therefore concluded, that *Rome* ought im-  
mediately to declare War with him. *If, said they, we don't prevent him, he may*  
*perhaps attempt more than Pyrrhus, or even Hannibal did. He will make a Descent*  
*in Italy, and bring upon us there all the Forces of the East.* So that the Result of  
the Deliberation was, that *Aurelius* wrote the Senate an Account of his own Sen-  
timents, and those of *Lævinus*. But tho' the Letters were immediately sent away,  
they did not arrive at *Rome*, till after she had changed her *Consuls*<sup>9</sup>.

S. III. THE *Centuries* were assembled in the *Campus Martius*, and *Ælius* pre-  
sided in the *Comitia*. *Sulpicius Galba* was then honoured with the *Consulate* a  
second time; and his Colleague was *C. Aurelius Cotta*. *Prætors* were also chosen,  
in the same Assembly, and they drew Lots for their *Provinces*. *Sergius Plancus*  
had the Government and Jurisdiction of *Rome*; *Cisalpine Gaul* fell to *Furius Pur-*  
*pureo*; *Bruttium*, to *Minucius Rufus*; and *Sicily*, to *Fulvius Gillo*. As for the  
*Consuls*, they would not draw Lots for their *Provinces*, till such time as the War  
with *Macedon* was appointed. On *The Ides of March*, that is, the very Day they  
entered upon their Office, they (as was then usual) made a Report of the State of  
Affairs in *Greece* and *Macedon* to the Senate; and *The Conscrip* *Fathers* thought  
a War there a Matter of great Importance. Not that they judged it so dangerous  
as that with *Carthage*. They thought *Hannibal* a much more dangerous Com-  
mander than King *Philip*. But after all, *Macedon* had appeared with great Lustre,  
under *Alexander the Great*, and his Father *Philip*; and the *Romans* remembered  
the Valour of the one, and the Prudence of the other. The latter had put his Son  
into a Condition of conquering the East. The former had conquered it. And  
their Successor, who was now arming against *Rome*, seemed to have inherited the  
Ambition of the first *Philip*, and the Bravery of *Alexander*. These Considerations

Year of  
R O M E  
DLIII.  
P. SULPICIUS  
GALBA, C.  
AURELIUS  
COTTA, Con-  
suls.  
Livy, B. 31.  
c. 4.

same who conquered *Asdrubal* on the Banks of the  
*Metaurus*) *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*, and *Publius*  
*Sempronius Tuditanus*. Their Instructions were, to  
notify to the King of *Egypt*, the Victory gained by  
the *Romans* over *Hannibal*, and the Treaty of Peace  
concluded between *Rome* and *Carthage*; to thank  
him for his inviolable Attachment to the Republick,  
at a time when the neighbouring Nations had in a  
cowardly manner deserted her in her Distress; and  
lastly, to exhort him always to continue this good  
Understanding with the *Romans*, in case *Philip's*  
wrong Proceedings should force them to carry the  
War into *Macedon*. *Ptolomy Epiphanes* had mounted  
the *Egyptian* Throne, towards the Close of the Year  
of *Rome* 549, in which his Father *Philopator* died.  
*Justin* says, the young Prince was then but five  
Years old; and he had now reigned three Years, at  
the Discretion of his Guardians. So that he was but  
eight Years old, when the *Roman* Ambassadors set  
out for *Egypt*. Both *Justin* and *Polybius* describe the  
Troubles which disturbed the Beginning of his Reign,  
and the tragical Events which the mad Ambition of  
an aspiring Family produced in this Kingdom.

<sup>8</sup> The Historians and Geographers differ as to the

Name of this City, which they sometimes call *Vibo*  
*Valentia*, sometimes *Vibona Valentia*, sometimes  
*Hippo*, and most commonly *Hipponium*. It stood  
on that Sea-Coast of *Bruttium*, which is now a Part  
of *The Further Calabria*. Its ancient Situation is  
known by that of the Castle of *Vibona*, near *Monte*  
*Leone*. *Hipponium* gave its Name to a neighbouring  
Gulph, which the Natives now call *Golfo di Sante*  
*Eusemia*.

<sup>9</sup> According to *Livy*, about the end of the Year  
552, the old Soldiers which had served in *Africa*  
under *Scipio*, obtained the Reward of their Labours.  
The Senate unanimously allotted them all the Lands  
in *Samnium* and *Apulia*, which had been confiscated  
for the Use of the *Roman* People. The Conduct  
of the new Colony, and the Care of distributing the  
Lands, was committed to ten Persons, whom the  
*Prætor of Rome*, *Marcus Junius*, had chosen out of  
the *Decemviri*. They were *Publius Servilius*, *Caius*  
and *Marcus Servilius Geminus*, *Lucius* and *Aulus*  
*Hostilius Cato*, *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus*, *Marcus*  
*Fulvius Placcus*, *Publius Villius Tappulus*, *Publius*  
*Ælius Pætus*, and *Quintus Flaminius*.



Year of therefore suspended the Determination of *The Fathers*, for some time; and that  
 R O M E they might not act precipitately in the Affair, they ordered, that the Gods should  
 DLIII. be consulted, before they would pronounce concerning this War. Nor was this  
 P. SULPICIUS all. The Senate themselves drew up the Form of Prayers that were addressed to  
 GALBA, C. the Gods during the Sacrifices appointed for discovering their Will. Their Decree  
 AURELIUS was punctually obeyed; many Victims of the largest Size were slain on the Altars;  
 COTTA, CON- after which, *The Conscrip Fathers* again assembled. And then arrived the Letters  
 suls. which *Aurelius* and *Lævinus* had written concerning the Affairs of *Greece*, and  
 the Preparations the *Macedonian* made for War. At the same time came to *Rome*  
 a Deputation from the *Athenians*, to demand Succours of the *Romans*, to guard  
 them against the Attempts of *Philip*. These Ambassadors reported, That the King  
 of *Macedon* was drawing near their Frontiers; and That their Lands, and City itself,  
 unless relieved, would soon be in the Power of this Conqueror. And the *Consuls* took  
 this Opportunity to declare to the Senate, That the Gods accepted of their Sacrifices  
 and Prayers; and That the *Aruspices* were of opinion, that the Entrails of the  
 Victims foreboded nothing but what was favourable to the Republick. They also  
 ordered, that the Letters from *Lævinus* and *Aurelius* should be read in full Senate;  
 and that Audience should be given to the Ambassadors of *Athens*. And all these  
 Circumstances together made an Impression on the Minds of the Senators. They  
 were affected with the Misfortunes which threatned the *Athenians*, their Allies;  
 were wrought upon by the Letters of *Lævinus* and *Aurelius*; and depended on the  
 Protection of the Gods, who declared their Approbation by happy Presages. So that,  
 without further Delay, they passed a Decree, which contained these three Articles.  
 1. That Thanks should be returned to the *Athenians*, for having continued faithful  
 to the *Roman* Republick, at a time, when their City was threatned with a Siege.  
 2. That no Succours should be sent to the East, till the *Consuls* had drawn Lots  
 for their *Provinces*. And 3. That the *Consul*, to whose Lot *Macedon* fell, should  
 get the War with King *Philip* approved by the People assembled by *Centuries*, and  
 immediately afterwards embark with an Army. Then the *Consuls* drew Lots without  
 Delay; and *Sulpicius* had *Macedon* for his *Province*; and *Aurelius*, *Italy*. It there-  
 fore belonged to the former, to get the War with King *Philip* approved in the  
*Comitia*; and he met with more Difficulty in this Affair than he had expected. A  
*Tribune of the People*, named *Bæbius*, had persuaded the Commons, that the No-  
 bility continually entered upon one War after another, on purpose to prevent *Rome's*  
 enjoying any Repose. This was an old Complaint which the *Tribune* revived; but  
 it was not without some Appearance of Truth. The War with *Carthage* had been  
 ended but a few Months; and the Senate were already beginning another War  
 with *Macedon*. The People were full of these Prejudices when the *Comitia* were  
 assembled. So that the War with *Macedon* was rejected by a Majority of Voices;  
 and it is easy to judge, that the Senate were not very well pleased with this Oppo-  
 sition from the *Comitia*. The Name of *Bæbius* became odious to *The Conscrip*  
*Fathers*, who spoke warmly against him in their Assemblies. But still it was the  
 Prerogative of the Commons, to determine concerning Peace or War. So that the  
 only Refuge the *Consul* had left, was to assemble these People, who were so fond  
 of Repose, a second time; and to endeavour to persuade them to consent to a  
 War, by Force of Argument. *Sulpicius* addressed himself to them in this manner.

R O M A N S, you are weary of bearing Arms, and long for Tranquillity; and I  
 heartily wish the Gods would grant it you, and your Enemies suffer you to enjoy the  
 Fruits of it! But *Philip* is a restless Prince; we have discovered his Intrigues.  
 Is it not then better to carry the War into his Dominions, than to see him, at the  
 Head of his *Macedonians*, pillage our Countries, and sack our *Provinces*? *Italy*  
 has already but too severely felt the Cruelty of *Hannibal*, and the Ravages of  
*Pyrrhus*. Our *Grecian* Allies now implore our Assistance against *Philip*, as the *Sa-*  
*guntini* formerly did against *Hannibal*. We then delayed sending Succours to those  
 faithful *Spaniards*; and the *Carthaginian*, taking Advantage of our Delays, demo-  
 lished *Saguntum*, and had the Boldness to pass the *Alpes*. If we postpone sending  
 Relief to the *Athenians*; if we don't oblige the King of *Macedon* to continue in  
 his own Dominions, and find him Employment there; what will be the Consequence?  
 We shall see him, and perhaps *Hannibal* with him, cross the Sea, and renew our  
 Alarms in *Italy*. You know the Friendship *Philip* has always had for *Hannibal*.

How



*How easy will it be for him, to bring him back hither, and put him at the Head of another Army here! And then, how many of our Provinces, which did not leave Hannibal till reduced to the last Extremity, will rejoin this formidable Carthaginian? What imminent Dangers will threaten your Wives, and Children, and yourselves? All these Calamities will be the Effects of your Obstinacy. Nor are they, even now, at any great Distance from us. Hannibal was indeed five Months coming from Spain to Italy; but five Days are sufficient to bring Philip on our Coasts. Perhaps Hannibal may not come with him; I grant it. But will not Philip alone be able to lay our Countries desolate? Remember Pyrrhus. Was his Power comparable to that of Philip? Epirus, of which the former was King, is but a small Tract of Land, if compared with Macedon. Consider how far Philip has already extended his Dominions. He is Master of Epirus it self, of Thessaly, and of Macedon; and Peloponnesus and Argos are subject to him. Let it be likewise considered, That in Pyrrhus's Time, our Republick was not exhausted of Men, Money, or able Officers: And yet he came to the Foot of our Walls, and made our Forefathers tremble, even behind their Bulwarks. The Lucani, Samnites and Bruttii, joined him. And do you think that these Nations will continue faithful to us, when they see a Macedonian Army here? These People will never be at Peace as long as Rome shall have any Enemies in their Neighbourhood. You refuse, Romans, to send Troops into Macedon. But could you have enjoyed your present Security, if you had not suffered Scipio to have carried some into Africa? The great Secret of State, is to know how to keep Hostilities at a Distance, and to make War only in an Enemy's Country. Let then the Fire and Sword be felt only in Macedon! You have already experienced how useful a Diversion is. You have already made War Abroad, to prevent having it at Home. With these Sentiments then, go into the Voting-place, and give your Suffrages! The Senate, your Consuls, nay the Gods themselves, solicit you to declare against Philip.*

THIS said, Sulpicius succeeded to his Wish; all the Tribes voted for War; and it was immediately resolved on. And after this Resolution, the first Step the Romans took, was to endeavour once more to render the Gods propitious. They always made Religion their first Concern. The Senate ordered Prayers for three Days. All the Temples were opened, and the People crowded to them, there to implore the Protection of Heaven. Nor did Rome omit any of the Ceremonies usually practised in declaring War. She was scrupulously exact in the Performance of them. The College of *Feciales* were consulted, whether it was necessary to signify to Philip himself, that the Peace was at an End; or whether it was sufficient, to declare it in one of his Frontier-Towns, which was nearest to Rome. And they answered, That it would be sufficient to send, in the Name of a Consul, a *Fecialis*, (who was in no Office in the Republick,) to declare War, in one of the Towns in Macedon. But tho' these Romans were thus timorous, even to Superstition, in what related to the Worship of their Gods, they were Heroes in Battel. So true is it, that Religion does not abate Mens Courage, but raises and improves it!

§. IV. AFTER they had rendered the Gods propitious, the Senate made it their next Concern, to settle all the Armies, which were to act the next Year. Sulpicius, who was to make War in Macedon, had Leave to get as many Volunteers as he could, out of the Troops Scipio had brought from Africa; but he was forbidden to force any of them into his Service. These brave Men were only to be Supernumeraries to the two Legions of which the Consular Armies always consisted. The Consul Aurelius raised two Legions, to march wheresoever the wavering Nations of Italy should make his Presence necessary. And then the Consuls formed the *Prætorian* Armies. Besides the Legion which L. Furius was to command in *Cisalpine Gaul*, and that which Minucius Rufus was to command in *Bruttium*, five thousand Auxiliaries were divided between them. Fulvius Gillo obtained Leave to add to the Legion he was to lead into his Province of Sicily, no less than five thousand of the *Latins* and other Allies, and to chuse them out of the Army the Consul Ælius had commanded the last Year. Nevertheless, he was ordered to chuse such only as had served the least time. And lastly, Valerius Falto (continued *Prætor* in *Sardinia*) was ordered to keep for himself five thousand of those *Latins* who had yet paid the Republick but little of the Service



Year of they owed her. So that the whole Number of the *Roman Legions* which were  
 R O M E to be employed in different Places the next Campaign, was no more than seven.  
 DLIII. A considerable Diminution of that prodigious Number of Troops which the Re-

P. SULPICIUS  
 GALBA, C.  
 AURELIUS  
 COTTA, Con-  
 suls.

publick had employed in the Heat of the War with *Hannibal*!  
 AFTER this, all the Attention of the *Romans* was fixed on *Macedon*; when an  
 Embassy arrived at *Rome*, from *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, King of *Egypt*. The Domi-  
 nions of this young Prince, during his <sup>10</sup> unfortunate Minority, had fallen a Prey to  
 rapacious Usurpers; and he had, at length, put himself under the Protection of the  
*Romans*. He had even received from the Republick one *Marcus Lepidus*, to be  
 his Guardian, and to defend his Dominions against the Invasions of the Kings of  
*Syria* and *Macedon*. Indeed *Antiochus* <sup>11</sup> the Great, and King *Philip*, had already  
 divided between them the *Egyptian* Territories, which they expected to conquer.  
*Antiochus* had chosen <sup>12</sup> *Cælo-Syria*, and <sup>13</sup> *Phœnicia*; and *Philip* was to have  
*Egypt* and *Caria* <sup>14</sup>: And *Rome* had not yet overturned these vast Projects of the  
*Syrian* and *Macedonian*. So that young *Ptolomy*, now thirteen Years of Age, did  
 not yet enjoy a perfect Tranquillity, tho' under the Guardianship of *Lepidus*, and  
 the Protection of the *Roman* Republick. He was full of Apprehensions,  
 when he received the News of the Ravages *Philip* had committed in *Attica*, and  
 of the Motion of the *Macedonian* Troops to lay Siege to *Athens*; and having en-  
 tertained just Suspicions and Resentments towards the *Macedonian*, he was inclined  
 to assist the *Athenians*. But he durst not undertake any thing without the Consent  
 of the *Roman* People. Doubtless his Guardian *Lepidus* advised him to send an  
 Embassy to the Republick, to inform her, That he was very ready to deliver *Athens*

<sup>10</sup> After the Death of *Ptolomy Philopator*, *Agathocles*, the prime Minister, and chief Instrument, of  
 the Debaucheries of that Monarch, was forced to share the Administration of *Egypt*, and the Guar-  
 dianship of *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, a Minor, with *Tlepolemus*. But he soon looked on his Colleague as a  
 hateful Rival, who was very capable of thwarting him in his ambitious Designs. And he therefore re-  
 solved to get rid of him by unjust Means; fully purposing to attempt the Life of his Pupil after-  
 wards, and place himself on the Throne. These Schemes he formed in Conjunction with his Sister  
*Agathoclea*, and his Mother *Enanthe*. The former had captivated the late King, who being charmed  
 with her extraordinary Beauty, had implicitly given himself up to the Caprice of this artful Woman.  
 This cost the unfortunate *Euridice*, Mother to *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, her Life. And when *Agathoclea*  
 was become a Queen, and married to *Philopator*, she no longer set any Bounds to her Desires. Her  
 Brother *Agathocles*, and her Mother *Enanthe*, were the only Persons who shared the sovereign Authori-  
 ty with him. The King, wholly swallowed up in Love, was entirely guided by their Ambition. Af-  
 ter this, *Ptolomy* died, and his Death only hastened the Execution of the Design *Agathocles* had formed,  
 of ascending the Throne. Being backed by his Sister and Mother, he had already seized the late King's  
 Treasures. But the Plot was discover'd by those who were watchful to preserve the young Prince;  
 and the Tyrant being invested on all Sides, could not escape the Fury of the People of *Alexandria*.  
 He was stabbed; and his Mother and Sister being ignominiously exposed to the Fury of the Citizens,  
 were torn in pieces by them. And lastly, the Remains of this proud Family underwent as severe a  
 Fate. According to *Justin*, *Enanthe* and *Agathocles* expired on a Gibbet. When *Egypt* was delivered  
 from her Tyrants, she claimed the Protection of the *Romans* against foreign Enemies. The Grandees  
 thought they could not better secure the Life of the young King, than by putting him and his Kingdom  
 under the Protection of the Senate of *Rome*. And this was the Design of the Embassy the People of  
*Alexandria* had just sent to that venerable Body. The Republick granted the Request of the Amba-  
 sadors; and dispatched *Lepidus* to *Egypt*, there to take upon him the Office of Guardian to the young

King, and Regent of the Kingdom. She had also already sent Deputies to *Antiochus* and *Philip*, to require them, in the Name of the *Roman* People, to desist from their Enterprizes upon *Egypt*. So that whilst *Rome* gloried in being the Refuge of oppressed Princes, she took upon her to give Law to Crowned Heads. But after all, it is very surprizing that so remarkable a Fact as the transferring the Guardianship of the King of *Egypt* to the *Romans*, should escape the two most exact and most celebrated of all the *Roman* Historians. Is not their Silence a reasonable Proof against the single Testimony of *Justin*?

<sup>11</sup> This *Antiochus*, the third of the Name, had now reigned in *Syria*, twenty four Years. He was the Son of *Seleucus Callinicus*, and had succeeded his Brother *Seleucus Ceraunus*. His warlike Exploits, and the Reputation of being a Lover of Equity, gained him the Surname of *The Great*. After the Death of *Ptolomy Philopator*, he had taken Advantage of the Infancy of *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, and seized *Judea*: But in the Year of *Rome* 551, according to *Eusebius's Chronicon*, *Scopus* the King of *Egypt's* General at the Head of a numerous Army, recovered that Province, and brought it again into Subjection to its old Master. And to this Conquest, he added that of several Cities of *Syria*, which he took from King *Antiochus*.

<sup>12</sup> The Name of *Cælo-Syria*, was anciently given to all that Country which lay between the Mounts *Libanus* and *Anti-Libanus*. *Ptolomy the Geographer* places the Territory of *Damascus* in that Country. But others make it a distinct Province, and call it *Syria of Damascus*.

<sup>13</sup> *Phœnicia*, properly so called, was the maritime Parts of *Syria*. Some of the most considerable Cities in this Province were those of *Tyre* and *Sidon*. Several Geographers have comprehended in *Phœnicia*, all that vast Country which reaches along the *Mediterranean*, from the River *Eleuthernus* to *Pelusium* in *Egypt*.

<sup>14</sup> *Caria* was a Province of *Asia Minor*. It is now called *Aidinelli*. It is bounded by *Lycia*, to the East; and by the *Mediterranean* and *Archipelago*, to the West and South. The River *Madre*, formerly so well known by the Name of *Meander*, is its Border to the North. *Caria* is now a Part of *Germian*.



out of the Danger that threatened her, if it would be at all agreeable to the *Romans*. And this Act of Submission, from a powerful King, was highly acceptable to the Senate. They returned *Ptolomy* Thanks for the Respect he had paid them, and gave the Ambassadors this Answer: *That Rome was resolved to assist the Greeks against Philip; That she would give Ptolomy Notice when she wanted his Assistance; and That she was fully convinced of their Master's Fidelity and Affection to her.* Then some Presents were made the *Egyptian* Envoys, and they were dismissed. *Rome* also nominated three Ambassadors to go to King *Ptolomy*; and ordered them, to coast along the *Mediterranean*, and, if possible, obtain a Conference with the King of *Macedon*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLIII.  
P. SULPICIUS  
GALBA, C.  
AURELIUS  
COTTA, Con-  
suls.

§. V. As for the *Consuls*, each was intent on the War in his own *Province*; but they were very slow in making their Preparations. They liked very well to continue at *Rome*. They appeared every Day in publick, and their Dignity procured them Honours here, which they could not have had in the Country. *Sulpicius* especially, was very dilatory in setting out for *Macedon*. He continually found Pretences to postpone it; sometimes on account of Religion, sometimes on account of the important Affairs which were depending in the Senate. At first, a religious Ceremony detained him. In the Beginning of a new War, the People would have nothing of that kind neglected. The least Omission of the usual Formalities, was thought to affect the Success of the Enterprize: and it was remembered, That many *Consuls* had, before they went on important Expeditions, vowed to celebrate publick Games in honour to *Jupiter*, and to make him a Present. *Sulpicius* therefore was obliged to make the same Vow; but he met with some Opposition in it. The Republick had not then ready the Sum settled for the Expence of these Games; and *Licinius* the *Pontifex Maximus* was of Opinion, That no Promise could be made to the Gods, but of a fixed Sum; and That it was necessary, at the time of making it, to set apart the Sum vowed, and not mix it with the Funds designed for the War. But tho' great Regard was shewn to this Opinion of the *Pontifex Maximus*, the *Consul* thought fit to appeal from him to the *Pontifical* College. And they determined, That it was not necessary, for the Validity of the Vow, either to ascertain the Sum, or set apart the Money. So that *Sulpicius* pronounced the Form of the Vow, concluding with this Clause, That the Senate should determine the Expences of the Games, and the Value of the Present, when they thought proper. And this was the first time that ever a Vow was made at *Rome* of an indeterminate Sum. Thus we see what Regard was then paid by the *Romans* to religious Affairs. They were very fearful of omitting any, and strictly examined into the Extent and Bounds of their Duty, with respect to the Promises they made their Gods.

Plut. Life of  
Flaminius.

Livy, B. 31.  
c. 9.

AFTER this, a sudden Commotion among the *Gauls* kept *Sulpicius* yet in the City, and forced his Colleague to prepare for taking the Field. The *Insubres*, <sup>15</sup> *Cenomani*, and *Boii*, had joined the <sup>16</sup> *Statiellates*, and <sup>17</sup> *Iriates*, Nations of *Liguria*; and these Rebels had chosen for their Leader, that *Hamilcar* the *Carthaginian*, whom *Asdrubal* had left in *Italy*, after his Defeat. So that a Subject of *Carthage* renewed the War; tho' his Republick neither took Part in it, nor had given Rise to it. The Army *Hamilcar* commanded had seized <sup>18</sup> *Placentia*; and after having put a great Number of the Inhabitants to Death, and burnt a great many Houses, had advanced towards *Cremona*, to sack it. But *Cremona* was a *Roman Colony*, and had kept upon her Guard, as soon as she had heard of the Misfortune of *Placentia*. She shut her Gates against the Army of the *Gauls*; and

<sup>15</sup> The *Cenomani*, originally *Gauls*, as we have observed, Vol. 2. settled beyond the *Po*, and took Possession of the greatest Part of *The Veronese*, *The Mantuan*, *The Bressan*, and a little of *The Cremonese*.

<sup>16</sup> The *Statiellates* inhabited that Canton of *Liguria*, which is now a Part of *Montferrat*. Their chief City, which the *Latin* Authors call *Aque Statiellorum*, is still in being, and is now called by the Natives *Acqui*.

<sup>17</sup> The *Iriates* took their Name from the City of *Iria*, their Capital. Its Situation agrees with that of *Vogbiera*, which now belongs to the Duchy of *Milan*. Indeed it ought to be owned, that in seve-

ral Copies of *Livy* we read *Salyis Iuvatibusque*. But so gross a Blunder can only be ascribed to the Copyists. It is certain the *Salyes* inhabited that Part of *Gallia Narbonensis*, of which *Aix* was the Capital. And as for the *Ivates*, they had settled in the Island of *Iva*, over against the Coasts of *Hetruria*, as we have already observed. We have spoken of the *Salyes*, Vol. 2.

<sup>18</sup> *Placentia* still retains, in some measure, its first Name, in that of *Placenza*. This City now belongs to the Duchy of *Milan*. We have spoken of it in the preceding Volumes.



Year of R O M E DLIII. P. SULPICIUS GALBA, C. AURELIUS COTTA, Consuls.

thereby the faithful *Cremonese* preserved themselves from Slaughter. Whilst *Hamilcar* was preparing to besiege them, they had time to send an Account of their Danger to *Furius Purpureo*, who, as *Prætor* of *Gaul*, commanded a Body of five thousand Allies there; and who loved Glory, and sought all Opportunities to acquire it. Besides, the Name of *Furius* had always been fatal to the *Gauls*; and the Great *Camillus*, one of his Ancestors, had often triumphed over them. The *Prætor* therefore made ready with all Diligence, to leave the Neighbourhood of *Ariminum*, where he was encamped, and march towards *Cremona*. But nevertheless, he thought it necessary, before his Departure, to write to the Senate, and desire Succours of them. One of the two famous Colonies, said he, which the *Carthaginians* spared, has just been sacked by the *Gauls*, and the other is besieged. And I have only five thousand Men to make Head against the Enemy. Would it not then be exposing this little Body of Allies to be slaughtered, if I should lead them against the *Gauls*? The latter are forty thousand strong. Upon the Receipt of this Letter, the Senate ordered, That either the *Consul Aurelius* should put himself at the Head of his Army, which was encamped in *Hetruria*; or else That the *Consular* Army should march without him to *Ariminum*, to be there commanded by the *Prætor*. And they added, That upon the *Consul's* declining that Enterprize, *Furius* should lead the *Legions* to the Relief of *Cremona*; and should send his own five thousand Allies into *Hetruria*, to guard it. It was natural indeed for *Aurelius* immediately to take upon him the Command of his *Legions*, and fight the *Gauls*; but he chose to continue in *Rome*.

§. VI. THE *Conscript Fathers* also came to another Resolution; which was, to send a Deputation to *Carthage*, to complain of one of her Subjects. *Hamilcar* had, notwithstanding the Peace, put himself at the Head of an Army of *Gauls* and *Ligures*; and *Rome* demanded, that this perfidious Man should be recalled to *Carthage* to be punished, or else delivered up to the Vengeance of the *Romans*. The Ambassadors were likewise ordered to represent to the *Carthaginians*, that they had not faithfully executed the Conditions of the Treaty. All the *Roman* Deserters had not been delivered up to the Republick; several of them yet appeared in the Streets of *Carthage*. The same Ambassadors were also directed to go to *Numidia*, and compliment *Masiniſſa* on the Recovery and Increase of his Dominions. They were to inform this faithful King, that *Rome* was going to begin a new War with *Philip*, and that it would be very acceptable to her, if he would lend her some Squadrons of *Numidian* Horse. They also carried some <sup>19</sup> Presents to *Masiniſſa*.

THIS Prince was now in Possession of the Capital, and great Part of the Kingdom, of *Syphax*; and this Conquest gave great Uneasiness to *Vermina*, the second Son of *Syphax*. The eldest had been taken Prisoner, and carried into Captivity, with his Father; and the young Prince his Brother now had Thoughts of reconciling himself to the *Romans*. To this End, he sent his Envoys to *Rome*, and they were admitted into the Senate. Their Speech chiefly turned on the Misery of a deprived Prince, and the Deceitfulness of the *Carthaginians*, who, to his great Misfortune, had drawn off his Father from his Alliance with *Rome*, and made him her Enemy. Their Demands were only, That *Vermina* might be put into Possession of the *Provinces* conquered from him, which was a Prejudice to no body but *Masiniſſa*; and That the Senate would give the former the Title of *King*, and rank him among the Allies of the *Romans*. So exceeding great was the Power of these Republicans, that the Son and Heir of a great Monarch could not take the Quality of *King* without their Consent; and their Alliance was not to be purchased by him, otherwise than by the most humble Submissions. They gave his Deputies this haughty Answer: An Enemy of the Roman People, has no Right to demand of them the Title of *King*, and the Honour of an Alliance with them. Let him first obtain a Peace, and a Pardon; and then let him endeavour to make Amends for the Unfaithfulness of *Syphax*, and the Attempts of his Son. To which it was added, That the greatest Kings did not obtain an Alliance with *Rome*, but by long

<sup>19</sup> The Republick could not distinguish *Masiniſſa's* Valour in a more honourable Manner than she then did. Besides the Vases of Gold and Silver which were given him, she presented him with all

the Ornaments of a triumphant Victor, and a Magistrate, The embroidered Robe and Tunic, The Ivory Scepter, The Robe bordered with Purple, and The Curule Chair.



and important Services. Nevertheless, the Ambassadors had some Hopes given them. They were told, *That Vermina might have Recourse to the 20 Roman Ambassadors which were going into Africa; That the latter would be empowered to declare the Terms upon which the Republick would enter into a Treaty with him; and That if he would have any Alterations made in the Terms they offered, he must again have Recourse to the Senate.* It must be granted, that the Romans, though naturally imperious, never carried their Pride to this height, till after the Victories of *Scipio*. They then first began to assume that excessive Arrogance, and Haughtiness, which all the Monarchs of the World experienced in their Turns.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLIII.  
P. SULPICIUS  
GALBA, C.  
AURELIUS  
COTTA, Con-  
suls.

§. VII. BUT this Pride of the *Roman* Senate was accompanied with many Virtues, which made them as venerable as they were imperious. Their Equity distinguished them from all the Nations in the World: and they gave some Instances of it, whilst the present *Consuls* continued at *Rome*. The *Prætor Minucius* sent *The Conscrip Fathers* an account, That the Treasury of *Proserpine* had been again plundered, and That the Robbers could not be discovered. The Senators were 21 surprised to find that there were yet new *Pleminius's*, who were bold enough to repeat this Crime, after the Sacrilege had been so signally punished; but ordered, as before, That what was left in the Treasury of the Goddess should be examined, what had been stolen restored, and That Victims should be bought by the Publick for Expiations.

AT the same time, the private Citizens of *Rome*, who had lent the Republick Money in her late Difficulties, and whose Debts were ordered to be discharged at three different times, demanded the last Payment. It had been delayed, because Money was wanted for the *Macedonian* Expedition; and the Creditors loudly complained of these continual Wars, which tended to deprive the zealous Citizens of what they had lent gratis. The Senate therefore, who always acted with great Equity, came to such a Compromise with them, as suited the present Necessities, and was not injurious to the Creditors. They surrendered up to them certain Lands, which belonged to the Republick, and were near 22 *Rome*; upon Condition, that they should pay one *As per Acre* Rent for them, and should restore them, whenever the Exchequer should think fit to redeem them. This is the first Instance we meet with in Story, of granting Leases for long Terms. The Lenders were satisfied with them; and the Republick gave a signal Proof of her Justice and Honour.

AND indeed, it will not seem surprising, that the *Consuls* should continue so long in *Rome*, in a Year so fruitful in great Affairs; if we consider That they were the chief Persons in the Senate where they were continually employed; and That they were the Managers of all those Deliberations and Decrees, by which all the Affairs of *Italy, Africa, Asia, and Greece*, were regulated and settled. However, at last, the *Consul Sulpicius* left the City to go to the *Levant*. But his Collegue chose to preside in the Senate; and left to the *Prætor Furius*, the Care

20 *Caius Terentius Varro, Publius Lucretius*, and *Cneius Octavius*, were the three Ambassadors who embarked for *Africa*. Each of them went on board a *Quinqueremis* prepared by Order of the Senate.

21 The Horror of the Crime was increased by the Reports spread of several late Prodigies, whether real or imaginary; and the Alarm was universal. Every one took these Sorts of Events for manifest Signs of the Anger of the Gods, which was ready to break out against the *Romans*, to punish the Sacrilege. The Heavens had appeared to be all on Fire, in *Lucania*. Some Women, in several Parts of *Italy*, had brought forth Monsters. Nothing was talked of but new-born Children, which either were so formed that it was doubtful of which Sex they were, or in whom the Parts that distinguished the Sexes were imperfect. In this Confusion of Nature, the People expected nothing but terrible Calamities. And in order to prevent the Evils with which they thought themselves threatened, those unhappy Victims to a barbarous Superstition were im-

mediately devoted to Death. All these deformed Infants were sought for, and not one of them spared. By Order of the Priests, they were thrown into the Sea, as accursed Creatures. Nor was this all. The *Decemviri* were ordered to consult the *Sybilline* Books, the usual Resource of the *Romans* in Alarms; And upon the Report of these Priests, *The Conscrip Fathers* ordered Sacrifices to be offered, and Presents made, to Queen *Juno*. Moreover, a Ceremony was renewed which had been introduced some Years before. Twenty seven young Girls, divided into three Choirs, sung a Song in honour to the Goddess, in the Streets of *Rome*. It was composed by an ancient Poet, whose Name was *Lici-nius Tegula*, and was much of the same kind, as that made by *Livius Andronicus*, on the like Occasion.

22 These Lands were, according to *Livy*, fifty Miles, that is, sixteen or seventeen *French Leagues*, from *Rome*.



Year of of relieving *Cremona*. And we now come to relate in their Order, the military  
 R O M E Expeditions of the *Romans*, in *Greece*, and *Italy*.

DLIII.

P. SULPICIUS  
 GALBA, C.  
 AURELIUS  
 CORTA, Con-  
 suls.

§. VIII. <sup>23</sup> *Sulpicius* embarked at *Brundisium*, and had a safe Passage to *Macedon* <sup>24</sup>; where he <sup>25</sup> found the Affairs of *Greece* embroiled by the Proceedings of *Philip*. This King intended to have destroyed the Liberty of all *Greece*. The Measures he had taken to this end were very proper ones; and if the *Romans* had not disconcerted them, he would have become the most powerful Monarch in the World. The League he had entered into with *Antiochus* King of *Syria* made him Enterprizing; and after he had extended his Dominion from *Macedon* over the rest of *Europe*, he would doubtless have invaded a good part of *Asia*, and joined *Egypt* to his Conquests. This was the Scheme he had formed, and in order to pursue it, he had already actually broken the Peace he had made with the *Romans*, and committed Hostilities in the Countries of their Allies. King *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, and the *Athenians* were the most sensible of any Nations of *Greece*, of their want of the Protection of *Rome*. The *Ætolians* were equally afraid of quarrelling with *Macedon*, and *Rome*; and therefore resolved to stand neuter. *Achaia*, *Lacedamon*, and *Corinth*, joined with King *Philip*. And before the Consul *Sulpicius* arrived, the *Macedonian* made use of a slight Pretence to carry the War into *Attica*. Two young *Acarnanians*, who happened to be at *Athens*, at the time of the Celebration of *The Mysteries* <sup>26</sup> of *Ceres*, had slipped into the Temple

<sup>23</sup> The Consul, *Publius Sulpicius*, did not begin his March, till after he had gone to the *Capitol*, to implore the Protection of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, according to the Custom of those Times.

<sup>24</sup> The Passage was not long. In two Days, the Consul appeared off the Coasts of *Macedon*, with his Fleet, which partly consisted of the Fleet of twenty Ships, with which *Cornelius Lentulus* was to have gone into *Africa* the last Year. And most of the Volunteers who had served under *Scipio* in *Africa*, attended the Consul in this Expedition.

<sup>25</sup> *Sulpicius*, upon his Arrival in *Macedon*, found Deputies, who came to claim his Assistance in favour of *Athens*, and against the Enterprizes of *Philip*. The Consul therefore immediately granted them a Reinforcement of Troops, and twenty Gallies, under the Command of *Caius Claudius Centho*.

<sup>26</sup> Among all the Festivals of the ancient Pagans, the *Mysteries of Ceres* were, beyond all Contradiction, the most eminent, whether we consider the vast Preparations made for them, or the Devotion with which the People came from all Parts of *Greece* to celebrate them. The *Sicilians* claimed the Glory of having first instituted this solemn Worship. They boasted that they had been instructed by *Ceres*, in the secret Ceremonies which were performed in this Solemnity. Having been taught by her, according to the Tradition of the Country, the Art of cultivating the Earth, and by her united in Societies in Cities, there to live under the Influence of the wise Laws she had dictated, they twice a Year renewed the Remembrance of these signal Benefits. The Mother and the Daughter were alternatively worshipped by these Islanders. The Harvest was the Season dedicated to *Proserpine*, and the first Seed-time to her Mother. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that the Feast of *Ceres* lasted ten Days. Therein was represented, by several Symbols, the savage Life of the first Men, when they were dispersed in Forests, and had no Food but Acorns, no Law but Instinct. In this manner, the *Sicilians* renewed the Remembrance of their Benefactress. According to the same Author, an indecent Figure was then led about *Sicily*, called *Myllor*. It was made of Honey and *Sesamin*. This Figure put the Spectators in mind of the Obscenities which the Pagan Mythologists have inserted in the fabulous History of the Adventures of the Goddesses. Nevertheless, the People worshipped it. Hence the *Fathers* of the Church concluded, that the Pagans had, under the venerable Name of *Mysteries*, consecrated Prostitutions, and other Crimes too hor-

rible to be named by modest Persons. But if that was the Case, it is hard to reconcile this monstrous Licentiousness with the Testimony of prophane Authors. They all agree in declaring the Sanctity of these secret Assemblies which were held all the time of the Festival. They represent them as Schools of Virtue and Purity. The Women themselves did not enter upon the Celebration of these *Mysteries*, till after they had kept the most exact Continence for several Days.

After the Example of the *Sicilians*, the Inhabitants of *Attica* (who had been likewise enriched by the Gifts of *Ceres*) signalized their Gratitude to this Goddess, by instituting three great Festivals to her Honour.

The first was called *Proerosia*, because it preceded the Ploughing-time, and Seed-time. It was instituted, according to some Writers, by Order of the Oracle of *Delphi*, on occasion of a Plague and Famine which then laid all *Greece* desolate. So that the *Athenians* celebrated it in the Name of all the *Greeks*. They then offered up many Sacrifices in hopes of obtaining a plentiful Harvest. The Name of *Proerosia* was afterwards given to the Goddess. It was customary among the Ancients, to give the Gods and Goddesses Surnames taken from the Temples and Festivals which were consecrated to them.

The second Festival celebrated at *Athens*, and in the chief Cities of *Greece*, was called *Theismophoria*. This *Greek* Word alluded to the Worship the Nations there paid *Ceres*, as a *Law-giver*. *Triptolemus* was thought the first Institutor of this Feast. *Plutarch*, *Diodorus of Sicily*, and after them *Theodoret*, says it was celebrated with the same Ceremonies, that the *Egyptians* practised in *The Mysteries of Isis*. At least it is certain, the Ancients have observed, that there was a great deal of Resemblance between the two Goddesses. They had all the same Attributes; insomuch, that most of the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors have confounded them together, and made both to be but one Goddess.

The *Athenians* set apart five Days together for the Celebration of this Festival. Every Day, the Women of the ten *Tribes*, of which the Republick of *Athens* consisted, chose out two among them to preside in the Ceremonies practised at this solemn Season. But this Privilege was granted only to such as were born in lawful Wedlock. And their Inspection did not reach to the sacrificing of the Victims. This belonged to the *Stephanophoros*, that is, the Priest who officiated with a Crown upon his Head.



Temple of the Goddess with the Croud. But it was not lawful for any Person to bear a part in those Ceremonies, who had not been initiated. The two *Acar-nanians* were discovered to be Strangers, by their Language; and upon asking

Year of  
R O M.  
DLIII.  
P. SULPICII  
GALBA, C.  
AURELIUS  
COTIA, Col  
fals.

Head. The Women, who had had at least three *Talents* each to their Portions, had a Right to demand of their Husbands the necessary Sums for the Expences of the Sacrifices. Every one was indispensably obliged to contribute to them, according to his Riches.

When all these Women were assembled together, they marched in Procession from *Athens* to *Eleusis*, a little City in the Neighbourhood. All the Way they went, they made all Places resound with the Hymns they sung in honour to the Goddess, and accompanied with Instruments. They carried in this kind of Procession the Books, which contained the secret Mysteries of the Solemnity, and the Laws for which *Attica* was indebted to *Ceres*. But this Depositum was not entrusted with any, but such of the *Athenian* Ladies, as were most famous for their Virtue and Regularity of Life. A certain Number of Virgins, brought up at the Expence of the Publick, had the greatest Share of this Distinction, and of the Offices performed in the Temple at *Eleusis*. In order to secure their Virtue, they were confined in the *Thesmophorion*, a publick Building in *Athens* appropriated to that Use. The Persons set over them, to educate them, used all imaginable Precautions to prevent their being seduced. And when they came to *Eleusis*, they prepared themselves for the secret Offices of their Priesthood, by Fastings and Mortifications. In this penitential State, if I may so speak of a Pagan Ceremony, they continued a whole Day at the Feet of the Statue of *Ceres*. And then this Severity ended in a very grotesque kind of Comedy. They with Jests and Inventions did all they could to make one another laugh. According to the Fable, *Ceres* laughed so, at the sight of an old Woman, who insulted her. The following Days were spent in Lustrations, and Sacrifices, from which the Men were not excluded. The Prisoners themselves, who were initiated in the Worship of *Ceres*, obtained their Liberty, and were suffered to join in those religious Practices with the rest, provided they did not stand convicted of any Crime. The Feast ended with an expiatory Sacrifice, to repair the Defects of the preceding ones.

The third Festival, consecrated to *Ceres* by the *Greeks*, was deemed the most holy, and the most solemn; and was for this Reason called, by way of Eminence, *The Mysteries of Ceres*. Whether it was instituted by *Erechtheus*, *Musæus*, *Eumolpus*, or *Orpheus*, cannot now be discovered, in the Darkness of those distant Ages. The Temple of *Eleusis*, was the Place where all those were appointed to meet, who were admitted into these mysterious Ceremonies. It was so large, according to *Strabo*, that it would hold an innumerable Multitude of People. Thither the *Greeks* came in Crouds about *August*; but no Foreigner was suffered to celebrate what they called *The Great Mysteries*. None could partake of these, till he had been initiated in *The Little Mysteries*, which were always celebrated at *Agra*, near *Athens*, about *November*. Those who were desirous of being admitted, underwent very severe Trials. They were indispensably obliged to Purifications, Lustrations, Fasting, Continence, and Retirement. In this purgatorial State, they were, as it were, made to pass through Fire and Water, to purify them from their past Faults, and prepare them for a better Life. But we will not trouble the Reader with recounting all the little trifling Observances which were used in these Acts of Mortification. He may have recourse to the Collection *Meursius* has made, of the several Authors, who have treated of *The Mysteries of Venus Eleusina*.

After they had gone through these Forms, the Candidates acquired the Quality of *Mustai*, that is, they were qualified for being *Epoptai*, or Eye-Witnesses of *The Great Mysteries of Venus Eleusina*. Nevertheless, they were not honoured with this Title till the sixth Year after their Purification. Nor did they yet see all. There were several things reserved for the Priests alone, and which no Body was suffered to know but themselves. And till the five Years were ended, the *Mustai*, were only suffered to appear in the Porch of the Temple of the Goddess. They were forbidden to enter her Sanctuary. When the five Years were expired, the Candidate was admitted into the Temple by Night. But before he presented himself he washed his Hands. This Precaution was required by the Laws. Then he appeared at the Place appointed, wearing a Crown of Myrtle on his Head; and there was told, that the secret Mysteries were not communicated to any but such as had *clean Hands and a pure Heart*. At the same time, he protested, that he had performed all the Conditions Religion required of the Candidates, and said, *I have fasted, and I have drunk Cyceon*. This Drink seems to have been a kind of Beer made of Wheat-Flower, or roasted Barley. At least *Ovid* leaves room to think so, when he speaks of *Ceres's* meeting old *Baubo*. Instead of giving her a Glass of Water, which the Goddess, quite spent with Fatigue and Thirst, had desired; she gave her an agreeable Liquor of her own making.

*Lymphamque roganti*

*Dulce dedit testâ, quod coxerat ante farina.*

After the Ministers of *Ceres* had secured the Dispositions of the *Mustai*, a kind of little Chest was opened, and out of it was taken the Collection of the Laws and Mysteries of *Ceres*; Which were read to them, and they transcribed them themselves. After this the Priests led them into the most holy Part of the Temple, which was very dark, so that they could not see any thing. Then all on a sudden, a great Light darted in upon them, and discovered a Statue of *Ceres* very finely adorned, and a frightful Figure, like the *Myllot* of the *Sicilians*. As soon again the Light disappeared, and it was as dark as before. And during this Darkness, a terrible Noise was heard, like Thunder; Fire fell down like Lightning in the midst of the Temple; and horrible Monsters were seen, which, by the glimmering Light of these Flashes of Fire, appeared very terrible. At this the affrighted *Mustai* were so terrified, that they could not recover themselves, till they were shewn an agreeable Meadow which was behind the Temple, and walled in. And lastly, the Minister called *Hierophantes*, because he revealed the sacred Mysteries, took his Leave of the Initiated, with exhorting them to the Practice of Virtue. He also gave them at the same time a new Robe, which was as it were the Livery of the Goddess, and which they thought it an Honour to wear. They never pulled it off, till it was tattered and worn to pieces.

The Priest *Hierophantes*, an *Athenian* by Birth, and of the Family of the *Eumolpidae*, was the chief Person concerned in the Ceremony of the Initiation. And as he was the chief Priest, and continued so for Life, he was obliged to perpetual Chastity; and forbidden even lustful Desires. His Name was so venerable, that the Initiated were expressly forbidden, not to mention it in the Presence of the Prophane. One of the other Ministers who assisted him in his Functions, was called a *Dadouchos*, or *Torch-bearer* (who might marry, though he enjoyed his Office for



Year of them several Questions, it appeared, that they had never partaken of *The Myste-*  
*R O M E* *ries of Ceres.* Upon this, they were brought before the *Pontif* of the Place, and  
 DLIII. condemned to die; though it was well known, that they had not offended, but  
 P. SULPICIUS purely out of Ignorance. The *Acarnanian* Nation resented this barbarous Sen-  
 GALBA, C. tence, and complained of it to the King of *Macedon*. *Philip*, without saying any  
 AURELIUS thing of any other Satisfaction, began with making War upon the *Athenians*,  
 COTTA, Con- and lent the *Acarnanians* Troops, to go and ravage *Attica*. And then, *Athens*  
 fuls. enraged at his Hostilities, declared War with him.

§. IX. THE *Macedonian* was then embroiled with *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*,  
*Livy, B. 31.* and the *Rhodians*. They had chased him on board his Fleet, as he was re-  
 c. 14. turning into *Macedon*; and had come to an Anchor, at the Island of  
 27 *Ægina*. From thence *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* came to 28 *Pyræus*, that  
 is, the Port of *Athens*, which lay at a little Distance from the City, at the Mouth  
 of the 29 *Cephissus*. And as the *Athenians* were never more nearly concerned in  
 Interest,

for Life; and another was stiled *The Sacred Herald*. The Business of the latter, was to forbid all who were not initiated, or were conscious of any Crimes, to enter the Temple of *Ceres*, upon Pain of Death. A third Assistant was a young *Greek*, whose Business it was to implore the Protection of the Gods. The Superintendant over these Mysteries was a Priest who was stiled King; and had four Assistants under him, who helped him to preserve Order in the Ceremonies.

The Feast began in the Month of *August*, and continued for nine Days together. The different Shows, with which the *Greeks* were entertained every Day of the Feast, symbolically represented the Travels of *Ceres*, and the chief Circumstances of her Life. In this consisted the external Pomp of the Festival. The rest was an impenetrable Mystery, which the Priest *Hierophantes* discovered only to the Initiated. But before he shewed them these Secrets, he bound them to inviolable Secrecy, by the most terrible Oaths. Whoever was convicted of divulging these Mysteries, was punished with Death; and whoever heard them from the perjured Person, underwent the same Fate. If the Criminal escaped Punishment, he seems only to have prolonged his Misery with his Life. He became the publick Curse of the People; and was looked on as an impious Wretch, accursed by the Gods. He was excluded all civil Society; his Parents and Friends shunned and avoided him, for fear of falling into the Misfortunes which they thought hung over his Head.

This is the general Account the Ancients have given us of *The Mysteries of Ceres*, and what passed at the Initiations. Their Religion, and the Respect with which they were prepossessed in favour of these Ceremonies, would not permit them to be more particular. Their Reserve on this Head is very visible in most of their Works. Whenever a fair Opportunity offers to speak of these Mysteries, they observe a religious Silence. Nevertheless, it is certain, the *Fathers* of the Church have exclaimed against these Mysteries, as a School of Abominations and Debaucheries. They drew their Conjectures from the *Mythos*, which was shewn in the publick Ceremonies, and from the infamous Objects which the prophane Authors themselves acknowledge were concealed in the Temple of *Eleusis*. But if this was so, why does *Cicero*, who so openly declares against the Corruptions of Paganism in other Places, give so favourable an Account of these mysterious Societies? He says, *B. 2. De Legib. That Men are there taught the Art of living well; and confirmed in their Hopes of a better Life. Neque solum cum latitia vivendi rationem accepimus, & etiam cum spe meliore moriendi.* And he expresses himself much in the same manner, in his *Fifth Oration against Verres*, and in several Fragments which are ascribed to him. Agreeably to these Prejudices, the

*Greeks* thought, that only those initiated would, after their Death, enjoy the first Places, in the fortunate Islands, whilst the Prophane would be plunged into a muddy Pond. In order therefore to reconcile so opposite Opinions, it may be said, that these Initiations were in their first Institutions, only a more strict Engagement than ordinary, to observe the Laws of Wisdom and Equity, as they were supposed to have been dictated by the Goddesses. For this Reason they were read to the Initiated, and every one of them was obliged to transcribe them, to make them the Rules of his Life. But that as all things are abused in time, these Ceremonies afterwards degenerated into Superstition, and perhaps into Libertinism. It is certain, *Socrates* and *Dio- genes*, would not have any Share in these Mysteries.

27 The Island of *Ægina*, is one of those of the *Ægean* Sea, or *Archipelago*. It was anciently called *Oenone*, and *Myrmidonia*, because it was inhabited by the *Myrmidons*, so famous in Fable. It is now called indifferently, *Engia*, *Legina*, and *Lalona*. See Vol. 3.

28 *Pyræus* was a Port, and as it were, one of the Suburbs, of *Athens*. It was at first about forty *Stadia*, or somewhat better than a *French* League and a half, from the City. But afterwards, it was joined to it by long Walls, which the *Greeks* called *The Legs of Pyræus*. The *Athenians* removed their Shipping thither, which they before kept in the Port of *Phaleron*. They neglected nothing to put it into a Posture of Defence against all Attacks. There was a great Mart here, famous for the Quantity and Variety of Merchandizes that were brought thither from all Parts. The Historians call it the triple Port, because it did indeed contain three Ports, *The Port Cantharos*, *The Port Venus*, and *The Corn-Port* the Entrance into which was barred with a Chain, after the *Peloponnesian* War. Besides the five covered Galleries, which surrounded *Piræus*, there was a Place in it appropriated to the Sale of Merchandizes. The Republick of *Athens* maintained a Garrison in this Port, to preserve Order there, and to drive away Pirates, in case they attacked it. *Piræus* had also its own Magistrates, whose Business it was to take care of the civil Government of it, and to end the Disputes, which Interest continually raised among Traders. By these Regulations the Honesty of the Traders was secured; and *Aristotle* says, that the Inhabitants of this Suburb were of a more mild and tractable Disposition than the Citizens of *Athens*. There now stands in this Port, a marble Lion, with his Mouth open towards the Sea, as if he was ready to leap upon the Ships which put in there; and therefore the Moderns call it *The Lion's-Port*.

29 The ancient Geographers mention three Rivers in *Greece*, which were all called *Cephissus*; one which rises in *Phocis*, and waters a Canton of *Boeotia*;



Interest, to renew their Alliance with *Pergamus* and *Rhodes*, than since the Insults they had received from King *Philip*; their Joy was never greater, than when they saw *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* arrive. All the City came to meet them; and among the rest the Priests, with all the *Insignia* of their Priesthood. They seemed ready even to have displaced the Statues of their Gods, to have made room for him. The *Athenian* People assembled in the Market-Place to conclude the Alliance, and expected *Attalus* would have come thither in Person. But the King thought it more suitable to his Dignity, to treat with them by writing, than by Word of Mouth: And he was also willing to shun the Acclamations and Flatteries of a People who were immoderate in their Praises. In his Letter, *Attalus* gave them a particular Account of his Exploits against *Philip*, and the good Offices he had done the Republick; expressly mentioned the four Ships he had very lately taken from the *Macedonians*, and restored to *Athens*; and concluded, with exhorting the Republick to take Advantage, of the Succours he now offered them, and of those of the *Rhodians*, and of the Forces which were expected from *Rome*. The League was concluded, and in their Transports of Joy, the *Athenians* paid extravagant Compliments to the King, and the *Rhodians*. To their ten <sup>30</sup> Tribes, each of which bore the Name of one of their Heroes, they added an eleventh, which they called *Attalis*, in honour to *Attalus*. And as to the *Rhodians*, the *Athenians* presented them with a Crown of Gold, and made all the Inhabitants of *Rhodes* free of *Athens*.

THEN the King of *Pergamus*, and the *Rhodians*, better pleased with the Treaty, than the Shouts of the People, returned on board their Gallies. *Attalus* went to rejoin his Fleet, which waited for him at *Egina*. The *Rhodians* returned to their own Island; and in their Passage, drew into the new Confederacy all the <sup>31</sup> *Cyclades* Islands, except <sup>32</sup> *Andros*, *Paros*, and *Cythnos*, where *Philip* kept *Macedonian* Garrisons. Nevertheless, this Separation of *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* proved fatal to the common Cause. Whilst the latter were retiring to their own Country, the former lost Time in Negotiations at *Egina*. *Attalus* tarried there for the return of the Deputies he had sent to the *Ætolians*, to bring them into their old League. Whereas, if the King of *Pergamus* and the *Rhodians* had joined together, and zealously pursued the *Macedonian* in his Retreat; or at least, if they had shut up all the Entrances into *Greece*; they would have re-established its Liberty, and *Rome* would not have had the Glory of settling it in Peace.

§. X. BUT *Philip* was neither attacked, nor prevented in his Designs: and he knew how to improve the Faults of his Enemies, to his own Advantage, like a great General. It must be owned, that this Prince had many great Virtues, as well as Faults. He shewed a Greatness of Soul, and an Intrepidity, on this Occasion, which was worthy of the *Macedonian* Kings, his Predecessors. He saw the best part of *Greece* conspire against him, with *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, the *Rhodians*, and the *Romans*; and yet was not without Hopes of dispersing, and overcoming, all these confederate Nations. In the first Steps he took, there was something very heroical.

*Polyb. B. 16. c. 7.*

*Boetia*; another which waters *Argolis*, according to *Pausanias*; and a third, which runs through *Attica*, and falls into *The Saronic Gulph*, near *Pyræus*, which lies by the Mouth of it.

<sup>30</sup> The Number of the Tribes, of which the Republick of *Athens* consisted, was not always the same. It varied according as the City increased. At first they were but four in all. Soon after they became six. In the time of *Æschines* and *Demosthenes*, they were increased to ten. And in after Ages, the *Athenians* erected three more, viz. the Tribes *Ptolemais*, *Attalis*, and *Adrianis*, in honour to *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*, King *Attalus*, and the Emperor *Adrian*; and in order thereto, some of the old Tribes were lessened. The Clans, or Towns, which were incorporated in these three Tribes, were in all, a hundred and seventy four. The ten first Tribes took their Names from ten *Attic* Heroes. The Tribe *Acamantis*, was so called from *Acamas* the Son of *Theseus*, The *Ajantis* from *Ajax*, the Son of *Telamon*; The *Cecropis*, from *Cecrops*, the

Founder and first King of *Athens*; The *Aigeis*, from *Ageus*, the ninth King of *Athens*, and Father of *Theseus*; The *Erechtheis*, from *Erechthus*, the sixth King of *Athens*; The *Hippochoontis*, from *Hippochoon*, the Son of *Neptune*; The *Leontis* from *Leo*, who sacrificed his Daughters to the Welfare of his Country; The *Oeneis*, from *Oeneus* the Son of *Pandion*; The *Pandionis*, from *Pandion* the fifth King of *Athens*; and lastly, The *Antiochis*, from *Antiochus* the Son of *Hercules*.

<sup>31</sup> Those Islands were anciently called *Cyclades*, which are now called *The Islands of the Archipelago*. See Vol. 3.

<sup>32</sup> The Island of *Andros*, anciently called *Caurus* and *Astandrus*, still in some measure retains its ancient Name in that of *Andro*, its present one. The Islands of *Paros* and *Cythnos*, are two of *The Islands of the Archipelago*. The former, which is near *Naxi*, and famous for its Marble-quarries, is now called *Pario*, or *Paro*. The latter, which is less than the former, is now called *Cythno*.

Year of  
R O M  
DLIII.  
P. SULPICI  
GALBA, C  
AURELIUS  
COTTA, Co  
suls.



Year of  
ROME  
DLIII.  
P. SULPICIUS  
GALBA, C.  
AURELIUS  
COTTA, Con-  
suls.

WITHOUT tarrying to see his Enemies join, he proceeded with great Expedition; and first he divided his Forces into two Parts. One, he sent under the Command of *Philocles*, to ravage the Territory of *Athens*. The other he put on board his Fleet, which sailed for <sup>33</sup> *Meronea*, on the North Coast of *Thrace*. As for himself, he marched by Land, attended only with two thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, to *Meronea*, whither *Heraclides*, one of his Commanders, had brought his Ships. This City could not long hold out against the *Macedonian* Forces, both by Sea and Land; it was taken upon the first Assault. And on the same Shore stood the City of <sup>34</sup> *Enos*, formerly founded by *Aeneas* the *Trojan*, after he had fled from *Troy*. It was now defended by an *Egyptian* Garrison, under the Command of one *Ganimedes*, a mercenary Man, very capable of Treachery, whom *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, had made Governor of the Place; and this *Ganimedes*, after he had a great while sustained a Siege, sold the Place at last to King *Philip*. Then all the <sup>35</sup> Castles along the Coast immediately surrendered to the Conqueror; who passed on from thence, to *The* <sup>36</sup> *Thracian Chersonesus*. This is a Peninsula, surrounded on one side by *The* <sup>37</sup> *Hellepont*, on the other by the *Ægean* Sea; and joined to the Continent by a narrow Neck of Land. This Country was at that time incredibly populous; and *Philip* took four Cities in it, <sup>38</sup> *Eleus*, *Alopeconesus*, *Callipolis*, and *Madytos*.

§. XI. FROM the *Chersonesus*, the King of *Macedon* passed over the *Hellepont* to *Asia*, where one single City stopped him in his Career. This was <sup>39</sup> *Abydos*, a strong Town on the Streight over against *Sestos*, in the Place where the Passage from *Asia* to *Europe* was so narrow, that there was a Bridge built over it from one City to the other. Besides the Inhabitants which defended *Abydos*, *Attalus* had three hundred Men there, and the *Rhodians* one of their Gallies; which was indeed but little to defend the Place against the Army of the *Macedonian*. Nevertheless, the Besieged made so long a Resistance, that the King of *Pergamus* and the *Rhodian* Fleet, might easily have come to their Relief. But the Dilatoriness of the King and the *Rhodians* proved fatal to the Besieged. Nevertheless, they defended themselves with such Constancy, as has made this one of the most memorable Sieges, that ever were carried on.

<sup>33</sup> The City of *Meronea* in *Thrace*, stands on the Coasts of the *Ægean* Sea, at the Mouth of the River *Ismarus*, which gave its Name to that City. *Homer* calls it by that Name. Nevertheless, *Pliny the Naturalist* makes them two different Cities. The Moderns call it *Marogna*.

<sup>34</sup> The City of *Enos*, which acknowledged *Aeneas* for its Founder, stood on the Sea-Coast of *Thrace*, at the Mouth of the *Hebrus*, near *The Gulph Melas*, which the *Greeks* now call *The Gulph of Eno*. *Strabo* gives this City the Name of *Poltimbria*; and *Stephens* those of *Poltimbria* and *Apsynthus*. The Natives now call it *Eno*, or *Ygnos*.

<sup>35</sup> Among these Castles, or strong Places, *Livy* reckons *Cypsela*, *Doriscon*, and *Sarrheum*. Some place the first on the Banks of the River *Melas*, others near the Banks of the *Hebrus*. This last Situation agrees best with that of *Chapsilar*, which *Bellonius* says is the remains of the ancient *Cypsela*. Nevertheless, *Leunclavius* conjectures, that it stood near a Town called *Ipsala*. The second of these Cities was in a little Plain, watered by the *Hebrus*. Its Territory lay North of the City of *Enos*. The third was situated on the Sea-Coast of *Thrace*, between *Enos* and *Maronea*, over against the Island of *Samothrace*. It gave Name to Cape *Serrhinum*.

<sup>36</sup> The Ancients gave the Name of *The Thracian Chersonesus* to that Peninsula of *Romania*, which is bounded on one side by *The Propontis*, and on the other, by *The Ægean Sea*, *The Streights of Gallipoli*, and *The Gulph Melas*. This Peninsula is joined to the Continent by a Neck of Land, of about thirty seven *Stadia* broad, that is, about four thousand six hundred *Italian* geometrical Paces, or one *French* League and an half. In this *Chersonesus* there were formerly eleven or twelve considerable

Cities; among others *Callipolis*, *Sestos*, *Cardia*, &c.

<sup>37</sup> The *Hellepont* is that famous Streight, which is now known by the Name of *St. George's Arm*, or *The Streights of Gallipoli*. It lies between *Europe* and *Asia*. It is but ten or twelve Leagues long at most, and not above a League broad in the widest Place.

<sup>38</sup> *Eleus* was formerly a considerable City in *The Thracian Chersonesus*. It stood on the Coast of the *Hellepont*, over against Cape *Mastusia*, now *Cape Greco*. Some Geographers confound it with a little City in that Canton called *Critca*. But *Ptolomy* makes them two different Cities.

*Alopeconesus* stood in the most western part of the Peninsula, over against the Island of *Samos*. It is no longer in being. *Pliny the Naturalist* mentions an Island of this Name. The *Greek* Word *Alopeconesus* signifies *An Island of Foxes*.

*Callipolis*, now *Gallipoli*, stands in the extreme Parts of the *Chersonesus*, on the Coasts of the *Propontis*, towards the northern Mouth of the *Hellepont*. It has given its Name to the famous Streights, which divide *Europe* from *Asia*.

*Madytos*, the Capital, and one of the largest Cities of the *Chersonesus*, is now buried in its Ruins. The Place where it stood is called *Maiton* by the Moderns. *Mela* speaks of this ancient City under the Name of *Macidos*.

<sup>39</sup> *Abydos* does not now retain any Footsteps of its ancient Grandeur. It is at present a poor Village in *Phrygia*, near *The Thracian Bosphorus*. The Natives call it *Avido*, and *Auco*. It stood on the Sea-Coast, over against *Sestos*. These two Cities were the Boundaries of *Asia* and *Europe*. Near that Place the *Turks* have built one of those Castles which are called *The Dardanelles*.



IN the first Place, the *Abydenians* placed on their Ramparts a great Multitude of *Ballistæ* and *Catapultæ*; and thereby kept their Walls long inaccessible. These Machines made a great Slaughter, not only among the Land-Forces, but likewise on board the *Macedonian* Ships, till at length *Philip* advanced by Degrees towards the Place, came near enough to set his Miners to work, and undermining the Wall, threw it down. But behind the first Wall the Besieged had raised a second, in which it was necessary to make a Breach. And this was accordingly done, upon which the Besieged had Thoughts of capitulating. The Terms they asked of the King of *Macedon* were, That they should have Liberty to send home the three hundred Men of the Garrison safe to *Attalus*, and the Galley which they had received of the *Rhodians*; and That the Inhabitants of *Abydos* themselves, should have Leave to march out of the Place, carrying only their Clothes with them, and leaving all their Effects to be pillaged by the *Macedonian*.

BUT these Conditions were not accepted. *Philip* would have all, or nothing. And then the *Abydenians* acted in the same desperate manner by which the *Saguntini* had formerly so much signalized themselves. Nay, there was one Circumstance which made the Resolution of the *Asiatics* more glorious, than that of the *Spaniards*. The *Abydenians* were obstinate, in preferring Death to Captivity, purely out of Regard to the auxiliary Troops, which had served them during the Siege. They therefore assembled their Wives in the Temple of *Diana*, and their Daughters and young Children in the *Gymnasium*. There the *Pontifices* prepared the Altars, and conducted the Victims, which were ready to be sacrificed on the first Signal. All the Gold and Silver in the City, was brought into the Market-place. And lastly, all the valuable Moveables in *Abydos*, were put on board two Gallies, one of *Cyprus*, and the other a *Rhodian*. Then the Order was given, that as soon as the Defenders of the City should be killed in the Breach, their Wives, Daughters, and young Children, should be instantly put to Death; the Gold, Silver, and Moveables thrown into the Sea; and all the Quarters of the City set on Fire. The Execution of this cruel Design was left to Men, who were too old to endure the Fatigue of a Battle, but strong enough to kill the Women, and Children; and they bound themselves by the most execrable Oaths, to execute the Will of the *Abydenian* Senate and People. Whilst those Men, who were capable of bearing Arms, swore likewise, that they would not leave off Fighting, till they died, or became victorious.

AND indeed, these brave Men, animated by their Oaths, and their Despair, fought with so much Valour, that *Philip* was terrified at their Courage, and could not sustain their Fury for a whole Day together. Before Night, he put an end to the Attack, and returned to his Camp. And then the Chiefs of the *Abydenians* made very sensible Reflections, on the Inhumanity of the Orders they had given, before they went to the Battle; and became convinced, that it was more natural to solicit the Clemency of the Conqueror, than to cause a Company of defenceless Persons to be assassinated. *If they must perish*, said they, *let them rather perish by the Sword of the Enemy, than by the Hands of their fellow-Citizens and Relations*. At break of Day therefore, all the Ministers of the Gods, Men, and Women, were sent to *Philip's* Camp, covered with Veils, and dressed in their sacerdotal Habits.

THEIR Commission was to surrender up the City at Discretion; but to demand the Lives of the few Inhabitants, who had survived this long Siege, and bloody Battle. *Glaucides* and *Theognetes*, were the Authors of this prudent Advice; and the *Abydenians* would have spared themselves much Blood, if they had followed it. But whilst they were deliberating about it, *Attalus* at length appeared with his Fleet, at the Island of <sup>40</sup> *Tenedos*, and was within reach of *Abydos*; and though these Succours came very late, the King's Ships gave the unfortunate *Abydenians* some Hopes. We have already observed, that *Rome* had sent three Ambassadors to King *Ptolomy*, with Orders to coast round *Greece*; and the youngest of the three, named *Æmilius*, had, with the Consent of the other

<sup>40</sup> *Tenedos* is an Island in the *Ægean* Sea. There was a City in it of the same Name. It joined to *The Sigeum Promontory* in *Thrace*. This Island is famous for the Fruitfulness of its Soil, which produces excellent Wines. Modern Geographers call it *Tenedo*.



Year of two, went on board King *Attalus's* Fleet. His Orders were to repair to the King  
 R O M E of *Macedon*, once more to use all means with him, to bring him to a Peace.  
 DLIII. *Emilius* set out from *Tenedos*, and came to *Philip's* Camp, who was then busy  
 P. SULPICIUS in the Siege of *Abydos*, and ready to take it; and both the King and Ambassa-  
 GALBA, C. dors behaved themselves at the Interview, with an Haughtiness suitable to both  
 AURELIUS their Characters. *I am ordered by my Republick*, said *Emilius* to the King, *to*  
 COTTA, Con- *demand an Account of your Proceedings. You have attacked the King of Perga-*  
 suls. *mus, and the Rhodians, our Allies, notwithstanding the Peace concluded between*  
*us and you. You extend your Pretensions even to Egypt, and the Places belonging*  
*to it. Nor is this all. You are come from Europe into Asia, and are now besieging*  
*Abydos, and ready to destroy it. Attica is become a Prey to your Soldiers, and*  
*you have already formed Designs against Athens. Pray, my Lord, are you for*  
*Peace, or War? If for War, we are ready to pursue it. If for Peace, submit your*  
*Interests and Pretensions to the Arbitration of the Romans.* This haughty Speech  
 surprised the King of *Macedon* for the present; and he excused his Conduct, and  
 threw the Blame of the first Hostilities on *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*. Then  
*Emilius* interrupting him said, *Be it as it will, with Respect to Attalus and*  
*the Rhodians; what have the Athenians done to you? What Injuries have you re-*  
*ceived from the Inhabitants of Abydos? Your Ambition alone has been the Cause of*  
*their Misfortunes.* But the King was not used to bear Reproaches; and the  
 Truth sowering him, he then grew haughty in his turn. *You are a young Man,*  
 said he to the Ambassador, *have the Air of a Man of Consequence, and a Roman;*  
*and these three Considerations suspend my Resentments which you have deserved.*  
*Go, I forgive you. But take this as my last Answer, and report it to your Se-*  
*nate. I am for Peace, and desire that Rome would not violate the Treaty. But*  
*if her Ambition makes her my Enemy, I shall have the Gods on my Side, and shall*  
*know how to defend my self.* After this Audience, which put an end to all  
 Thoughts of a Peace, the Ambassador was dismissed; and *Philip* immediately re-  
 newed the Attack of the besieged City. The Breach was made; and the *Mace-*  
*donian* entered it, and took the Place by Assault. And then the unfortunate *Aby-*  
*denians* did but too literally execute the Orders they had given, from the time of  
 the first Assault. They spared no Body; but mutually killed each other. Their  
 Wives, Daughters, and Children, were all put to Death; and never was a more  
 horrible Sight. Some hanged themselves, others threw themselves down into  
 Wells, others from the Roofs of the Houses. They thought it their Duty to sa-  
 crifice their Lives to the *Manes* of their Countrymen, who were killed in the  
 Breach. *Philip*, who advanced to the Market-place, found there all the Gold  
 and Silver of the City, in an Heap; and seized it. Then being struck with Hor-  
 ror, at the sight of so many Murders, he cried out to the few *Abydenians* that  
 were left; *I give you three Days time to finish the Massacre you have begun among*  
*your selves.* By that means, the King of *Macedon* secured a great Booty of Gold  
 and Silver, and Moveables, in the City; but made not one Slave. It may be  
 observed, that this Declaration of War with *Macedon*, was made in Circumstances  
 very like those, when *Hannibal* declared War with the *Romans* in *Spain*. It was  
 after he had broken a Treaty of Peace, that the *Carthaginian* General besieged  
*Saguntum*. This City, then in Alliance with *Rome*, sustained the Siege, with as  
 much Courage as the *Abydenians* had now done. In both Cases, the Besieged  
 defended themselves to the last Extremity; and at length, both signalized their  
 Courage, or rather Fury, by a Resolution of the same kind, and perished in the  
 Ruins of their Country. And lastly, *Hannibal* and *Philip* were both great Men,  
 and intrepid Generals. Nevertheless, we shall now soon see that there was a great  
 Difference in the Conduct and Success of the *Carthaginian* and the *Macedonian*.

§. XII. THE Season was now far advanced; and Winter approaching, *Philip*,  
 after this glorious Campaign, retired into his own Dominions. He had over-  
 run *Thrace* with Success, and gone from *Europe* to *Asia*; and he might now  
 have enjoyed an Interval of Tranquillity, if the *Consul Sulpicius* had not been in  
 his Neighbourhood, with a Fleet, and *Consular* Army. This gave the *Macedo-*  
*nian* some Uneasiness. Nevertheless, *Sulpicius* was not in a Condition to under-  
 take any thing the rest of the Year. He had left *Rome* too late; and had not ar-  
 rived in *Epirus*, till towards the end of Autumn: And then the Season would



not suffer him to keep out at Sea, or take the Field. The *Consul* therefore sent his Fleet to Winter in the Port of <sup>41</sup> *Corcyra*. As for himself, he quartered, with his Land-Forces, in, and near, <sup>42</sup> *Apollonia*. He had taken care to secure the *Athenians*, whose Lands *Philocles* the *Macedonian* had ravaged. Immediately after his Arrival in *Macedon*, *Sulpicius* had sent *Claudius Centho* to *Athens*, with twenty Gallies, and a Detachment of *Roman Legionaries*. And this brave Lieutenant-General himself performed such Exploits in *Greece*, as were worthy of the *Consul*. As soon as he appeared at *Piræus*, *Athens* gained a little Respite. A Stop was put to the Hostilities in the Plains; and the Pirates of *Chalcis*, who had been so troublesome to the Inhabitants of *Attica*, no longer infested the Seas, or made any Descents on the Coast. Their Incursions were confined to the *Euripus*. The Enemies of *Athens* no longer durst cross *The Isthmus of Corinth*, and lay waste the Country.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLIII.  
P. SULPICIUS  
GALBA, C.  
AURELIUS  
COTTA, Con-  
suls.

AND when all was quiet, *Centho* seized an Opportunity which offered itself to punish *Chalcis* for her Robberies. This Capital of *Eubæa* sided with the *Macedonian*, and *Philip* kept a Garrison in it. Some *Chalcidians*, who were uneasy at the *Macedonian* Tyranny, and in Exile, gave *Centho* Advice, that it would be easy to surprise *Chalcis*. The *Macedonian* Garrison, who had no Enemies to fear, often left the City, and ran into the Country. The *Chalcidians* themselves depended on the *Macedonians* to guard their Walls; and all military Duty was neglected on the Ramparts. This gave *Centho* Hopes of being able to take it. He thought six Gallies sufficient to defend *Attica* from Pillage; and left two *Macedonian* ones, and four which were lately arrived from *Rhodes*, for that Purpose. Then he sailed from *Piræus* with his *Roman* Squadron, and arrived at the Cape of *Sunium*, early enough to have entered *The Streights of Eubæa* by Day-light. But he chose to pass the rest of the Day, off of *Attica*, for fear of being seen in *The Streights*. After the Sun was down, *Centho* continued his Course, and arrived before *Chalcis* before Day-break. Then the *Romans* scaled the Walls, and made themselves Masters of a Tower, which answered to that Part of the City which was least peopled. The Centinels posted on the Walls were asleep, as were the main Body of the Guard; so that it was easy for the *Romans* to pass silently thro' the City, and open the Gates to their Companions, who were waiting without the Walls. Then their next Business was to set Fire to one Quarter of the City; and to disperse themselves in the Streets, and publick Places. All the Inhabitants, or Soldiers, who fell into their Hands, were massacred without Mercy. *Sopater*, the Commander of the Garrison for *Philip*, lost his Life. The *Romans* opened the Prisons, and set free the Captives confined in them. The Statues of *Philip* were beat down; and his Magazines, Arsenals, and Machines of War, burnt. The Spoil taken in the City was first brought into the Market-place, and immediately after carried on board the Ships. After which, the Squadron weighed Anchor, and returned to *Piræus*, from whence it came. Thus the *Athenians* were revenged on the *Chalcidians*, for the Robberies they had committed in their Territories; and *Athens* was still more obliged to the *Romans* for returning to her Port, to continue to defend her, and neglecting, on her Account, to keep *Chalcis*, of which they had made themselves Masters. These were all the Exploits which *Sulpicius* performed in *Greece*, in Person, or by his Generals, during the first Year of the War with *Philip*. The Dilatoriness of this *Consul* in leaving *Rome*, made his Campaign the less glorious. Whilst on the other hand, the *Consul Aurelius*, his Collegue, signalized himself less in his *Consulship*, than even *Sulpicius* had done. *Aurelius's* Province was *Italy*, and he had an Opportunity of acquiring great Glory there; but he suffered *Furius* to rob him of it; and the *Prætor* conquered and triumphed, instead of the *Consul*.

§. XIII. WHILST *Aurelius* continued at *Rome*, and there enjoyed the Honours of the *Consulship*, *Furius*, according to the Commission he had received, put himself at the Head of the *Consular* Army, left <sup>43</sup> *Ariminum*, advanced towards *Cremona*,

<sup>41</sup> The Island of *Corcyra* here spoken of, stood on the *Adriatick* Sea, over against *Dalmatia*. The other Island of this Name is in the *Ionian* Sea. The latter is now called *Corfu*; the former *Curjola*, or *Curjoli*, by the Natives of the Country. We have spoken of it, Vol. 3.

<sup>42</sup> The City of *Apollonia* here spoken of, stood on the Borders of *Macedon* and *Epirus*. It now belongs to *Albania*. See the preceding Volumes.

<sup>43</sup> See what we have said of *Ariminum*, now called *Rimini* by the *Italians*, Vol. 2.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLIII.  
P. SULPICIUS  
GALBA, C.  
AURELIUS  
COTTA, Con-  
suls.

which was besieged by the *Gauls* and *Ligures*, and came and posted himself about a Mile and half from the Besiegers. And had he ventured to force the Trenches of the *Gauls* immediately, they had infallibly been routed, and destroyed. Few of their Troops were in their Camp, and almost all *Hamilcar's* Soldiers were dispersed in several Places in the neighbouring Countries. But *Furius* was afraid of tiring his *Legions* too much, they being already fatigued with a long March; and whilst he was giving his Men some Rest, the *Gauls* which were in the Camp made such great Shouts, that their Troops left off pillaging, and immediately returned. The next Day, *Hamilcar* formed his Army, and bid the *Romans* Defiance. However, the Number of the Enemy did not terrify *Furius*. He looked on forty thousand *Gauls* and *Ligures*, under the Command of a *Carthaginian* General, only as a Band of Robbers, tumultuously assembled; and marched out his *Legions* into the Plain. As soon as they appeared, the *Gauls* fell on them with such Fury, that they scarce gave the *Roman* General time to form his Army; but nevertheless, he found Means to draw it up in two Lines. In the first, he placed the Troops of the Allies, in two Bodies; in the second, his *Legions*. The Cavalry of the Allies, and of the *Legions*, flanked the Infantry, and covered them on both Sides. The *Prætor* took upon himself the Command of the right Wing, and ordered two of his Lieutenants to attend him, to carry his Orders, wherever it should be necessary. *M. Cæcilius* had the Command of the *Legions*, and *L. Valerius* that of the Cavalry. The Action was begun by the *Gauls*, who advanced, with the best Part of their Forces, against the right Wing; and *Furius* made such a Resistance there, as left the Enemy no Hopes of breaking it. *Hamilcar* therefore took a different Course. His Troops were more numerous than those of the *Romans*, and he thought to have surrounded the *Roman* Army, and attacked it in the two Flanks. But the *Prætor* perceived his Design, and foreseeing the Danger of such a Motion, instantly had Recourse to the Gods, and took the best Measures he could to guard against it. He made a Vow to *Jupiter*, to build him a Temple, if he gained the Victory; and ordered the *Legionaries* of his second Line to advance to the first. By this means, he made a larger Front towards the Enemy, and prevented his being surrounded. All that remained then, was to put the Enemy into Disorder; and to this End, he directed *Valerius*, who commanded the Cavalry, to fall with his Squadrons on the two Extremities of the Enemy's Army, who had widened their Ranks, to surround the *Romans*. At the same time, the *Prætor* himself made a vigorous Charge with his Infantry, on the main Body of the *Gauls*. And then the *Roman* Cavalry, in the two Extremities, and their Infantry in the Center, gained great Advantage over the Enemy. The *Gauls* were repulsed and broken in all Places, and at length gave way, and fled. The *Romans* pursued them, and took their Camp. Of an Army of forty thousand Men, scarce six thousand escaped. Near thirty five thousand were killed on the Spot, or made Prisoners of War. The *Romans* took eighty Standards, and two hundred Waggon's loaded with Cloaths and Utensils. To which we shall not add, with some Authors, who contradict themselves, that *Hamilcar* the *Carthaginian* was slain in the Battel. We chuse rather, with other Authors, who were better informed, to let him escape; otherwise we should soon be obliged to bring him to Life again. Such was the glorious Victory which a *Prætor* gained with a *Consular* Army. *Furius* made his Name famous by it. *Rome* acknowledged, in him, the Blood, and usual Success, of the Great *Camillus*, against the *Gauls*. As soon as the Senate were informed of his Victory, they ordered *Supplications* for four Days. What augmented the Joy of it was, that the *Prætor* had lost but two thousand Men, and a few *Legionaries*. The Enemy had spent all their Efforts against the right Wing, which consisted only of Auxiliaries.

It is easy to judge of the Chagrin and Jealousy of the *Consul Aurelius*. He had by his Delays, lost the Opportunity of acquiring Glory: And he thought he might repair the Loss, by leaving *Rome*, and putting himself at the Head of an Army which he had a Right to command. At least, he hoped to have put an End to the War with the *Gauls*, and received the Honours of it. But *Furius* had prevented him, and left him nothing to do. Nevertheless, the *Consul* took the Command of the victorious Army out of the Hands of the *Prætor*, who returned to *Rome*, loaded with Glory, and firmly resolved to demand the Honours of a Triumph. His Presence was no longer necessary in *Ætruria*; and he was not to be



blamed for returning to *Rome*. He therefore came thither, when he was least expected, and took up his Lodgings in the Suburbs. This was indispensably necessary for the Victorious. They were not suffered to enter the City, as long as they had any Pretensions to a Triumph. Then *Furius*, thinking it necessary to take Advantage of the Absence of the *Consul*, presented his Request to the Senate, (who assembled in the Temple of *Bellona*, to receive it,) and gave them an Account of his Victory. His Expedition was certainly not inferior to many others, which *Rome* had rewarded with that Honour. Besides, *Furius* had an Interest among the Senators, and was esteemed by them. Nevertheless, the oldest of them were against granting his Desire. *Furius*, said they, *is but a Prætor. The Army with which he conquered was not his own. It had not been consecrated by his Auspices. He left his own Province, to intrude himself into that of another; for which he had no Precedent in any former General.* These were the Sentiments of the oldest Senators; whilst they who had been *Consuls* were for postponing the Determination of the Affair till *Aurelius* returned. *When this Consul is here, said they, the Affair will be more maturely debated, and all Parties concerned will be heard.* But the rest of the Senate concluded, That they were only to examine into two Things. 1. Whether *Furius's* Action was such as deserved a Triumph. And, 2. Whether he had given Battel under his own *Auspices*. They urged, That it was not to be doubted, but that the *Consular* Army was properly become *Furius's* own. And this Pretence was founded on the Decree passed by the Senate, before the *Prætor* went to conquer the *Gauls*. The House declared by this Decree, That if the *Consul Aurelius* refused to take the Field, the *Prætor Furius* should command his *Legions*; which, said they, was giving the *Prætor* the legal Power over the *Consular* Army. The *Legions* of *Aurelius* were thereby made *Furius's* *Legions*. The *Auspices* which had consecrated them, were transferred to him who had taken the Command of them by a Decree. *What!* added they, *were two Roman Colonies, which were planted to be Barriers against the Gauls, to be given up to their Mercy? They would immediately have proceeded from Placentia and Cremona, to our finest Countries, plundered them, and laid them waste. Was Furius to wait till the Desolation reached to him? We passed a Decree, requiring the Consul, or him, to march against the Enemy. Aurelius delayed his Departure; and were the Legions to continue unactive, under Pretence that they ought not to fight under any Auspices but those of a Consul? Aurelius indeed might have commanded his Troops; and why did he not stir? Why did he not go to Ariminum? War will admit of no Delays. On numberless Occasions, a hasty Enemy obliges his Adversaries to give Battel. This therefore Furius did; and with what Advantage! He vanquished and dispersed the Enemy; and took and plundered their Camp. Our Colonies are in Safety. The Prisoners which were taken from us at Placentia are re-taken from the Gauls. And lastly, the War is finished with one single Battel. Rome has publickly testified her Joy at it, by Supplications; and Heaven has accepted them. It seems to be the Fate of the Furian Family, to have such unusual Success against the Gauls.* The greatest Part of the Senators spake this Language; so that the *Prætor* prevailed over the *Consul*, by a Majority of Voices; and it was decreed, That *Furius Purpureo* should enter *Rome* in Triumph. Nevertheless, they diminished the Honours of a Triumph which had been so much opposed. The *Victor* indeed caused three hundred and twenty thousand \**Asses* of Brass, and one hundred and seventy thousand Pounds Weight of Silver, which he had taken from the Enemy, to be carried before him. But he was not permitted to have the other Spoils of the Enemy carried in Procession, or the Prisoners march before his Chariot. Neither did his Army follow him, in his Triumph. It was left in *Gaul*, under the Command of *Aurelius*.

§. XIV. AND now, the Campaign was soon at an End, and the time for the Great Elections drew nigh. So that the *Consul Aurelius* returned to the City, to preside in the *Comitia*. The Senate expected to have heard him complain of the Decree they had passed, to his Prejudice, in favour of *Furius*. He might have reproached the *Conscript Fathers* with their Precipitation, in decreeing the *Prætor* a Triumph; and accused them of having passed a Decree, contrary to their Rules. It was customary in *Rome*, not to grant Triumphs to the Conquerors, till the Depositions of the Lieutenant-Generals, *Tribunes*, *Centurions*, and even of the com-

Year of  
R O M E  
DLIII.  
P. Sulpicius  
Calpurnius,  
C. Aurelius  
Cotta, Con-  
suls.

Livy, B. 31.  
c. 48.

Livy, Ibid.

Fest. Capit.

\* 975 lb. 46. 2d.  
Arabianet.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLIII.  
P. SULPICIUS  
GALBA, C.  
AURELIUS  
COTTA, Con-  
suls.

mon Soldiers, had been taken. But none of these Formalities had been observed, before the Decree passed for *Furius's* Triumph. Upon the bare Report of the Person interested in it, and without any other Proof, the *Fathers* had declared for a *Prætor*, in Derogation of the *Consular* Dignity. So that such Complaints would have been well founded. But *Aurelius* had the Moderation to suppress them. Before the *Centuries* were assembled, *Rome* was wholly taken up with Shows, and political Matters. *Scipio* had, during his *Pro-Consulate* in *Spain*, promised the Gods to celebrate *The Great Games*, at *Rome*, to their Honour. And now, the Show was made, with all Magnificence, suitable to the Regard the Republick had for that Conqueror. Then *Rome* ordered Lands to be distributed among the Soldiers who had served under him in *Spain* and *Africa*. A College of *Decemviri* were appointed, to assign each Veteran two Acres of Land, for every Year which he had served in the Army, after the legal time. Thus the Republick rewarded the Old Soldiers, by giving them wherewithal to enable them to live the rest of their Days in Plenty. And the Colony of <sup>44</sup> *Venusia* having suffered much during the Wars with *Hannibal*, and the Number of its Inhabitants being considerably diminished, a fresh Body of *Romans* were sent thither, to supply that Loss. And lastly, the Affairs of *Spain* were settled. An Order had been made the last Year, That *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Manlius Acidinus*, should be recalled from thence; where they had long commanded, in Quality of *Pro-Consuls*: and *Cethegus* had been sent thither, to succeed *Lentulus*, who being returned to *Rome*, demanded the Honours of a Triumph. It could not be denied but he had, by his Prudence, the Dread of his Arms, and repeated Advantages, kept the rebellious *Spaniards* to their Duty; and, all things considered, he had deserved a Triumph. But the Want of one single Formality hindered him from receiving an Honour, of which he was deemed worthy. *Lentulus* had not made War either as *Dictator*, *Consul*, or *Prætor*. He had been appointed *Pro-Consul* in *Spain*, by an extraordinary Commission, and his Office had not been consecrated by *Auspices*. And this was enough to exclude him from a Triumph, as *Scipio* had formerly been. But, as strange as it may appear, more Regard was now shewn to *Lentulus*, than had been shewn *Scipio*. The former, notwithstanding the Opposition of a *Tribune of the People*, was decreed an *Ovation*, by the Senate. So that *Lentulus* was the first who obtained this Distinction at *Rome*, when not in any *Curule* Magistracy. He had also brought from his Government, for the publick Treasury, forty thousand Pounds Weight of Silver, and two thousand four hundred and fifty Pounds Weight of Gold. So that by these Victories, *Rome* learnt that *Spain* was not entirely peaceable; and she was more fully convinced of it, upon reading the Letters of *Cethegus*, *Lentulus's* Successor in the *Pro-Consulate*. They brought an Account, That this General had just gained a considerable Victory over the *Spaniards*, in the Country of the <sup>45</sup> *Sedetani*; That fifteen thousand of the Enemy had been killed on the Spot; and seventy eight Standards taken. These Beginnings of an open Revolt made *Rome* fear a general Insurrection of all the *Spanish* Nation; and indeed, we shall, in a few Years, see the whole Country in a Flame.

AFTER the Affairs of *Spain*, those of *Africa* were next to be dispatched. The Senate heard the Report of the Ambassadors the Republick had sent to *Carthage* and *Numidia*. The *Carthaginians* did not think themselves obliged to answer the Demands made upon them, with regard to *Hamilcar*, the General of the revolted *Gauls*. A Report had been spread, That he had lost his Life in the Battel of <sup>46</sup> *Cremona*. But the *Carthaginians* made the Republick full Satisfaction, as to the Deferters from *Scipio's* Army, which were not yet delivered up. And lastly, they sent <sup>47</sup> to *Rome* two hundred thousand *Modii* of Wheat; and as much to the *Roman* Army in *Macedon*. So that the Republick had no Reason to complain of *Carthage*;

<sup>44</sup> *Venusia* is now called *Venosa*, and is in the Kingdom of *Naples*. See Vol. 3.

<sup>45</sup> The *Sedetani* inhabited the South Part of the Kingdom of *Aragon*, near the River *Sacro*, now the *Xucar*. The Cities of *Sarragossa*, *Moniedro*, *Livia*, and several neighbouring Villages, were in their Territory.

<sup>46</sup> According to *Livy*, the *Carthaginians* believing that *Hamilcar* had not lost his Life in the Bat-

tel of *Cremona*, condemned him to Banishment, tho' absent, and confiscated his Estate.

<sup>47</sup> *Livy* observes, that in this Year 553, *Africa* furnished *Rome* with so great a Quantity of Corn, that Wheat was sold there for two *Asses per Modius*. This Copper Coin was then reduced to the Weight of one Ounce, as we have elsewhere observed. The Corn was distributed, by the Orders of the *Curule Aediles*, *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*, and



*thage*; and had just Cause to commend *Masinissa*. He offered the *Romans* a Reinforcement of two thousand Horse. But only one thousand were accepted. These the King transported to *Macedon*, at his own Expence; and sent with his Troops two hundred thousand *Modii* of Wheat, and as many of Barley. As for *Vermina*, he had received the Ambassadors of the Republick, with Marks of the most profound Respect. He had gone to meet them; and had intreated them to draw up themselves the Conditions of the Peace with *Rome*. Accordingly, the Ambassadors had proposed them, *Vermina* had agreed to them, and had sent Ambassadors to *Rome* to get them ratified. And it is probable, That his Submission was of Service to him; That he then resumed the Title of *King*, which his Father bore; and That he reigned in that Part of *Masæsyia*, which *Masinissa* had not conquered from *Syphax*.

§. XV. NOTHING now remained, but to assemble the *Centuries*, to create new Magistrates; and *Aurelius* assembled them, in *The Field of Mars*. They chose for *Consuls*, that *Cornelius Lentulus* who had signalized himself in *Spain*, when *Pro-Consul* there; and *P. Villius Tappulus*, who had been *Prætor* in *Sicily*, three Years before. The *Prætorship* and Jurisdiction in *Rome*, fell to *L. Quinctius Flaminius*; that of *Gaul*, to *Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus*; that of *Sicily*, to *L. Valerius Flaccus*; and lastly, that of *Sardinia*, to one *L. Villius Tappulus*, who seems to have been the *Consul's* Brother. After this, the *Censors* were chosen. *Scipio Africanus*, and *P. Ælius Pætus*, a very able Lawyer, were honoured with this important Dignity; and never were Collegues more perfectly unanimous. Their *Censorship* was mild, and blameless. They made no Alteration, or Retrenchment, in the List of the Senators. The Great *Scipio* also, as he deserved, was placed at the Head of the Senate; and was declared *Prince* of it. *Rome* could not pay less Regard to the Esteem the Publick had of him, and to his superior Merit. During his *Censorship* he farmed out the Customs of the Ports of *Capua*, *Puteoli*, and another City of *Campania*, where he settled a *Colony*. And lastly, he made the forty sixth *Lustrum*; but we know not, to what Number the Computation of the *Roman Citizens* amounted.

THEN the *Curule Ædiles* were to be nominated; and there was something so singular in their Election, that we cannot pass it over in Silence, as usual. The assembled *Tribes* pitched upon two Men, one of whom was *The Chief Priest* \* of *Jupiter*; and insisted upon both their Elections. The first was that *Cornelius Cethegus*, who had so lately signalized himself by a Victory in *Spain*. The second, one *C. Valerius*, Brother to *L. Valerius*, the *Prætor* of *Sicily*. But the former could not possibly exercise the Office of *Ædile*, whilst he continued in *Spain*; neither could the latter take the Oaths usually taken for the *Ædileship*. Every Chief Priest was <sup>48</sup> above taking any Oaths. It was thought beneath his *Pontifical* Dignity. Nevertheless, *Valerius* was ambitious of the *Ædileship*. It was a necessary Step to the superior Magistracies, and particularly the *Consulship*. He therefore presented a Petition to the Senate, desiring that he might be permitted to swear by Proxy. The *Conscript Fathers*, with the Consent of the *Consuls*, referred his Petition to the People; and they were well disposed towards him. They thought it was of little Importance, whether *Valerius* took the Oaths him-

and *Sextus Ælius Pætus*. These two Magistrates signalized their *Ædileship* at the same time, by celebrating the *Roman Games*, with great Pomp, at *Rome*. The Statues of Brass they erected in the Hall of the publick Treasury, contributed likewise as much to render their Magistracy memorable. These new Decorations were bought by the Fines levied in their Year. The *Plebeian Ædiles* also, *Lucius Terentius Massa*, and *Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus*, *Prætor* elect for the next Year, entertained *Rome* with other Games, called *Plebeian*, which were under their Direction. The Use of *Funeral Games* had already began to be introduced among the *Romans*; and *Marcus* and *Publius* now renewed them, in Honour to the *Manes* of their Father *Marcus Valerius Lavinus*. They were celebrated for four Days together, at their Expence, in the *Forum Romanum*; and at the same time, the People were

entertained with a Fight of twenty five Couple of Gladiators. And lastly, the Year 553 was also remarkable for the Death of *Marcus Aurelius Cotta*, one of the *Decemviri*, who were the Guardians of the *Sybilline Books*; and he was succeeded by *Manius Acilius Glabrio*.

<sup>48</sup> See what we have said of the Functions, Privileges, and Duty, of the *Flamen Dialis*, Vol. 1. Indeed the Priesthood, when first instituted, excluded those who enjoyed it from Civil Offices. But thro' Neglect and Connivance, they at length gained a Prescription against that Custom. These Priests found it their Interest to shake off so great a Restraint on their Ambition; and by the favourable Construction they put upon the Law, found Means to unite Civil and Sacred Offices in the same Person.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLIII.

P. SULPICIL-  
GALBA, C.  
AURELIUS  
COTTA, Con-  
suls.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLIV.

L. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
P. VILLIUS  
TAPPULUS,  
Consuls.

Liv. B. 31.

c. 49.

Fest. Capit.

Livy, B. 31.

c. 50.

\* *Flamen Dial.*



Year of self, or by another Person; and when the *Prætor* his Brother had performed that Ceremony, *Valerius* was declared *Ædile*. As to *Cethegus*, it was decreed, That *Cornelius Lentulus*, his Relation, and one of the present *Consuls*, should go and succeed him in *Spain*, as soon as his Campaign should be ended; and the *Tribes* being satisfied with these Orders, the Persons they chose were continued in the *Ædileship*.

DIIV.  
L. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
P. VILLIUS  
TAPPULUS,  
Consuls.

AFTER these Dispositions, the *Consuls* for the Year drew Lots for their *Provinces*: And *Italy*, where yet there were some *Gauls* to be quelled, fell to *Cornelius Lentulus*; and the War in *Macedon*, to *Villius*. But these two Heads of the Republick imitated their Predecessors, continued long at *Rome*, and did not take the Field till it was very late. Since the Republick was become the Arbitres of the Affairs of foreign Nations, the *Consuls* took Pleasure in such Delays. Nevertheless, the People at *Rome* took these Precautions. On the one hand, they nominated the *Prætor Bæbius* to be General of the Troops to be sent against the *Gauls* in *Italy*, during the Absence of *Lentulus*. And on the other, they left *Sulpicius* the Command of the Troops in *Macedon*, till the Arrival of *Villius*; who from being *Pro-Consul* there, was now become *Consul*, and was more intent on signaling himself in *Greece*, than he had been the last Year.

§. XVI. *PHILIP* had now carried on the War with Vigour, against the *Romans*, a whole Year; and still continued to be formidable. His last Conquests had increased his Courage. And therefore, as soon as the Season would admit of it, he assembled together his Sea and Land-Forces, at *Demetrias*, a maritime City of *Thessaly*, which he had made the Capital of his Kingdom. Ever since the last Campaign, the King of *Macedon* had been labouring to make Reprizals on the *Romans*, for the Surprize of *Chalcis*; and he hoped to have surprized them there, in their turn. But, for want of Expedition, he had failed of his Design. The *Romans* had retired from thence, and left nothing in *Chalcis*, but dead Bodies, Ashes, and Ruins. From thence, *Philip* had turned his Vengeance against *Athens*. After he had crossed the *Euripus*, over a Bridge, he marched thro' *Bæotia*, towards *Attica*, and expected to have found *Athens* as ill guarded, as the *Romans* had found *Chalcis*. And he had very like to have succeeded in this Attempt. The *Athenians* kept certain Men in Pay, whose Business it was to be continually flying from Place to Place, in the Neighbourhood of their Dominions, in order to make what Discoveries they could. One of these Couriers, who saw the *Macedonian* Army, returned in haste to *Athens*, at Midnight, and brought thither the News of the Approach of the Enemy. Sleep had closed all Eyes there; and the Negligence of the *Athenians* was not less, than that of the *Chalcidians* had been. But the Trumpet soon roused the Soldiers, and Inhabitants: Every one took his Post, and the City was in a Posture of Defence. However, since *Philip* could not surprize it, he resolved to attack it. He ordered his Troops to advance towards the largest Gate, called *Dipulon*. The Street which led to it, from the Market-place, and that through the Suburbs to which *Philip* came, were both large; so that the Besiegers and Besieged had room enough to draw up their Troops in Battalia, within and without it. Then the Gate was immediately opened, and the *Athenian* Garrison marched out. It consisted of the auxiliary Troops of *Attalus*, and a Body of *Athenians*, commanded by the General *Dioxippus*. *Philip* was overjoyed at this Opportunity to give Battel. All the Citizens of *Athens* lined the Ramparts, and the Multitude of the Spectators encouraged the King to exert himself before them. He was delighted with an Occasion to raise their Admiration of his fine Mien, good Horsemanship, and great Valour in Battel. He gave his Men only this short Exhortation; *Fix your Eyes on me, and do as I do*. Of all the *Greek* Nations, *Philip* hated none so much as the *Athenians*; and he fell upon them with a Fury which struck Terror into them, for some Moments. The *Athenians* retired within their Gate; and *Philip* pursued them up to it, and slew many of them. But he then found he had advanced too far. He would have been killed with Darts from the Top of the Ramparts, had not the *Athenians* been afraid of wounding their own Soldiers, who were mixed with the *Macedonians*. However, an End was put to the Battel, and *Philip* sounded a Retreat. So that the King gained no Glory by the Action, but that of being thought rash. He went and encamped at *Cynosarges*,



*Cynosarges* 49, near a Temple of *Hercules*, which was near the City; and the next Day the *Athenians* recovered their Courage. Their Forces were augmented by some *Roman* Troops, and those of *Attalus*, which came to the Assistance of the City, from *Piræus*; and they then made another Sally, with much greater Advantage than the Day before. *Philip* was forced to decamp, and post himself about three Miles from *Athens*; and before his Departure thence, he signally vent-ed his Rage in that Neighbourhood. He spared neither Temples, nor Tombs, nor *Gymnasia*, nor the 50 *Lyceum*, nor sacred Groves, nor Houses of Pleasure. All were pillaged, and demolished. From thence the *Macedonian* turned towards 51 *Eleusis*. He was drawn thither by the Hopes of the Pillage of a Temple of *Ceres*, commanded by a Castle; which was its Defence. But the Garrison were upon their Guard; and saw the *Roman* Fleet, which was coming to their Assistance. Then *Philip* decamped, and passed on to *Megara*, and from thence to *Corinth*. There he understood that the Diet of *Achaia* was assembled at *Argos*, and he hastened thither.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLIV.  
L. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
P. VILLIUS  
TAPPULUS,  
Consuls.

Liv. B. 31.  
c. 25.

§. XVII. THE *Achæans* were deliberating about a Matter of great Importance, which was the providing for the War with the Tyrant *Nabis*. He was the second Usurper of the *Lacedæmonian* Throne, which had been legally possessed by the Posterity of *Hercules*, till the Time of *Machanidas*, who had seized it by Violence. *Nabis* had succeeded *Machanidas*, and was proposing to renew the War in *Achaia*. The illustrious *Philopæmenes* was no longer at the Head of the *Achæan* Troops; he had been succeeded by *Cycliades*, a General of little Reputation. Hence the Resolution of *Nabis* to carry the War into *Achaia*, where his Troops were al-

Plut. Life of  
*Philopæmenes*.

ready committing Ravages. THE Business of the Diet was therefore to settle the Contingents of Troops each City in the Country was to furnish; and they were upon it, when *Philip* came, on a sudden, to *Argos*. As soon as he arrived, the artful *Macedonian*, without Hesitation, promised to deliver them from the Insolences of *Nabis*; and offered to march immediately into *Laconia* (a District subject to *Lacedæmon*) with his Army. The Offer was received with Joy; but this Joy was much abated, when he artfully proposed, as the Condition of his March, That the *Achæans* should furnish Garrisons for the Cities of *Chalcis*, *Orus*, and *Corinth*, which he possessed. The Design of the expert *Macedonian* was to strip *Achaia* of the best Part of her Infantry, and make her an Enemy to *Rome*, by her Declarations in his favour.

Liv. B. 31.  
c. 25.

*CYCLIADES* saw through *Philip's* Artifice; but dissembled it. He had all along been thought one of the King's Party; but was really in the Interest of his Country. He answered the *Macedonian*, that the Diet was assembled only to settle the Contingents; and that it could not go on any other Business. So that *Philip's* Hope failed him. He could only pick up a few Volunteers in *Achaia*, who freely entered into his Service; and he returned to *Corinth*, and from thence to *Attica*. During his March, *Philocles*, one of his Generals, came from *Eubæa* to the Continent with two thousand Men, passed over Mount 52 *Cytheron*, and marched to the Neighbourhood of *Eleusis*. There he divided his Troops into two Parts; sent one to commit Ravages, and with the other formed an Ambuscade, in which he hoped to surprise the Garrison of *Eleusis*, if they marched out against the Pillagers. But they discovered the Deceit, and kept themselves upon the defensive. However, *Philocles* made some Attempts on the Castle of *Eleusis*, but got nothing but Blows. This confounded him, and he went to join *Philip*, whose Army was advancing towards *Attica*. Then the King and *Philocles* made fresh Attempts together, on the Castle of *Eleusis*; but the *Roman* Fleet set sail very seasonably from *Piræus*, came to the Relief of the Place, and threw some

49 According to *Hesychius*, *Pausanias*, and *Suidas*, whilst one *Diomus* was offering a Sacrifice to *Hercules*, a black Dog crept into the Temple, and stole away a Thigh of the Victim. And from hence the Place was called *Cynosarges*, by the *Greeks*. The *Athenians* confined in this Place, all those who were not born in lawful Wedlock, and all foundling Children. These were brought up at the publick Expence, and taught all Exercises of Body, and all proper Sciences. Inasmuch that the Republick of *Athens* had built a *Gymnasium* there for their Use.

50 The *Lyceum* was a publick Place without the Walls of *Athens*. The Buildings and Trees about it made it one of the most pleasant Walks about the City.

51 *Eleusis* stood in the same Place where the Town of *Lessina* now stands.

52 *Cytheron*, a famous Mountain in *Boeotia*, bordered upon the Mounts *Helicon* and *Parnassus*, where the Poets fixed the Abode of the *Muses*. It was consecrated to *Bacchus*; and it is now called *Cytherone*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLIV.  
L. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
P. VILLIUS  
TAPPULUS,  
Consuls.

Reinforcements into it. Upon this *Philip* abandoned his Enterprize, and divided his Army into two Bodies. With one, he went down towards *Piræus*, which he expected to have found defenceless; and sent *Philocles* with the other towards *Athens*. The latter threatened the City with a Siege, thereby to terrify and hinder her from sending any Succours to *Pyræus*, which was well fortified. But the *Romans* came time enough to defend a long Street, which led from the City to the Port. They made a Sally through it, and drove *Philip* from that Post. However, the *Macedonian* had the cruel Pleasure of exercising his Fury on the Villages in the Country; and committed all kinds of Robbery, and Sacrilege. He profaned the Temples and Sepulchres, and beat down the Statues and Sanctuaries. What Devastations did he commit in a Country, which abounded the most with Decorations, of any in the World! The sacred Edifices, even in the Country, were adorned with fine Marbles, and Master-pieces of Art: And the King broke to pieces what he could not carry off, and retired to *Bœotia*.

Liv. B 31.  
27

§. XVIII. ABOUT this time, the *Pro-Consul Sulpicius* came out of his Winter-Quarters, and encamped between *Apollonia* and *Dyrrhachium* <sup>53</sup>, on the Banks of the <sup>54</sup> *Apsus*, a River of *Macedon*. From thence he sent a Detachment, under the Command of *Apustius*, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, to ravage the Frontiers of *Macedon*. There *Apustius* took several <sup>55</sup> Cities, and Castles, by Assault, and came and fell on <sup>56</sup> *Antipatria*, a considerable City situated between two Mountains. At first the *Roman* offered the Inhabitants to take them under the Protection of *Rome*; but the Situation of their City, and the Height of their Ramparts made them proud. So that *Apustius* took the City by Assault, plundered it, put all the Men he found capable of bearing Arms to the Sword, gave the Booty to his Soldiers, demolished the Walls, and burnt the Houses. This Example of Severity, struck Terror into the Neighbourhood. *Codrion* <sup>57</sup>, a pretty strong City, surrendered at Discretion. The City of *Ilion*, which bordered on *Epirus*, made some Resistance, and was taken by Force. After these Exploits, the Lieutenant-General returned to the *Pro-Consul's* Camp, and his Detachment was attacked in the Rear, by a Body of *Macedonians*. But *Apustius* instantly ordered his Troops to face about towards the Enemy; and the *Macedonians* <sup>58</sup> could not withstand the *Romans* in Battel.

WHEN an Entrance was thus made upon *Macedon*, some petty Kings in that Neighbourhood, who were old Friends to *Rome*, paid the *Pro-Consul* a Visit. <sup>59</sup> *Pleuratus*, *Aminander*, and *Bato*, offered the *Romans* their Services and Assistance; and *Sulpicius* gave *Pleuratus* and *Bato* Hopes, that he would make use of their Forces, when he should enter farther into *Macedon*. As for *Aminander*, he was ordered to cause the *Ætolians* to rise, and revive their former Affection for *Rome*. At the same time, Deputies came to the *Pro-Consul* from *Attalus*; and the *Roman* ordered them to tell the King their Master, That he should tarry at *Ægina* for the *Roman* Fleet, and join it. Nor were the *Rhodians* forgotten. A Message was sent them, that they should arm with all Speed, and join in the common Cause.

<sup>53</sup> The City of *Dyrrhachium*, now *Durazzo*, stands on the Coast of the *Adriatic* Sea, near the Confines of *New Epirus*, or *Albania*. See Vol. 3.

<sup>54</sup> The River *Apsus*, after it has run thro' the Western Part of *Macedon*, falls into the *Adriatic* Sea. Modern Geographers call it *Aspro*, and *Ureo*; and *Brietius* particularly, *Spirnaza*.

<sup>55</sup> The *Roman* Historian reckons among the Cities which were taken by *Apustius*, those of *Corragium*, or *Corragium*, *Gerrhunium*, and *Orgessus*. The Similitude of the Names gives us room to conjecture, that *Corragium* was the same City as *Croia*, which afterwards became the Capital of the Kingdom of *Albania*. At least, there is no Reason not to believe it stood in the same Place, thirty five thousand Geometrical Paces from *Durazzo*. The Cities of *Gerrhunium* and *Orgessus*, were probably in that Neighbourhood; but we don't know where they stood. The latter seems to be the same Place which *Polybius* calls *Orgysus*.

<sup>56</sup> The City of *Antipatria* is no longer in being.

It stood in the Country of the *Dassaretæ*, a Clan of the Western Part of *Macedon*.

<sup>57</sup> All we can say of the City of *Codrion*, is, That it stood in the West of *Macedon*. *Sanfon* places it over against *Corragium*, in the Neighbourhood of *Dardus*.

<sup>58</sup> Some of the *Macedonians* were killed on the Field of Battel; and *Livy* says, that the *Romans* made a considerable Number of them Prisoners.

<sup>59</sup> *Pleuratus* was King of a Country in *Illyricum*. *Aminander* reigned over the *Athamanes*, a People of *Epirus*, who were bounded by *Thessaly*, to the North; and *Acarnania*, to the South. *Bato* seems to have been a Sovereign in the Country of the *Dardani*, near *Illyricum*. We have spoken of them, Vol. 3. The Offers of the latter could not be suspected by the *Romans*. He had long been a declared Enemy to the King of *Macedon*. *Longarus*, the Father of *Bato*, had had a difficult War to maintain, with *Demetrius* the Father of *Philip*.



§. XIX. THE Irruption of the *Romans* into *Macedon*, much altered *Philip's* Measures. He no longer continued in *Greece*, but came to defend his own Country. He every where gave good Orders; and every where took care to make the Passes difficult. It must be owned that *Philip* was a great Soldier. In order to form his Son *Perses* to Arms early, he committed him in his Infancy, to the Care of his most able Generals. He caused him to be brought up in Camps, at the Head of Armies; and he left it to him and his Governors to guard the important Passes of *Pelagonia*<sup>60</sup>. Nor was this all. *Philip* ordered the Cities of<sup>61</sup> *Sciathos* and<sup>62</sup> *Peparethos* to be demolished, lest the *Romans* should seize them. And lastly, he did his utmost to compass an Accommodation with the *Ætolian* Nation, whose Forces had incommoded him in the preceding War. The Diet of the *Ætoli*ans was now actually assembled at *Naupaetos*; and *Philip*, who was an able Politician, as well as a brave Warrior, sent his Ambassadors thither. *Furius Purpureo* came thither on the Part of the *Romans*; and Envoys soon arrived from *Athens*. The *Ætoli*ans were never more honoured than at this time, where they saw a great King, and two powerful Republicks, courting their Alliance with Emulation. *Damocritus* presided in the Diet, in quality of first Minister of the *Ætoli*ans. He was as mercenary and pliant, as the *Greeks* generally are; and it is pretended, that King *Philip* had bought him. So that he would have the *Macedonians* speak in the Assembly before the *Romans*. His Pretence for this Preference was, that the Alliance between *Ætolia* and *Macedon* was last made. The Ambassadors of *Philip* spoke thus. *Illustrious Ætoli*ans, we don't desire any thing new of you. You have already preferred us to the *Romans*, by leaving them, and making Peace with us. We therefore commend your Prudence; and it is your Business signally to display your Constancy. Remember the contemptuous Treatment you received at *Rome*. Your Deputies there declared the Peace which was just concluded between *Ætolia* and King *Philip*. And then how haughty, how arrogant were the Answers of the Senate on that Occasion! How dare you appear here, said they, after having treated of a Peace without our Privy or Consent? But now, the haughty *Romans* are much changed. They appear here as Suppliants, and come to sue for your Alliance. Formerly they pretended to be your Defenders, and feigned, that they landed in your Dominions, only to protect you against *Philip*. But how inconsistent is this! These Peace-makers would now have you take up Arms. They pretend to appease, or enflame you, just as they please. And will you suffer this? They now make use of the same Artifices against you, as they employed to oppress *Sicily*. They pretended they came to *Messana*, with no intent, but to settle Peace there. They appeared before *Syracuse*, only as Friends, and Defenders of her Liberty. And what has been the Consequence? *Messana* and *Syracuse* are both added to their Dominions; and all *Sicily* is become subject to them. The whole Island now trembles at the Sight of their Fasces. But *Ætolia* is yet free, and has the Liberty of choosing her own Allies. At *Messana*, *Syracuse*, and *Lilybæum*, a proud Prætor, exalted on a Tribunal, gives Laws to their Senates, and orders all things according to his own Humour. Lictors, with their Axes and Rods, walk before him. Revenge and Cruelty follow him. Such are the Masters the Republick annually sends to lord it over *Sicily*. And is it at all to be wondered at? Has *Rome* encreased her Dominions otherwise than by Violence and Deceit? *Rhegium*, *Tarentum*, and *Capua*, have felt the Effects of them. Unfortunate *Capua*, how much is thy Fate to be lamented! Thy Citizens are driven from their native Country! Thou thy self art degraded, and left without Senate, or Magistrates! Art thou not more debased, than if thy Walls had been

Year of  
R O M E  
DLIV.  
L. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
P. VILLIUS  
TAPPULUS,  
Consuls.

Liv. B. 31.  
c. 29.

<sup>60</sup> The Name of *Pelagonia* was given to two little Cantons in *Macedon*. The first, which was the most South, was bounded by *Thessaly* to the South, and to the North by the Mountains of *Candavia*, or *Voluzza*, as they are called by modern Geographers. There were three Cities in this Canton. For this Reason the Ancients called it *Pelagonia Tripolis*. *Dolicha*, now *Techala*, or *Alchria*, was its Capital; and *Livy* gives this City the same Name as the Canton. That *Pelagonia* here spoken of, belonged to *Pæonia*, a northern Province of *Macedon*. Mount *Boreas* divided it from *Dardania*,

and made it difficult to pass from one to the other. *Stobi* was its chief City, according to the ancient Geographers; it is the same Place that *Nardus* calls *Starachino*.

<sup>61</sup> The Island of *Sciathos* is now called *Sciatho*. It lies in the *Ægean* Sea, near the Coast of *Magnesia*, between *Eubœa*, and the Island of *Peparethos*. The Island and its Capital were both called *Sciathos*.

<sup>62</sup> See what we have said of the Island and City of *Peparethus*, or *Peparethos*, Vol. 3.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLIV.  
L. CORNELIUS  
L. LENTULUS,  
P. VILLIUS  
TAPPULUS,  
Consuls.

*razed? And you, Ætolians, have great Reason to dread the same Fate. What will become of you, if the Romans once get a footing in your Dominions? What! Shall they have the Dominion over you, whose Manners, Customs, Laws, and Language, are different from ours? But what have you to fear from Philip? The War he made with you for a few Years, was soon followed by a lasting Peace; and the Proposal he makes to you this Day, is that of Peace. Will you introduce the Roman Legions here? Alas! You will perhaps seek the Assistance of the Macedonians against them, when it is too late. If Dissentions have sometimes arisen between the Ætolians and Macedonians, they have soon returned to Reason, and laid aside their Animosities. We all speak the same Language; and ought to look on ourselves, as one People. But under these Foreigners and Barbarians your Slavery will be endless. It is their Ambition alone that prompts them to commit Hostilities in these Countries. It is utterly insatiable, and will at length entirely swallow you up. To conclude then where we began; Ætolians, we desire nothing new of you. All Philip asks is, that you would faithfully perform your Treaties, and persevere in maintaining them.*

*THIS Discourse might have turned the Diet; but the Athenian Ambassadors, who spoke next, a little effaced the Impressions it had made. What a cruel Enemy, said they, is this who comes here to demand Peace? The Macedonian is, properly speaking, the Scourge of Greece. We call all Attica to witness it. He is no ordinary Enemy, who has ravaged it. To see their Fields laid waste, their Granaries burnt, their Cattel carried off, their Subjects enslaved, are the common Calamities of all States, which are engaged in War. And if Philip had confined his Hostilities to such things, we might have grieved at it; but should have had no Reason to complain. But this King sets no Bounds to his Inhumanity, which has led him to commit the most unpardonable Impieties. He has shewn no Regard to the Gods of Heaven, or Hell. The Tombs of our Ancestors have been beaten down, their Ashes disturbed, and their Bones trodden under Foot. How many Sanctuaries have been profaned! How few of the Images of our Gods are left! Those Tribes which settled in the Country, because they could not all settle in the City, had signalized their Zeal for Religion, by building stately Edifices, in honour to the Immortals. They had adorned their Towns with them; and their Piety had induced them to heap up Riches in these holy Places! The Neighbourhood of Athens was famous for them. But what have we now left of the many Monuments which distinguished Attica? Maimed Statues, demolished Altars, and broken Columns. Philip, and the Flames, have spared nothing. And all Greece ought to expect no less from so cruel an Enemy. It is to little Purpose for him to call the Romans Barbarians; he alone has shewn less Pity to those, whose Language he speaks, than the most inhuman Foreigners would have done. And what he has done in our Towns, he would have done in Athens, if the Romans had not relieved it. The Temple of Minerva, which is so revered throughout all Greece, that of Ceres at Eleusis, and that of Jupiter in the Pyreus, would have no longer subsisted, if the Roman Valour and Piety had not preserved them. Why then are you dilatory, Ætolians, in joining with these Protectors who are ready to help you. Be not afraid to declare War with the Destroyer of Greece. To take up Arms against Philip, is to avenge the Injuries done the Gods; and to assist the Romans, is to join in the common Cause, of the two most formidable Powers, that of Heaven, and that of Rome.*

*By these affecting Words, the Athenians prejudiced the Assembly against Philip; and then the Roman Ambassador took his turn to speak, and his Speech was this. To what Difficulties, Ætolians, am I reduced! The Harangue made by Philip's Ambassador, obliges me, instead of complaining, as I designed, against his King, to make an Apology for my Republick. It is not for the Honour of Rome, that Greece should have any Reason to distrust her, or the World to complain of her. And indeed, that is charged as a Crime on the Roman People, which ought to be esteemed their Glory. We are charged with having surprised Rhegium, Capua, and Syracuse by Artifice. The Fact was this. Indeed, a Roman Legion possessed themselves of Rhegium, contrary to the Intentions of the Senate, and drove the Rhegians out of their City. But did we authorise the Invasion of our Troops? No; we pursued the perfidious Legion with Violence; chased the Usurpers; and restored the*



the Rhegians their City and Estates. And where was the Crime, or Injustice of this? As to Syracuse, Tyrants had possessed themselves of it; and we made haste to deliver these unfortunate People. We carried on a three Year's Siege, with much Difficulty, purely to break off the Chains of the Syracusans; and when we had taken their City, we restored it to the Inhabitants, though they had, by their Obstinacy, shewn themselves unworthy of our Favours. I acknowledge, that we have made Sicily tributary, and subjected her to our Laws: And let all the World learn from thence, That Rome knows how to treat her Enemies according to their Deserts. And as for Capua, how can she complain of the Treatment she received from us? Being exposed to the Invasion of the Samnites, and ready to sink under the Power of her Enemies, she entered into strong Engagements with Rome. After this the Romans and Capuans intermarried, so that Roman and Capuan Blood ran in the same Veins; and yet Capua was the first City in Italy which joined with Hannibal; and began her Revolt, with shedding the Blood of the Roman Garrison. For this we punished her; but how far did our Resentments carry us? If we deprived the Campani of their Lands, we gave them others; and their City is still in being. It is now scarce to be perceived, that Capua was delivered up to the Vengeance of our Soldiers. But what am I saying? Carthage herself has just now been re-established in the Possession of her Dominions, and her Liberty, after being subdued. If my Republick has any thing to reproach herself withal, it is for not having enough consulted her Interest, and for having used her Victories with too much Moderation. But as for Philip, what room has he given us for Recrimination? You, who are nearer to Macedon than we, cannot but know, how many of his Friends and Relations he has murdered and imprisoned. His infamous Debaucheries have led him to Assassinations. Such is the Friend, who solicites an Alliance with you. Ætolians, we have made War with Philip. You have made a separate Peace with him, without us. And you will perhaps say, That you were compelled to it, by the Fear of a neighbouring King; and That being deprived of any Succours from Rome, whilst she was engaged in the War with Carthage, you took such Measures as you thought necessary for your Safety. But is that the Case now? We have no Enemies at present but Philip. A Consular Army has already penetrated into Macedon; and the Gods give you this Opportunity to renew your old Confederacy with us. Seize it then, unless you choose rather to perish with Philip, than to conquer with Rome.

AFTER Furius had done speaking, the Assembly inclined to favour the Romans, and was going to declare for them, when Damocritus shewed the Effect Philip's Money had had upon him. Indeed, he disguised his Sentiments, and seemed to intend nothing, but to gain time. The Affair you propose to us, said he to the Ambassadors, is of such a Nature, that it cannot be determined, till after a more mature Deliberation. Our Laws forbid us to determine any thing which relates to Peace or War, out of general Diets. So that the Ætolians suspended declaring

63 Livy, by General Diets in this Place, means not only the general Assembly of the Ætolians at Naupactus, (in Pamotolico;) but likewise the Assembly of the Amphictiones, who met every Year at Thermopylae, to deliberate of the common Interests of all Greece, (Σ Πίλαϊκο Consilio.) The part this Nation bore in the Macedonian War, often occasioned the assembling these Diets. So that it is necessary to give the Reader a general Account of them, in order to enable him the better to understand the History. These Diets were established by Amphyc-tion, the third King of Athens, about one thousand five hundred and nineteen Years before the Christian Era, and six hundred and sixty six Years before the Foundation of Rome. His only Design in this was, to unite all the Greeks in one Body; believing, that if he could succeed in this Point, he should render them formidable to the Barbarians. A hundred and forty Years after this Institution, Acrisius, King of Argos, made this Assembly as it were the States-General of the Nation. He enlarged their Privileges, and granted them an unlimited Power. He likewise added to them several Cantons, whose

Representatives had not yet been admitted among them. From these two different Epochas, some have inferred that there were two sorts of Amphictiones, or general Assemblies; the old instituted by Amphyc-tion, the new by Acrisius. Whereas in reality, the King of Argos only perfected what the King of Athens had begun.

Æschines, who lived in the time of Demosthenes, speaks of twelve Amphictyonic Nations; for so the Greeks call those which had a right to send their Deputies to this supreme Court. But he names only eleven, viz. The Thessalians, Boeotians, Dorians, Ionians, Perrhebes, Magnesians, Locrians, Oetceans, Phthiotas, Maleans, and Phocceans. Probably, the Name of one of these Nations has been lost by the Negligence of the Copyists. There is Reason to believe, that the Dolopes were one of them. At least, it is certain, that the Ancients say, they enjoyed the Amphictyonic Right. Each of these Nations chose two Deputies, or Amphictiones, whom they sent to the States-General. One of these, who had the Title of Hieronemon, was charged with the Care of the Interests of Religion. The other

Year of  
R O M E  
DLIV.

L. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
P. VILLIUS  
P. PULLUS,  
Consuls.

filed



Year of clearing themselves; and *Damocritus* boasted of his Address, as Matter of Merit, with his Nation. He pretended, that his only Design in shifting the earnest Solicitations of the *Romans*, and the *Macedonians*, was to let them begin the War, that he might have an Opportunity to declare himself, when he should judge it most proper, for the strongest Party. Such was the Cunning of the *Greeks*: And the *Romans* stood in need of all their Valour, and Constancy, to enable themselves to reduce them.

DLIV.

L. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
P. VILLIUS  
TAPPULUS,  
Consuls.

§. XX. THESE Negotiations did not retard the military Expeditions of the *Pro-Consul Sulpicius*, or the Preparations of *Philip*. The latter took it for granted, That the *Roman* Fleet would join that of *Attalus* near *Ægina*, as soon as the Spring returned; and That they would begin the Campaign together: and he therefore assembled all his Sea-Forces, at <sup>64</sup> *Demetrias*, in *Thessaly*. He gave the Command of his Fleet to *Heracles*, with Orders to guard the Coast; and reserved to himself the Command of the Land-Forces. He was much pleased with having drawn off from the *Romans*, the *Ætolians* on one side, and the <sup>65</sup> *Dardani* on the other. The latter, how well inclined soever they might be, to join their Forces with those of the *Pro-Consul*, were indeed pent in, by the Troops young *Perses* and his Governors commanded, in the Passes of *Pelagonia*.

HOWEVER *Sulpicius*, though deprived of these Reinforcements, continued to carry on his Enterprises against the *Macedonian*. He entered into his Territories, through the Country of the <sup>66</sup> *Dassaretæ*, that is, through that Province of *Macedon*, which lay next to *Illyricum*; and all the Cities in this Country either surrendered, or were taken by Force. From thence the *Pro-Consul* came and encamped near <sup>67</sup> *Lycus*, a City situated on the <sup>68</sup> *Bevus*; and was supplied with all his Provisions from the Country of the <sup>69</sup> *Dassaretæ*.

As for *Philip*, he very well knew that his Frontiers were pillaged; but he was at a great Distance from them. Nevertheless, it was necessary to draw near to them, and make Head against the *Romans*. *Sulpicius*, on the other hand, was very ardently desirous of meeting the Enemy soon, and fighting him. So that the two Generals were equally impatient to come to a Battel. Each therefore sent a Detachment of Horse to discover the Enemy; and after long Marches, the flying Squadrons met, in the Country of the *Dassaretæ*. As soon as they heard the

stiled *Pilagoras*, or *The Orator sent to Pyle*, or *Thermophila*, was the Speaker. Sometimes indeed, each Nation sent three or four Deputies; but whatever their Number was, they all had but two Votes in the Assembly. Formerly, the *Phocæans* were excluded from the Assembly, for having plundered the Temple of *Delphi*, after the Example of their Leaders, *Onomarchus* and *Phayllus*. *Philip* of *Macedon*, the Father of *Alexander the Great*, had taken Advantage of this Vengeance of the *Greeks*, or the *Phocæans*, during *The Holy War*; had required, that the vacant Place should in Gratitude be given to him and his Descendants; and the *Amphictyones* durst not oppose the Pretensions of one, who had made himself formidable by his Victories. And as the *Phocæans* had been degraded for Sacrilege, they afterwards made Amends for their Crime, and wiped off the Shame of their Degradation, by saving the Temple of *Delphi* from being plundered by the *Gauls*, who came into *Greece* with *Brennus*. By this Act of Religion they reinstated themselves, and were again admitted into the national Assembly, according to *Polybius*, *Pausanias*, and *Justin*. This supreme Council of the *Amphictyones*, or of all the Representatives of *Greece*, was held twice a Year. In Autumn, at *Thermopylae*, in a Temple dedicated to *Ceres*, in a large Plain watered by the *Asopus*; and in the Spring, in the Temple of *Apollo*, at *Delphi*.

<sup>64</sup> This City stood in the Place where *Dimiriada* now does, if we may credit *Sophian*. See Vol. 3.

<sup>65</sup> The *Dardani*, a People of Upper *Mæsia*, inhabited the South-part of *Servia*, and part of old *Bulgaria*. See Vol. 3.

<sup>66</sup> The *Dassaretæ* possessed that part of the West of

*Macedon*, which borders on *Illyricum* and *Albania*.

<sup>67</sup> It is certain, from *Livy*, that *Sulpicius* encamped near a City, in the Neighbourhood of the *Dassaretæ*. But we know no City in that Country which was called *Lingus*, as we read in most Copies. We therefore adhere to *Sigonius's* Correction, who instead of *Lyngus* reads *Lycus*. *Livy* himself speaks of *Lycus* in several Places, as of a City which bordered upon *Illyricum*, and the Canton of the *Dassaretæ*. It is generally placed in *Eordea*, a little Province, in the extreme western Parts of *Macedon*, between the Territory of the *Dassaretæ*, and that of the *Taulantii*, called by some modern Geographers *Tamoriza*, by others *Talland* and *Musachia*. Indeed, to say the Truth, it is not possible to form any certain Judgment of the Situation of the many Cities, of which we have nothing left but the Names, and those mutilated, or disfigured. We are often forced to have Recourse to Conjecture, in Matters relating to the ancient Geography. It is a vast Field, which will always find a great deal of Employment for the Geographers. *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Flamininus*, mentions the River *Lycus*, which ran towards the Country of the *Dassaretæ*. Perhaps that River gave its own Name to the City of which we are speaking.

<sup>68</sup> We know as little of the River *Bevus*, as of the City of *Beia*, which that City watered, if we believe *Ortelius*. But whatever he may say to the contrary, we find no Footsteps of either, not even in *Stephens*, whom he quotes for it.

<sup>69</sup> This Country was well provided with Magazines of Corn, which *Livy* calls *Horrea Dassaretarum*.



Neighings of each other's Horses, they prepared for the Battel, and had but just time to set themselves in order. Both Troops were chosen Men, and equal in point of Valour. So that the Action was long, and the Victory uncertain. The *Romans* lost thirty five Men, and the *Macedonians* forty. There was nothing considerable happened in this Engagement; but the Consequences of it were very different to the different Parties.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLIV.  
L. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
P. VILLIUS  
TAPPULUS,  
Consuls.

*PHILIP* was informed by some Deserters, that his Cavalry had engaged with those of the *Pro-Consul*; and he instantly ordered the Bodies of those of his Men who had been killed to be taken care of. The King's Intention was, to shew his Troops, that he extended his Care for them, beyond their Death. But before the Dead were buried, they were shewn to the Army in the Camp; and this Sight, which *Philip* shewed them for their Encouragement, had a quite contrary Effect. The *Macedonians* had hitherto scarce fought with any People but *Greeks*, or *Illyrians*; and the Darts and Lances the latter used, made very small Wounds. The former were therefore surprised at the strange Effects of the *Roman* Arms. As the *Legionaries* both cut and stabbed with their Sabres, such Wounds appeared on the dead Bodies, as terrified the *Macedonians*. The Arms and Legs of some were shattered to pieces, or grievously mangled; the Skulls of others were broke; and some had received large Wounds, which discovered the Intestines. The Soldiers silently gazed upon them, and seemed to say, *What Enemies have we to deal with*; and it is affirmed, that *Philip* himself was surprised at the Sight. This was the first time he had been under a Necessity of fighting a pitched Battel with the *Romans*. However, he thought at least to have made Amends for the Disadvantage of his Arms, by the Number of his Soldiers: And it was his first Business to recall to his Camp, the Detachment he had sent to guard the Passes of *Pelagonia*, under the Command of his Son, and his Governors. So that he thereby opened the Way for the *Dardani* and *Pleuratus*, to enter *Macedon*.

§. XXI. *PHILIP*'s Army was considerable. It consisted of twenty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse. With these Forces the King ordered the Deserters to lead him towards the Country of the *Dassaretæ*, and posted himself about two hundred Paces from the *Roman* Camp, near a Village called <sup>70</sup> *Athacus*. There he entrenched himself on an Eminence; dug a wide Ditch between the *Romans* and him; and threw up strong Entrenchments against them. It is said, that he took a View of the *Roman* Camp from the Top of the Hill, and was as much surprised at it, as *Pyrrhus* had been many Years before. He saw Trenches regularly thrown up, Tents pitched in streight Lines, and Streets very exactly marked out; and he said, <sup>71</sup> *These Men are no Barbarians! Philip and Sulpicius* were two Days looking at each other; and on the third, the *Pro-Consul* drew up his Army in Battalia, and bid the *Macedonian* Defiance. But the King did not think it proper to hazard a general Action so hastily. He had a Mind first to study the Enemy, and try him a little, before he came to a decisive Battel. So that *Philip* only marched out of his Camp four hundred <sup>72</sup> *Trallians*, and three hundred <sup>73</sup> *Cretans*, all Foot, with a like Number of Horse, to skirmish in the Plain. *Athenagoras* one of his Generals, marched at the Head of them: And the *Pro-Consul* instantly detached a like Number of his light-armed Foot, and an equal Number of his Cavalry, to meet them.

THE *Macedonians* thought that the *Romans* fought after the *Macedonian* manner; that is, first advanced towards the Enemy, and immediately retired as soon as they had thrown their Darts, in order to return again to the Charge. The *Cretans* especially expected to have shot their Darts, whilst the *Romans* were making their first Retreat; and *Athenagoras* was much surprised at the *Roman* way of fighting. It was new to him. The *Roman* Detachment formed themselves as for a pitched

<sup>70</sup> The Town or little City of *Athacus*, stood in *Candavia*, a little Canton of *Macedon*, to the right of the River *Genusius*, or *Paniasus*, according to *Protophy*. It was therefore a very little Way from *Ocolophum*.

<sup>71</sup> The Reader may have observed in the second Volume, that *Livy* there puts the same Words in the Mouth of *Pyrrhus*, which he makes *Philip* speak here.

<sup>72</sup> The *Trallians* bordered upon *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, according to *Stephens*. Most Writers have confounded them with the *Triballes*; and indeed they seem to have differed only in Name.

<sup>73</sup> *Crete*, now *Candia*, formerly produced excellent Soldiers. The *Cretans* were deemed to have a military Genius; and were particularly remarkable for being very expert Bow-Men.



Year of Battel, fell on the Enemy with Rapidity, and did not retire at all. They kept  
*R O M E* their Ground, and fought Sword in Hand; and the *Roman* Cavalry did the same.  
 DLIV. As soon as they came up with the Enemy, they stood their Ground; and a Party  
 of them dismounted, and formed a Battalion. This way of fighting, so unusual  
 to the *Macedonians*, surpris'd them. They soon were sensible, that their own  
 way of fighting, by continually flying from Place to Place, was not so advantage-  
 ous, either for the Horse, or Foot, as that of the *Romans*. And they saw like-  
 wise, that their light Bucklers, and Darts, which were only headed with straight  
 Pieces of Iron, were not so good as the *Roman* Arms. In short, the *Macedonians*  
 were worsted in this first Shock. This Prelude to the War proved disadvantageous  
 to them, and nothing saved them but their Swiftnefs in running.

L. CORNELIUS  
 LENTULUS,  
 P. VILLIUS  
 TAPPULUS,  
 Consuls.

THE next Day *Philip* was for trying the Success of a second Skirmish, and sent out  
 a larger Detachment than before. All his Cavalry, and all his light-armed Infan-  
 try, were ordered out upon this Expedition. He expected to have supplied the  
 want of Strength with Artifice; and planted some Cavalry in Ambush, in a co-  
 vered Place, between the two Camps. *Athenagoras* commanded them; and his  
 Orders were to take his Opportunity to fall upon the *Romans*, whether they were  
 worsted, or succeeded. But the Commander missed his Blow. He came out of  
 his Hiding-Place too soon, and being overpowered with the rest of the Detach-  
 ment, left the Field free to the *Romans*, who returned victorious to their  
 Camp.

§. XXII. HITHERTO the two Generals had brought only their Cavalry and  
 light-armed Infantry to engage; and at length *Sulpicius* marched out his *Legions*,  
 and drew them up in the Plain. But *Philip* did not stir out of his Entrench-  
 ments. The *Roman* therefore drew near to them; yet still *Philip* kept close  
 within his Lines. In the mean time, the *Roman* General perceiving that he should  
 find it difficult to get Provisions to his present Camp, left it, and came and posted  
 himself in a Place called <sup>74</sup> *Octolophum*, still within reach of the *Macedonian*.  
 The Confidence of the *Pro-Consul* was raised by the Advantages he had gained  
 over *Philip*; and he suffered too great a Number of his Soldiers to leave his  
 Camp, and disperse themselves over the Country to get Corn. *Philip* had No-  
 tice of it; and like a great General, made the best Use of this Opportunity.  
 In order to prevent the Return of the *Romans* to their Camp, he went  
 in Person to guard the Roads with part of his Army; and sent another part  
 of it to chase the Enemy's Soldiers, dispersed about the Country, with Orders to  
 give no Quarter. Accordingly the *Macedonians* fell with superior Numbers on  
 the *Romans*, who were divided into small Parties, to get Provisions; cut some in  
 pieces; put the rest to flight, and the Fugitives were cut off, by the fresh En-  
 mies that intercepted them in the Roads. More perished in the Defiles, than in  
 the Plain; and the *Roman* General was long ignorant of the Danger of his Sol-  
 diers. But at length some escaped, and raised a greater Consternation in the Camp,  
 than the thing deserved. *Sulpicius* was persuaded, that his Troops had too easily  
 taken the Alarm; but nevertheless, he detached some Squadrons, to go and assist  
 his attacked Troops, and marched out his *Legions*, in order of Battel. The *Roman*  
 Cavalry were obliged to break themselves into several Parties, to go to the different  
 Places where they heard Shoutings; and they fought the Enemy, but with very  
 unequal Forces. The *Macedonians* were infinitely superior to them in Number;  
 and when, being overpowered with Multitudes, they fled, they found new En-  
 mies in their Way, whom they must break through, in order to escape. *Philip*  
 himself was exhorting his Troops to cut the Enemy's Cavalry in pieces, without  
 Mercy; and his *Cretan* Soldiers were shooting them with their Darts. And in  
 short, the King of *Macedon* would have had a complete Victory, if he had not  
 pursued his Advantage too far. But he was pleased with following the *Roman* Ca-  
 valry, who had made their Way through the *Macedonians*; and in the Heat of  
 Victory, did not perceive, that all the *Legionary* Infantry were advancing slowly  
 towards him. The *Roman* Horse, as soon as they found themselves sup-  
 ported, faced about, and turned their Flight into an Attack. The Fugitives all

<sup>74</sup> If we judge of this City by its Name, we shall imagine it was surrounded with eight Hills. It stood South of *Athacus*, abovementioned. It is placed between the *Panyasus*, now the *Arzenza*, and the Mountains of *Candavia*.



on a sudden became the Aggressors; and the Pursuers turned their Backs. And then the *Romans* doubly revenged themselves on the *Macedonians*, for all they had suffered by them. Some were killed in a confused Flight; others were forced into the neighbouring Marshes, and perished there; and *Philip* himself had like to have lost his Life. His Horse was wounded, and threw him; so that had it not been for one of his Troopers, who dismounted, and gave his King his Horse, *Philip* would either have been trodden under Foot by the Horses, or have fallen a Prisoner into the Hands of the *Pro-Consul*. And this generous Action of the *Macedonian* Soldier, was ill rewarded. Being dismounted, and therefore unable to keep up with his Squadron, who fled full Speed, the brave Man was cut in pieces by the *Romans*. As for the King, after he had fled a great Way round the Borders of the Marsh, he arrived at his Camp; where his Troops despaired of seeing him. Thus, according to some Historians, the Action of *Octolophum* did not do much Honour to either of the Generals. *Philip* is said to have shewn more Rashness than true Valour; and *Sulpicius* to have wanted both Presence of Mind, and Expedition. Had the *Macedonian*, say they, kept in his Entrenchments, without coming too hastily to a Battel, he had forced the *Roman* to leave *Macedon*, and seek for a Subsistence elsewhere. And on the other hand, if, say they, the *Roman* had immediately after the King's fall, invested the Enemy's Camp, he might have taken it by Assault, and finished the Campaign gloriously. But after all, these are rather the Speculations of idle unactive Men, than the Reasonings of Men of Sense. *Philip's* Camp was not unprovided; almost all his Infantry was left in it. It would therefore have been as rash in the *Pro-Consul* to have besieged it, as it was in *Philip* to pursue the *Roman* Cavalry, in sight of a great Army. Besides, it must be granted, That the King acted very judiciously, in going to cut off the *Romans*; and That *Sulpicius* was not wanting in Prudence, in any Instance, but that of suffering his Soldiers to ramble too far from his Camp.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLIV.  
L. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
P. VILLIUS  
TAPPULUS,  
Consuls.

§. XXIII. HOWEVER, these three Actions between the Cavalry, in every one of which *Philip* was worsted, obliged him to change his Post. Besides, he had received Information, That *Pleuratus* and the *Dardani* had entered *Macedon*, and wanted to join the *Romans*. Upon these Intelligences therefore, *Philip* proposed to decamp; and that he might do it with Safety, invented a Stratagem, which succeeded. He sent an Officer, with a *Caduceus* in his Hand, to the *Roman* Camp. His Commission was, to desire Leave of the *Roman* General, to take up the Bodies of the *Macedonian* Horsemen who were killed on the Field, and bury them. But *Philip's* real Intention was, only to amuse the *Pro-Consul* for a little while, that he might have time to file off his Troops to another Place. The Officer did not reach the *Roman* Camp, till it was Night; *Sulpicius* was at Table when he came; and sent him Word, that he should have his Answer the next Morning. But the King did not wait for the Return of his Messenger. He made the best use of his time; and his Camp was empty in a few Hours. Nevertheless, he left great Fires burning in it, to deceive the Enemy. As for himself, he retired into the narrow Passages between the Hills, which were inaccessible to the *Romans*, who were heavy-armed. It was broad Day, when the *Pro-Consul* gave the *Macedonian* Officer Audience, and he granted him all he asked, and dismissed him. Immediately after, *Sulpicius* was informed, that the Royal Army had disappeared; but no Body knew whither the King was gone, or how to follow him through the Defiles. Then the *Pro-Consul* continued some Days in the same Camp, to consume the Provisions which were left in the Neighbourhood; and afterwards marched into a new Country. He entered the District of the 75 *Deuriopes*, and encamped first near 76 *Stubera*, and afterwards near 77 *Pellina*, and got Provisions thither from *Pelagonia*. As for *Philip*, he did not long continue hid among the Rocks. He came and encamped at 78 *Bryanium*, and alarmed the

75 *Strabo* places the *Deuriopes* among the Nations of *Paeonia*, an eminent Country of *Macedon*. They dwelt near the River *Erigonus*.

76 *Stubera*, or as others, *Stymbara*, stood in that part of *Illyricum*, which then belonged to *Macedon*. It was bounded to the West by the Mountains of *Candaria*; to the North by the *Deuriopes*.

77 The City *Pellina* stood near the Country of the *Deuriopes* and *Dassaretæ*.

78 We also find the City of *Bryanium* in the same Country, near the River *Erigonus*. This Situation agrees with that which *Strabo* gives it, B. 27. *Stephens* speaks of a City of this Name, which he places in *Threspotia*, a Country in *Epirus*.



Year of *Romans*. The *Pro Consul* decamped, and came and posted himself near a River called the *Osphagus* <sup>79</sup>. Then the King likewise removed, and seized the Banks of the <sup>80</sup> *Erigonus*, a River into which the *Osphagus* runs. *Philip* fore-  
 saw that the *Romans* could not avoid going into <sup>81</sup> *Eordæa*, and therefore re-  
 solved to seize the Passes, to keep the Enemy out of this fine *Province*. To this  
 end, he entrenched himself in the Defiles which lead to it, and guarded them  
 with a wide Ditch, Trunks of Trees, and Heaps of Stones, which he thought a  
 sufficient Bulwark to keep off the *Romans*. But it unfortunately happened, that  
 all these Passes were full of Bushes and Coppices, so that the *Macedonian Phalanx*  
 had not room to form itself close there. Besides, they had not full play for their  
 long Pikes, in Ground encumbered with Trees, and broken with Brooks. Nei-  
 ther had the *Thracians* room to wield their great two-edged Swords; their Strokes  
 were broken with the Boughs of the Coppice Wood. Only the Arrows of the *Cretans*  
 could be of any use against the *Romans*; and the Bucklers of the *Roman* Horse  
 and Foot were Proof against them. Besides, the rest of their Armour covered  
 their Bodies so much, that it was not easy to wound them. In the mean time  
 the *Romans* appeared, and prepared to force the Lines of the *Macedonians*; and  
 upon the first Onset, *Philip's* Army perceived, that their common Arms were  
 useless. They therefore threw them aside, and defended themselves only with the  
 Stones, which were thrown up in Heaps before them. Then the *Legionaries* co-  
 vered themselves with their Bucklers, and received the Showers of Stones upon  
 them without Danger. The Noise the Stones made on their Helmets, intimidated  
 them for some little time; but afterwards they closed, formed a sort of *Tortoise*,  
 and advanced towards the Enemy in good Order. Some engaged the *Phalanx* in  
 Front, others gained the Eminencies, and took it in Flank, and broke into it.  
 But it was difficult to fly in a woody Country; so that the *Romans*, with their  
 Sabres, cut in pieces a great Number of *Macedonians*, *Thracians*, and *Cretans*;  
 and thereby found it more easy to get through these formidable Passes, than *Philip*  
 had imagined.

DLIV.  
 L. CORNELIUS  
 LENTULUS,  
 P. VILLIUS  
 TAPPULUS,  
 Consuls.

By his Victory, *Sulpicius* opened himself a Way into *Eordæa*, where he lived  
 some time on free-Quarter; and after he had ravaged the *Province*, fell down  
 on <sup>82</sup> *Elymea*, and at length penetrated into <sup>83</sup> *Orestides*, towards *Epirus*. A  
 City named <sup>84</sup> *Celetrum*, which was strongly situated, seemed to lay conveniently  
 for the *Roman*. It stood by a great Lake, which almost surrounded it, so that  
 there was no Way to it, but over a very narrow Neck of Land. The Inhabitants  
 depending on the Situation of their City, at first denied the *Pro-Consul* Entrance.  
 But when they saw the *Legionaries* advance towards their Gates, and begin an  
 Assault, they became more tractable, they then surrendered to the *Romans*. From  
 thence the *Pro-Consul* marched into the Country of the *Dassaretæ*, and there  
 took the City of <sup>85</sup> *Pelium* by Assault; carried off all the Slaves he found;  
 plundered the Houses; gave the Inhabitants their Lives; and placed a strong Gar-  
 rison there. *Sulpicius* thought *Pelium* a Key to *Macedon*, and therefore judged it  
 would be of Service to keep it.

AND after *Sulpicius* had ravaged so many *Provinces*, and gained so many Ad-  
 vantages over *Philip*, he at length returned towards *Apollonia*, from whence he had  
 first set out. It is probable, the Arrival of his Successor, was what recalled him

<sup>79</sup> The *Osphagus* is thought to have been only a little Brook, which ran into the *Erigonus*, at a little Distance from *Bryanium* and *Pellina*.

<sup>80</sup> The River *Erigonus* rises in the Mountains of *Illyricum*, runs through a part of *Pæonia*, and falls into the River *Axius*, after it has been enlarged by several Rivers falling into it. It is now called *Vistrizza*.

<sup>81</sup> The Name of *Eordæa* was common to two Cantons in *Macedon*. One was in *Mygdonia*; the other, which is here spoken of, bordered upon the Countries of the *Taulantiæ* and *Dassaretæ*.

<sup>82</sup> The Territory and City of *Elymea*, belonged to *Macedon*. *Strabo* shews us the Situation of both. *Elymea*, or *Límia*, as he calls it, bordered upon *Pelagonia*, *Eordæa*, and the Country of the *Dacriopes*. The River *Haliacmon* watered this Country

of the *Elymiotes*. This is the River which is now called *Pelacus*, according to *Sophian*. But *Mercator* calls it *Platamona*. It rises in the Mountains of *Candavia*, and falls into *The Thermaic Gulph*, or *The Gulph of Salonichi*.

<sup>83</sup> *Orestides* then belonged to *Epirus*; but it was afterwards annexed to *Macedon*. It is now a part of the Country which the Moderns call *Canina*. See Vol. 3.

<sup>84</sup> *Celetrum*, a City in the West of *Macedon*, bordered on *Orestides* and *Eordæa*.

<sup>85</sup> The City of *Pelium* in *Macedon* was built on the Extremity of *The Lake Lychnis*, now *Lago del POCrida*. Its Situation, according to some Geographers, agrees well enough with that of *Bichlixa*.



thither. This *Consul* had tarried a great while at *Rome*, and suffered a Subaltern Year of to rob him of the Honour of a glorious Campaign. *Villius* had taken Advantage of the Custom, which the Vanity of the *Consuls* had lately introduced; had continued long in the Capital, and did not arrive in *Macedon* till Autumn. Then the *Pro-Consul* delivered up the Army to him, but he found them mutinously inclined. The old Soldiers, whom the Republick had employed first in *Africa*, then in *Macedon*, complained of the length of their Services, and demanded to be dismissed. This was a just Demand; but it was made in a mutinous and seditious manner. These Mutineers, who were two thousand in Number, had voluntarily come from *Africa* to *Macedon*; and yet they pretended, they were forced to it. They had loudly complained for some time past, and the *Pro-Consul* had not suppressed their Murmurs with Rigour enough. And now these Mutineers had left their Colours, and would no longer obey their Commanders. Ought our Tribunes, said they, to have engaged us to have gone on board the Fleet, to bring us into these Countries? What signifies it, whether they use Violence, or not, since the time of our Services is expired? Shall we be continually led from Country to Country, sometimes to the South, and sometimes to the East? Shall our Labours never be at an end? Shall we never see Italy again? Our Fatigues have made us grey before our time; and the Blood we have lost by our Wounds, has reduced us almost to a fainting Condition. And shall we not be suffered to prolong the Remains of our Days, as much as we can, among our Relations, and in our Fathers Houses? The *Consul* did not deny their Request to be reasonable; but he disliked the seditious manner in which they demanded to be dismissed. Let these seditious Men, said he, return to their Colours; and then, I promise, I will procure the Senate's Consent, for the dismissing the old Soldiers. If they expect to incline us to favour them, it must be done by Submission, and not by revolting. And it is not at all surprising, that *Villius* should not perform any Enterprize, which gave Lustre to his *Consulate*, considering that he was at the Head of a Company of Malecontents, and the Season far advanced.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLIV.  
L. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
P. VILLIUS  
TAPPULUS,  
Consuls.

§. XXIV. But *Philip*, as soon as he saw that *Sulpicius* left off pursuing him, and that *Villius* gave him time to breathe, took Advantage of this favourable Opportunity. Besides the *Romans*, three neighbouring Nations had declared War with him. The *Dardani*, under the Command of *Pleuratus* their King, had entered his Dominions through *Pelagonia*, and laid it waste. And on another side, those *Ætolians*, with whom *Philip* had endeavoured to enter into an Alliance, had at length joined with the *Romans*, since the Battel of *Ocitolophum*. The artful *Damocritus* had prevailed on his Nation to favour *Rome*, which he judged strongest; had joined *Aminander*, the King of the <sup>86</sup> *Athamanes*; and the *Ætolians* and *Athamanes* together, had made an Irruption into *Macedon*. So that *Ætolia* and *Aminander* had fallen on *Macedon* one Way, and the *Dardani* another. Nevertheless, *Philip* found it easy to repulse the former, and conquer the latter; notwithstanding that the *Ætolian* Army was strong enough to lay Siege to <sup>87</sup> *Cercinium*, a City of <sup>88</sup> *Magnesia*, which they took, and made all the Inhabitants Captives. This alarmed all the Nations, who dwelt round *The Lake* <sup>89</sup> *Bæbeis*; and they fled to the Mountains. The Country was deserted, and the *Ætolians* finding no more Booty there, fell upon the Province of <sup>90</sup> *Perræbia*. There they took the City of <sup>91</sup> *Cyretia*, by Assault, and plundered it.

<sup>92</sup> *Mallæa*

<sup>86</sup> The *Athamanes* had then a distinct District of their own. *Thessaly*, *Epirus*, *Acarnania*, *Ætolia*, and *Doris*, surrounded it on all sides. And therefore some have made it a part of *Thessaly*, others of *Epirus*. *Pliny* places it in *Ætolia*. See Vol. 3. Nay some, according to *Stephens*, make it a part of *Illyricum*, though there was a considerable Distance between those Countries.

<sup>87</sup> *Cercinium* stood at the Foot of Mount *Ossa*, near *The Lake Bæbeis*, between *Scotssua* and the *Macedonian Sea*.

<sup>88</sup> *Magnesia* anciently contained that little Country, which lies at the eastern Extremity of *Thessaly*, between *The Gulph of Armiro*, and *The Salonic*

*Gulph*. The Name of *Magnesia* was also given to a neighbouring Promontory, which *Sophian* calls *Capo Verlichi*; but it is most commonly called *Cape St. George*.

<sup>89</sup> See what we have said of *The Lake Bæbeis*, which some improperly place in *Bæotia*, Vol. 3. It is now *The Lake of Ezero*, according to *Sophian*.

<sup>90</sup> The *Greeks* gave the Name of *Perræbia* to a little Country, on the eastern Borders of *Pelassgiotis*, near the River *Peneus*, and Mount *Olympus*.

<sup>91</sup> *Ptolomy* reckons *Cyretia* among the Cities of *Estiotis*, a Country in *Thessaly*. *Sanson* places it between the Rivers *Pamissus* and *Guralius*. The former



Year of  
R O M E  
DLIV.  
L. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
P. VILLIUS  
TAPPULUS,  
Consuls.

92 *Mallæa* also surrendered to the *Ætolians*, and made an Alliance with them. Then *Aminander* was for turning their Army against 93 *Gomphi*, which was nearer to *Athamania*. It was but weakly guarded, and they would not have found it difficult to have made themselves Masters of it. But the *Ætolians*, who were more greedy of Spoil, than of Glory, chose to pillage *Theffaly*, rather than take a City, which was convenient for the *Athamanes*. This *Aminander* resented; but dissimbled his Resentment, and did not separate from his Allies. Only he admonished them to encamp with Caution; to guard themselves with good Trenches; and not lay down on the bare Ground, without any Regularity or Order. The prudent King had Reason to be apprehensive, that the *Ætolians* might be destroyed by a sudden Attack, and their Ruin produce his own. But his wife Advice did not correct the Negligence and Rashness of his Allies. He therefore encamped separately; and whilst the *Ætolians* were laying down on the Grass at Noon-day, designing to spend the rest of the Day in drinking, in an Enemy's Country, and within reach of 94 *Phæcadum*, *Aminander* seized a Hill about five hundred Paces from the *Ætolians*. This was a very prudent Step. *Philip* came on a sudden, and found the *Ætolian* Army in Disorder. Some were rambling about the Country in search of Booty. Others were intoxicated with Wine, or heavy with Sleep, and not in a Condition to fight. *Damocritus*, and other Commanders, upon the first Alarm, took care to awaken some, order others to Arms, and dispatch others to gather together the Soldiers dispersed in the Plain. But they could scarce rally six hundred Men, Horse and Foot, to make Head against the Enemy. The rest fled towards *Aminander's* Camp. So that it is easy to judge, that *Philip's* Troops could find no Difficulty in cutting in pieces an handful of Men, tumultuously assembled. And now the *Macedonians* were already advancing in good order towards the Camp of the *Athamanes* to force it; but *Philip* sounded a Retreat. His Horses were out of Breath, and his Infantry harrassed with the long March they had taken to surprise the Enemy. Besides, all the *Phalanx* was not yet arrived. As soon as the *Macedonians* were assembled together, and *Philip's* Army had taken some rest, the King led it against the new Camp, which the *Ætolians* had just finished in great haste. As long as the Enemy continued in their Station, the *Ætolians* made a good Appearance. They drew up their Men on the Rampart, and set Guards at the Avenues to the Camp. But as soon as the *Macedonians* approached, the Cowards, who were bold only in plundering, were seized with Terror. They instantly took to their Heels, and fled to the Camp of the *Athamanes* for Refuge. This was a bloody Retreat, and cost the *Ætolians* dear. Had not the Night screened the Fugitives from *Philip's* Pursuit, even *Aminander's* Camp had been taken and pillaged. But in the Night, the *Ætolians* and *Athamanes* decamped together; and under the Conduct of *Aminander*, the two shattered Armies escaped through By-ways, and returned into their own Countries.

AND whilst the King was in Person dispersing the confederate Armies, *Athenagoras* was pursuing the *Dardani*. They were upon their march out of *Macedon*, when the *Macedonian* General attacked them in the Rear. Upon which the *Dardani* faced about, and prepared for a Fight; but *Athenagoras* was not inclined to come to a pitched Battel. He found it more for his Advantage to attack the Enemy suddenly by Fits, and harass them in their Retreat. His Troops were light-armed, and the *Dardani* were loaded with heavy Burdens. Nevertheless, he slew but few of them. They marched in close Battalions, and not one of them quitted their Ranks. By this means they had more wounded than killed, and not one of them was made Prisoner of War. This double Advantage somewhat comforted

former is now called *Pontigna Maranta*, and runs into the *Penæus*. The latter, which some improperly make to run in *Boeotia*, is now called *Onocero*. It rises in *Pelasgiotis*, runs through it, and then falls into the *Penæus*. The new Maps place *Cyretis* at the Conflux of the *Pamifus* and the *Penæus*.

92 *Mallæa*, or as others *Mallia*, was the Name of a City and Canton of *Pthiotis*, near Mount *Oeta*, and *Thermopylæ*. Near it were the hot mi-

neral Waters, which *Catullus* mentions in his *Elegies*. Some have thought, that *The Maliac Gulph*, now *The Gulph of Zeston*, took its Name from its Neighbourhood to this City.

93 The City of *Gomphi* belonged to *Estiotis*, a Country of *Theffaly*. It is placed in the Maps between the Springs of the *Pamifus*, and the *Ion*.

94 *Phæcadum* was a City of *Theffaly*, which stood near the River *Eunicasus*, between *Pindus*, a Mountain of that Province, and the River *Penæus*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLIV.

L. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
P. VILLIUS  
TAPPULUS,  
Consuls.

Livy, B. 31.  
c. 44.

*Philip*, after the Losses he had suffered by *Sulpicius*. Having been victorious over the Allies of *Rome*, he thought, all things considered, that he had made the Success equal between the *Romans* and himself. And indeed, the *Macedonian* still kept the Field, after a two Years War; and his Forces were but a little weakened 95.

§. XXV. AT Sea, the *Roman* Fleet had also some Success. In the beginning of the Campaign, *L. Apustius* had taken upon him the Command of it, by order of the *Pro Consul*. He had sailed from *Corcyra*, had doubled the Cape of 96 *Malea*, and had joined *Attalus's* Fleet, off of 97 *Hermione*. And then the *Athenians* no longer restrained their Resentments against *Philip*. These Succours raised their Courage; and they expressed their Fury in a mad manner. These *Athenians*, who are so famed for their Wit and Politeness, were really mere Triflers, who changed with every Wind, and whose Levity carried them to shameful Excesses. Their Orators governed them as they pleased; the artful Harangues they heard tickled their Ears, and led them captive, often contrary to the true Interest of their Republick. Indeed, *Philip* had deserved their Hatred; but they pursued it in a very ridiculous manner. They themselves had formerly been such extravagant Flatterers of this King of *Macedon*, that they had not only erected Statues to him, and his Ancestors of both Sexes; but had even sacrilegiously instituted Festivals, Sacrifices, and Priests, to their Honour. But now, out of a childish Revenge, they destroyed these very Idols, which they had worshiped. In an Assembly of the *Athenian* People, a Decree was juridically passed, which lessened the *Greek* Nation in the Esteem even of their Friends. It was this; That all the Statues of *Philip* and his Ancestors should be broken in pieces; That the Inscriptions made to their Honour should be erased; That their Altars should be broken down, their Festivals abolished, and their Priests degraded; That even the Places where any Monuments had been erected to their Glory, should be detested; That no other Monuments should ever be erected there; That the Priests should for the future pronounce Curses against *Philip*, and the *Macedonian* Armies, in the religious Assemblies; That if any one had any thing to offer in further Derogation of *Philip*, he should be heard, and his Request granted; That any Citizen, who should have the Impudence to excuse *Philip*, and speak in his Favour, should instantly be put to Death; and lastly, That *Philip* and his Race should be treated in the same manner, as it was formerly ordered the Posterity of 98 *Pisistratus* should be. These were the only Acts of Hostility the *Athenians* committed against *Philip*; the only Revenge they executed upon him. They were Cowards in Action; and bold only in Words. The *Roman* Fleet, which put in at *Pyræus*, were Witnesses of

95 This was not the Case with the Nations who had united against the King of *Macedon*. The *Ætolians*, become less formidable since their last Defeat, seemed to have abandoned the League. Most of them, seduced by the Promises of *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, had entered into his Service at the Solicitation of *Scopas*. This General had been sent by the King of *Egypt* to *Ætolia*, to raise new Levies there, in his Master's Name. The finest Youth in the Country had lately enlisted themselves under his Banners, to the Number of 6000 Foot, besides the Cavalry he got into his Service by the help of his Money. In short, all the *Ætolians*, who were fit to bear Arms, were preparing to leave their Country to go into *Egypt*. *Damocritus* therefore, who was then *Prætor*, was forced to have recourse to Menaces, to put a Stop to the Fury of the People, in enlisting themselves into a foreign Service. Whether so general a Desertion made him apprehensive of the Ruin of *Ætolia*; or whether, if he consulted his own Interest more than that of his Country, he was dissatisfied with *Scopas's* Offers; he even treated the Mutineers with Severity.

96 The Cape of *Malea*, now *Capo Malio*, runs out into the *Ægean* Sea, in the most southern Borders of *Laconia*. The Channel by it is very dangerous. In some modern Maps, it is called *Capo Malea di Sant Angelo*.

97 *Hermione* was a City situated on the Sea-Coast of *Argolis* in *Peloponnesus*. It was famous for the Temple the *Greeks* had erected there to *Ceres* and *Proserpine*. There now remains nothing of it but Ruins. Near it is *The Promontory of Scylla*, now called *Capo Schilli*. It divides *The Saronic Gulph*, or *The Gulph of Engia*, from *The Gulph of Napoli*, which was formerly called *The Gulph*, or *Streights of Argolis*. It also had the Name of *Hermione*, from the City of that Name, which was near it.

98 *Pisistratus*, after several great Revolutions in Life, had usurped the sovereign Power in the Republick of *Athens*, his Country, and abolished the ancient Government. This got him the Name of Tyrant, and made his Memory odious in a Republick jealous of her Liberty. Nevertheless, he continued absolute till his Death. Then the *Athenians*, resolute to shake off this Tyranny, signally vented their Rage against his Posterity. It cost *Hipparchus*, his Son and Successor, his Life. *Hippius*, his other Son, was expelled *Athens*, almost at the same time that the *Romans* abolished the regal Government, and proscribed it, by the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*. And the rest of the Tyrant's Family fared no better.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLIV.  
L. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
P. VILLIUS  
TAPPULUS,  
Consuls.

the unworthy Proceedings of this inconstant People. They were as profuse of their Encomiums on the King of *Pergamus*, and the *Roman* Admiral, as of their Reproaches on the King of *Macedon*; and were as ready, upon the least Alteration of Affairs, to substitute the Names of *Attalus* and the *Roman* Senate, in the room of that of *Philip*.

§. XXVI. *APUSTIUS* and *Attalus* did not continue long in the Port of *Athens*. They sailed towards the Island of *Andros*, and appeared before the City of *Gaurium*, where the *Macedonian* had a pretty strong Garrison. They at first summoned the Inhabitants to surrender, but the latter were not Masters of their own Walls. *Apustius* and *Attalus* were therefore forced to make a Descent to besiege the City on both Sides; and the former invested it with his *Romans*, and the latter with his *Asiatics*. Then the Courage of the Besiegers, who prepared to make an Assault, struck Terror into the Besieged, who had never yet tried the Force of *Roman* Valour. The latter abandoned the City, and retired to the Citadel; which the *Macedonians* held out for two Days, and on the third capitulated. They were suffered to march out of the Town, with one Garment only, and to embark in order to be transported to *Delium*<sup>100</sup> in *Bæotia*. The Place itself was for *Attalus*, and the Spoils of the Inhabitants for the *Romans*. The Island of *Andros* was then peopled only with *Macedonians*; and *Attalus* not only kept them in his new Conquest, but suffered those who had been carried into *Bæotia* to return into their own Country. By this means the Island still continued to be peopled. From *Andros* the Fleet sailed towards the Island of *Cythnos*. The only City in it received a *Macedonian* Garrison; and *Apustius* made some Attempts upon it. But not thinking it worth the Trouble of a long Siege, he turned towards the Continent of *Attica*. Off of *Prasie*<sup>101</sup>, he found twenty Frigates of the Island of *Issa*<sup>102</sup> in the *Adriatick*; and they joined his Fleet. Then the Admiral made a good use of them, in sending them to ravage the Country of the *Carystii*<sup>103</sup>, which was the most eastern Point of *Eubæa*. From thence *Apustius* made all the sail he could to *Scyrus*<sup>104</sup>, and stood in for the Island of *Icus*<sup>105</sup>, where a strong North Wind obliged him to tarry some Days. Then continuing his Course, he came down to *Scyathos*<sup>106</sup>, a City (in an Island of the same Name) which *Philip* had lately dismantled, and there they reaped some Fields. From thence they coasted round *Thrace*, and arrived at *Mendis*, a Village in the Territory of *Cassandria*<sup>107</sup>; and as they were doubling the Cape on which *Mendis* stands, a great Tempest arose, which exceedingly distressed the Fleet. The Gallies lost their Masts and Riggings, and the Crews were forced to go ashore. And as one Misfortune often draws on another, when the Troops were landed, and attempted the Siege of *Cassandria*, the *Macedonian* Garrison charged them furiously, and repulsed them. However, the Fleet was refitted well enough to be able to bear the Sea; and coasting along by *The Promontory of Canastrum*<sup>108</sup>, appeared at length before *Acanthus*<sup>109</sup>, a City of *Macedon*, near

<sup>99</sup> *Gaurium*, which *Livy* also calls *Gauzeleon*, was a maritime City, and a Port in the Isle of *Andros*.

<sup>100</sup> The City of *Delium* stood on the Sea-Coast of *Bæotia*, over against the *Euripus*, between the Rivers *Asopus* and *Ismenus*. It is now buried in Ruins.

<sup>101</sup> The City of *Prasie* was near *The Promontory of Sunium*, or *The Cape of the Pillars* in *Attica*. We must not confound it with another City of the same Name in *Laconia*, near *The Saronic Gulph*.

<sup>102</sup> See what we say of *Issa*, Vol. 3. It is now called *Lissa*, and by others *Great Isola*. *Anne Comnens*, in the History of the Reign of her Father *Alexis*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, calls it *Jesa*.

<sup>103</sup> The City and Territory of the *Carystii*, in the Island of *Eubæa*, or the *Negropont*, lay between the two Promontories, of *Caphareum*, and *Geregium*. The Moderns call the former *Capo Chimi*, *Capo Figgera*, and *Capo Doro*. The latter is called in the new Maps *Gerefo*.

<sup>104</sup> *Scyrus* is a little Island in the *Ægean* Sea, over against *Negropont*, from which it is about twenty eight thousand geometrical Paces distant. It is easy to know it by its triangular Form. It to this Day retains the Name of *Scyro*.

<sup>105</sup> The Island of *Icus* which is in the *Archipelago*, South of *Peparethos*, is not remarkable for any thing.

<sup>106</sup> See our Account of the Situation of *Scyathos* above.

<sup>107</sup> See what we have said of the Origin and Situation of the City of *Cassandria*, Vol. 3.

<sup>108</sup> The City of *Canastrum*, near *Cassandria*, in *The Toronaic Gulph*, gave Name to the Cape, which is to this Day called *Capo Canistro*.

<sup>109</sup> *Acanthus* belonged to *Macedon*, though *Thucydides* has placed it in *Thrace*. It stood on the Borders of *The Gulph of Strymon*, near that to which the City of *Singum* gave the Name of *Singæus Sinus*. The former is now called *The Gulph of Monte Savello*; the latter, *The Gulph of Contessa*.

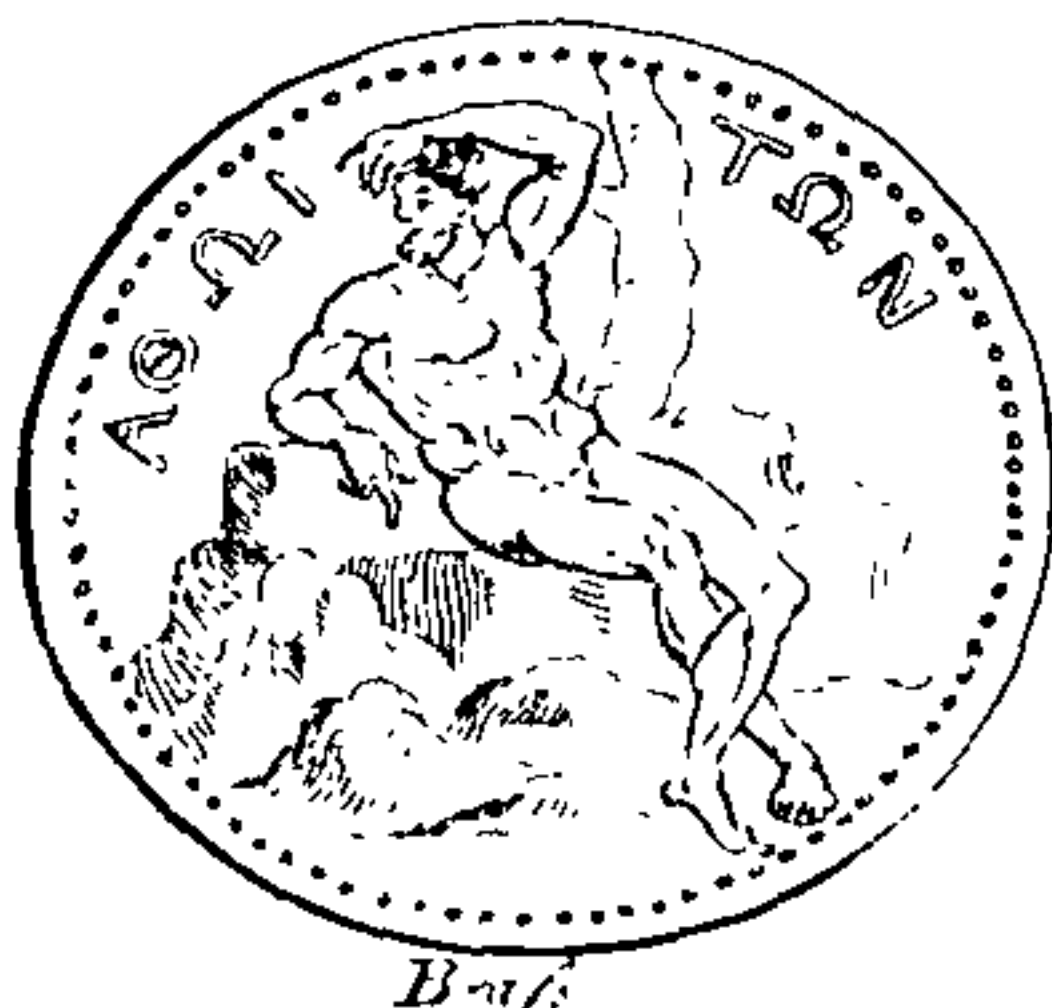
<sup>110</sup> *Athos*.



110 *Athos*. And the Ships were so laden with Spoils, that they sailed no farther; but after they had coasted along by the Island of *Scyathos*, returned to *Eubæa*. There King *Attalus* and *Apustius* left the main Body of their Fleet; and with a Squadron of ten Gallies, entered *The Maliac Gulph*, and came to 111 *Heraclea*, in *Theffaly*. This was the Place where the King of *Pergamus*, the Roman Lieutenant General, and a Deputy from *Ætolia*, named *Sipyrrhicas*, had appointed to meet; and here they treated about an Alliance. The *Ætolians* pretended, that *Attalus* ought to oblige himself by the Treaty, to furnish them with a thousand Men, as long as they should make War with *Philip*; but the King of *Pergamus* declined it, and gave this Reason for his Refusal. *When Philip was ravaging my Territories, and had no Regard to things sacred or prophane, you continued unactive. You consulted only your own Interest; and now I shall do the same.* But as this Answer might have offended the *Ætolians*, and drawn them off from the Confederacy, the Roman mollified them. He gave them good Words, and dismissed the Envoy full of Hopes, and well satisfied with his Negotiation. As soon as it was over, *Attalus* and *Apustius* returned to their Fleet, which was augmented with twenty *Rhodian* Ships, all double-decked. *Agessimbrotus* had the Command of the latter; and this Reinforcement made the Generals resolve to go and besiege *Oreos*, a City Subject to the *Macedonians* on the Eastern Coast of *Eubæa*. The Place was strong, and because an Attempt had been formerly made upon it, *Philip* had put a strong Garrison in it. 112 *Oreos* was defended by three Citadels, one on an Eminence which overlooked the Sea, and two others in a Valley. They were all three contained within the same Compass of Walls, which were flanked by them. The Siege was ordered to be carried on in this manner. *Agessimbrotus*, with his twenty *Rhodian* Ships, was appointed to go and cruise between the Cape 113 of *Phalasia*, and the Island of *Scyros*,

Year of  
R O M E  
DLIV.

L. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
P. VILLIUS  
TAPPULUS,  
Consuls.



B. 7.

110 Mount *Athos* extends itself towards the Confines of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, between the two Gulphs just mentioned. It took its Name, according to *Stephen of Byzantium*, from a Giant, who dwelt near it. Its Summit, say *Mela* and *Solinus*, reaches above the Region of the Clouds and Rain. We may judge of its Height, by what the ancient Writers say of it. They affirm, that in the Summer-solstice, its Shade reached above three hundred *Stadia* from it, as far as to the Market-place of *Myrina*, a City in the Island of *Lemnos*; which was so far from *Athos*, according to *Stephens the Geographer*. *Solinus* reckons the Distance to be seventy seven thousand geometrical Paces; and *Pliny*, eighty six Miles. This Mountain is joined to the Continent by an *Isthmus* of half a League long; and it runs into the *Ægean* Sea, where it forms a Peninsula, which contains the Space of seventy five thousand geometrical Paces, that is, twenty five common *French* Leagues. It is reckoned to be a hundred and fifty Miles in Circumference. Formerly *Xerxes*, to make a Way for his Fleet, cut through the *Isthmus* that joins *Athos*, to the Continent. The Channel he made there was fifteen hundred Paces long, and broad enough for two Ships to sail a-breast, as we are told by *Herodotus* B. 7. *Stephens the Geographer* is the only Person who mentions a City of *Athos*, situated at the Foot

of the Mountain; and he calls the Inhabitants of this City *Athoita*. Their Name is preserved on the reverse of a Medal, which bears this Inscription, *ATHOITON*. The Giant, whom we there see sitting on a Rock, either represents the Giant beforementioned, or *Jupiter*, whom the neighbouring Nations worshiped on this Mountain. *Eusebius* says, that they worshiped this God under the Name of *Athos*. What *Mela* says of a City built on the Summit of the Mountain, and the long Life of its Inhabitants, has all the Air of mere Fiction, invented at Pleasure. Mount *Athos* is now known only by the Name of *Monte Santo*, since the *Greek* Monks, to the Number of above five thousand, divided into different Cells have made this the Place of their Retreat.

111 The City of *Heraclea* here spoken of, was that which was called *Heraclea Trachynia*. See Vol. 3. It is now called *Comaro*, according to *Piner*.

112 See what we have said of *Oreos*, one of the chief Cities of *Eubæa*, Vol. 3.

113 The Cape of *Phalasia*, lay on the Eastern-Coast of *Eubæa*, at a little Distance from *Oreos*. In most Copies of *Livy* we read *ad Zelasium miserunt*, instead of *ad Phalasiam*, &c. But none of the ancient Geographers knew any thing of Cape *Zelasium*. Nor are we better informed of the City of



Year of  
R O M E  
DLIV.  
L. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
P. VILLIUS  
TAPPULUS,  
Consuls.

*Scyros*, to keep in Awe the *Macedonian* Fleet, which rode at Anchor at a little Distance. *Heracledes* commanded it, and his Orders were to undertake nothing, but to watch the Motions of the Enemy, and take Advantage of their Negligence. And as for *Attalus* and *Apustius*, they were to carry on the Attacks jointly. The *Romans* undertook to attack the City on the Side next the Sea; and *Apustius* to batter it, on the side of the Valley between the two Citadels. But the Siege was pursued in a different manner in the two Armies. The *Romans* made use of *Covered Galleries*, *Mantelets*, and *Tortoises*, in their Approaches, and of *Rams*, to make a Breach. The *Asiatics* made use of *Ballistæ* and *Catapultæ*, with which they threw Stones and Darts of a great Weight; and at the same time, set Miners at work to throw down the Wall. The Besieged defended themselves with Courage. Not that they were many more in Number than formerly; but *Philip's* Threatnings and Promises to the Garrison, increased the Valour of the Soldiers. In short, the *Macedonians* made so good a Resistance in *Oreos*, that the Besiegers could not hope to make themselves Masters of it for a great while; and therefore they turned the Siege into a Blockade. But *Apustius* and *Attalus* were not idle, while the *Romans* and *Asiatics* suspended their Works. They left as many Troops as were necessary before the invested Place; and embarked the rest of their Army on board their Ships. The *Roman* sailed to <sup>114</sup> *Larissa*, a maritime City of *Phiotis* in *Thessaly*, took it by Assault, and pillaged it. The Garrison retired into the Castle; but *Apustius* did not besiege them there. He loaded himself with Booty, and returned to his Camp. In the mean while *Attalus* surprised the City of <sup>115</sup> *Ægeleon*, near a Cape of that Name, not far from the *Euripus*. The Inhabitants did not expect so sudden an Invasion. They thought the Enemy's Fleet engaged before *Oreos*. And indeed, the King of *Pergamus* returned thither, and the Besiegers prepared to renew the Attacks. The Garrison which defended the City, were worn out with Fatigues, and their Constancy just exhausted. The *Roman Rams* had just made a large Breach. The *Asiatics* had, by sapping, thrown down a good part of the Wall, which they attacked. *Attalus* gave the *Romans* the Signal of it. The Assailants, without Delay, entered the City in the Night, through both the Breaches at the same time. And thus the Inhabitants and the Garrison had no Asylum to retreat to, but the Castle, which overlooked the Sea; and they fled thither. But they did not long defend themselves there. Two Days after, the *Oreans* surrendered at Discretion. *Attalus* had the Place, and the *Romans* got all the Booty they could in this fine Conquest. *Apustius* also claimed for his Republick, all the Prisoners of War which had been taken; and with this Expedition ended the Enterprizes of the Fleet. *Autumn* was far advanced; it would be impossible to live in the Seas on the Coasts of *Eubœa*, in the first Days of the Winter; and the Admirals therefore carried back their Fleet to *Pyræus*. *Apustius* left thirty of his Ships there, and sailed from thence with the rest, to return to *Corcyra*. As for *Attalus*, he continued some time in *Attica*, there celebrated the Feast of *Ceres* <sup>116</sup>, in whose Mysteries he was <sup>117</sup> initiated, and then returned to *Asia*.

§. XXVII. AND now *Philip* was the only Person, who still kept the Field. He besieged a City, whose Situation was surprising; and therefore the Natives of the

of *Isthmia*, situated above *Demetrias*, and over against Cape *Zelasium*, according to our Author. The Historian seems to have meant *Oreos*, which was originally called *Isthia*, as we have observed Vol. 3. So that the Copyists have by a Mistake, not uncommon with them, put *Isthmia* instead of *Isthia*. We have therefore followed *Gronovius's* Correction. Instead of *ad Zelasium miserunt* [*Isthmie id super Demetriadem Promontorium est peropportune objectum*] he thinks we ought to read, *ad Phalasiam miserunt* [*Isthie id super Demetriadem, &c.* It is true, that Cape *Phalasia* was over against the City of *Oreos*, or *Isthia*, and that the latter was directly opposite to *Demetrias*. This is the Situation given them in the Maps, and this is the Sense that ought to be put upon *Livy's* Words.

<sup>114</sup> The City of *Larissa* here spoken of, is that which *Livy* and the Ancients call *Cremaste*, to distinguish it from another *Larissa*, the Capital of

*Pelagiotis*, and situated on the Banks of the *Peneus*. See what we have said of these two Cities, Vol. 3. They are now both called *Larizzo*.

<sup>115</sup> It is supposed, that the City of *Ægeleon* here spoken of by *Livy*, is the same Place that the ancient Geographers call *Aligæ*. It stood on the western Coast of the Island of *Negropont*, over against *Oreos*, and near Cape *Leon*, on the South-side, opposite to Cape *Sanium*. This is the Cape which *Strabo* calls *Leuce Aligæ*, and which, according to *Sophian*, is now called *Capo Montello*.

<sup>116</sup> This Festival was that which the *Athenians* called *The Great Mysteries of Ceres Eleusina*. See above.

<sup>117</sup> The *Athenians* could not bestow a greater Mark of Distinction on the King of *Pergamus*, than to initiate him into these Mysteries. By the Laws of their Religion, this was the Privilege of *Greeks* only.



Country called it <sup>118</sup> *Thaumacia*, that is, *Prodigious*. *Thaumacia* stood in *Thessaly*, on the Banks of *The Maliac Gulph*, on an Eminence, from whence might be seen a vast Plain, called by the Natives *The Hole of Thessaly*. But the chief Strength of *Thaumacia* was not so much the Height, as the Nature of the Rock on which it stood. This Rock stood apart from all others on all sides, but had some other sharp ones near it, which made the Access to it very difficult. Nevertheless, *Philip* endeavoured to take this Place, which the *Ætolians* defended. After many Fatigues, he, with the Help of his Machines, was got to the Foot of the Wall, and was battering it with his *Ram*, to make a Breach. But the *Ætolians* sent Succours to the Besieged, under the Command of *Archidamus*; and this brave Officer forced his Way through the *Macedonian* Army, and carried a Body of *Ætolians* into the Place. Then he terribly harrassed the Besiegers; made unexpected Sallies upon them Day and Night; had great Advantages as he fought from the upper Ground; and destroyed *Philip's* Works and Machines. Till at length the Difficulties he found in the Siege made the King of *Macedon* say, that the Place was not worth the Pains and Time necessary to take it. Besides, the Winter was approaching, and the Rigour of the Season would not suffer him to keep the Field long. He therefore decamped, and returned to *Macedon*, where all was quiet, till Spring. *Philip* made Preparations for the next Campaign; and the *Consul Villius* spent the Winter at *Apollonia*. The latter had gained little Glory to himself, and few Advantages to his Republick, during his *Consulate*. However, he expected to be continued General of the Army he commanded, till the new *Consul* arrived; and said, *His Delays in coming to his Province, will give me an Opportunity to recover the time I have lost*. But he found by Experience, that whoever would gain a Reputation in Arms, must seize all Opportunities. When once neglected, they often vanish, and never return more.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLIV.

L. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
P. VILLIUS  
TAPPULUS,  
Consuls.

§. XXVIII. As for the *Consul Lentulus*, he continued in *Italy*. It had been his Province to go and make War with the *Gauls*, who were rising up in Arms again, after their Defeat the last Year. *Hamilcar*, the *Carthaginian* General, who was thought dead, again disturbed the Repose of the Republick. Under his Direction, a terrible Storm was raised, on the side of the *Alpes*. And it was *Lentulus's* Province to quell these continual Sallies of the inconstant *Gauls*. But he chose rather to continue at *Rome*, and enjoy the Honours of his Office there, than lead his *Legions* against a troublesome Enemy, which he ought to have suspected. And yet it does not appear that the Senate had many Affairs before them. All was quiet on the side of *Africa*. The *Carthaginians* had just sent part of the Sum *Scipio* had demanded of them, when he granted them a Peace. But these *Africans*, who had ever been suspected of ill Faith, insomuch, that their Deceit was become proverbial, gave a fresh Instance of it in this first Payment. The Money they sent had too much Alloy. This the *Quæstors* perceived; and found, upon melting it down, that it wanted a fourth Part. Nevertheless, the publick Treasury did not suffer by it. The *Carthaginian* Agents <sup>119</sup> were forced to borrow

Zonaras, B. 9.  
c. 15.

Lic. B. 32.  
c. 2.

<sup>118</sup> *Thaumacia* was a City of *Phocis* near Mount *Othrys*. It is vulgarly called *Thaumaco*.

<sup>119</sup> The *Carthaginian* Agents demanded at the same time, the Restitution of the Hostages *Rome* had demanded as Sureties for preserving the Treaty of Peace concluded between the two Nations; and the Senators consented to return them a hundred of these Hostages. But they deferred setting the rest at Liberty, till such time as the Republick had given fresh Proofs of her Fidelity. In the mean while, they assigned them a more convenient Place of Residence than *Horta*, a City of the *Possii*, to which they were confined. They were removed to *Setia* and *Ferentinum*, which were more agreeable Places. At the same time the *Romans* renewed the Treaty of Alliance *Lucius Marcins* had concluded with the People of *Cadix*, after the Death of the two *Scipio's*. The Senate suffered the Inhabitants to live under their own Laws, without being subject to the Jurisdiction of a *Præfect*; which hard Condition had been imposed upon them, when they surrendered to the Republick. But this new Favour was the Reward of their Zeal for the Interests of *Rome*. *Cicero*, in his *Oration for Cornelius Balbus*, mentions this Treaty. He says, that *Cadix* became

afterwards a *Roman Colony*, and by that means had a Senate of its own, which gave Law to it. *Pliny* adds, that it was one of the fourteen Cities, where the *Spaniards* used to assemble their general Diets, which represented the whole Nation. The *Conscript Fathers* had also no less regard to the Representations of the Deputies of *Narnia*. They complained of the Impudence of some mean Vagabonds, who had intruded themselves into their *Colony*, and usurped all the Privileges of it; and they desired that these New-comers might be expelled, and their Places filled up, as the Senate thought fit, according to their settled Rules. And the Request of the *Narnians* was granted. *Publius*, and *Sextus Ælius Patrus*, and *Cornelius Lentulus*, were immediately chosen *Triumviri* by the *Consul*; and they went to the Place, and there provided for the Order and Welfare of the *Colony*. The Intruders were expelled, and their Places given to Natives of the Country. The People of *Cosa* also desired the same Favour; and moreover, that the Number of their *Colony* should be increased, and their Districts extended. But the *Roman Republick* did not think fit to comply with their Request.



Year of Money at *Rome* upon Interest, to supply the Deficiency. *The Conscript Fathers* also settled the Affairs of *Bruttium*; and above all, gave the strictest Charge, That the *Pro-Prætor Minucius* should search very diligently after the Robbers, who were accused of plundering the Temple of *Proserpine*. They were first brought to *Rome* to be tried there, and then sent back to be executed on the Spot.

DLIV.  
L. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
P. VILLIUS  
TAPPULUS,  
Consuls.

Zenobas, B. 9.  
.. 15.

BUT these were Affairs of too little Consequence to require the Presence of the *Consul*; and yet *Lentulus* long delayed his Departure from *Rome*. The *Gauls* took Advantage of these Delays, and their Army, commanded by *Hamilcar*, began to be formidable. *Cn. Bæbius*, as has been before observed, had been nominated *Prætor* of *Gaul*; and the Troops he commanded there, in the Neighbourhood of *Ariminum*, were not considerable. His whole Army consisted only of five thousand Auxiliaries; and this Body was not sufficient to go, and wage War with the *Gauls*, in their own Country. He therefore obtained Leave of the Senate to put himself at the Head of the *Legions*, till the Arrival of the *Consul*, who was too dilatory in leaving *Rome*. *Bæbius* fancied he also could obtain the Honours of a Triumph by one single Victory; and the Example the late *Prætor Furius* had given him, animated him, to signalize himself in the same manner. But all Men are not alike. *Furius* had as much Prudence as Valour; whereas *Bæbius* was more rash than discreet. He ventured to penetrate into the farthest part of *Insubria*, with the *Consular* Army; and there his Troops were surrounded by the Army of the *Gauls*, who fell on the *Romans* unexpectedly. The *Prætor* was routed, lost about seven thousand Men, and left the *Roman Provinces* exposed to the Mercy of *Hamilcar*. The Conqueror marched all over the Countries in Alliance with *Rome*, took and razed *Placentia*, and made a terrible Devastation in the Country. And then the *Consul* awoke out of his Stupefaction. He left *Rome* in great haste; came and took upon him the Command of the Army allotted him; found it in a bad Condition; and treated the rash *Prætor* with exceeding great Severity. *Bæbius* was severely reproached, and at length, by the *Consul's* Order, forced to leave his *Province* ignominiously, and return to the Capital. In the first Ages of the Republick, the Faults of so bad a General would not have escaped unpunished. But now, as *Rome* was become more illustrious, she was also more indulgent. She even connived at the Delays of the present *Consuls*. Neither *Villius*, nor *Lentulus*, were punished for Negligence or Male-Administration; though neither of them had done Honour to the *Consulate*. *Rome* wanted a great Man, who by great Prudence of Conduct, joined with as much Valour, should recover her Affairs, and put her in as flourishing a Condition as ever; and such a one Providence raised up for the next Year, in the Person of *Quinctius Flaminius*. We shall soon see him act a great Part in his Republick <sup>120</sup>.

<sup>120</sup> *Livy* mentions again, in this Year 554. an Heap of those childish absurd things, which he vents as usual for Prodigies of the first Rank, or manifest signs of the Will of the Gods. By his great care in collecting, all that Superstition and false Reports published of this kind, one would think it to have been the main Design of his History, to relate these trifling things. Of this sort, is what he says of a Laurel that took Root, and sprung up suddenly in the Poop of a *Roman* Galley, during the *Macedonian* War. *Florus* also relates the same Fable in his History. Probably the Laurel was privately planted there by the General himself, or at least by his Order. It was in all Probability an Artifice to raise the Confidence and Courage of his Troops. This Plant was the Symbol of Victory. The Soldiers probably took it for a Prediction of the Defeat of the *Macedonians*, and easily persuaded themselves that Heaven interested itself in favour of *Rome*. These sorts of Stratagems were often put in practice, and paved the Way for great Events. The *Romans* also gave as signal Proofs of their Superstition, in the same Year, at the *Ferie Latine*.

It has been already observed in the first and second Volumes, that all the Nations in *Latium* joined in this Solemnity. The general *Rendezvous* of the *Romans* and *Latins* for this Ceremony, was on *The Hill of Alba*. There the two Nations joined together in offering Sacrifices to *Jupiter Latialis*. The Custom was to offer up a Bull, the Flesh of which was distributed to all present, without Distinction. All looked on it as a Pledge of the Union established between the two Nations ever since the time of *Tarquin the Proud*. But it now happened, that the Deputies of *Ardea* were forgotten in this Distribution; and they brought their Complaints before the Senate. But this was an Affair, which was cognizable only by the *Pontifices*. It was therefore referred to their Judgment, and they declared the Ceremony defective, and ordered it to be repeated a second time. This they thought a necessary Precaution to fortify fearful Minds, which always imagined great Calamities would follow upon the least Omission, or Irregularity, though undesigned, in the Ceremonies of Religion.



# T H E

# Roman History.

## B O O K XXXVIII.

§. I. **L**ENTULUS was recalled, to preside in the Great Elections. The Year of Centuries were assembled in the *Campus Marcius*; but they were prevented giving their Suffrages, by two *Tribunes of the People*. These were *M. Fulvius*, and *Manius Curius*; who shewed a great Zeal for the old Customs of the *Romans*, in chusing *Consuls*. Generally speaking, it was not usual at *Rome*, to raise any Persons to this first Dignity, who had not first passed thro' the three *Curule Magistracies*, as previous Steps to it. Whereas two of the present Candidates for the *Consulate*, had not appeared in the Posts which were thought previously necessary for those who would obtain it. In Confidence of their Merit, *Flamininus* and *Ælius* had put their Names among the Candidates; and the People inclined to favour them. The former was of a *Patrician*<sup>1</sup> Family, which we must take care not to confound with that<sup>2</sup> of the *Flamini* which was *Plebeian*. The latter, named *Ælius*, had not only the Surname of *Pætus*, but likewise that of *Catus*, which was given him on account of his Wit. Neither of them had yet been raised to the *Prætorship*; and *Flamininus* had not even been *Ædile*. Besides, he was too young, being but thirty Years of Age. The two *Tribunes of the People* therefore insisted, That these Defects were sufficient to exclude them from the *Consular Dignity*. *It is irregular*, said they, *to promote Men to the highest Station, who have nothing to plead for them, but their Nobility, or great Talents. Who will concern himself about the Ædileship, and Prætorship, if these Offices are no longer made Steps to the Consulate? These inferior Magistracies train Men up for the superior; and give them Opportunities to shew their Abilities for the supreme Dignity.* These Words, which were not the Dictates of Passion, but of a sincere Love for the publick Good, at least suspended the Elections for a time; and *Fulvius* and *Manius* often renewed their Opposition in the *Comitia*. Till at length, the Affair devolved on the Senate, who knew the Merit of the two Candidates. *Flamininus* had signalized himself in Arms from his earliest Youth. He had been *Legionary Tribune* under *Marcellus*, during the Wars with *Hannibal*. After the Recovery of *Tarentum*, he had been made Governour of that City, and its District. Since that time, he had been *Quæstor* at *Rome*. In all these Employments he had

Year of  
R O M E  
DLIV.

L. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
P. VILLIUS  
TAPPULUS,  
Consuls.

<sup>1</sup> The *Quinctian* Family, from which *Flamininus* descended, was considerable among the *Patricians*, and had already furnished the Republick with some Great Men. Nevertheless, it is true that there was a *Plebeian* Family of that Name. *Cicero* speaks of it, in his *Oration for Aulus Cluentius*; as *Livy* does, B. 24. *Lucius Quinctius*, the *Tribune of the People*, a Man of mean Extraction, was descended from it.

<sup>2</sup> It is certain that *Plutarch*, or rather his Copyists, were mistaken in the Surname of *Flamininus*, which they took to be the same Name as *Flaminius*. And the Abridger of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, falsely ascribed to *Cornelius Nepos*, falls into a much greater Mistake, when he affirms that *Titus Quinctius Flamininus*, as he calls him, was the Son of that *Flamininus*, who was killed at the Battel of the Lake *Thrasimennus*.

<sup>3</sup> *Cicero, Tusculan. B. 1.* speaks with Advantage of this *Ælius*, and says he was a Man of consummate Prudence. *Egregie cordatus homo Catus Ælius.* *Pomponius*, in his Book, *Of the Origin of the Civil Law*, ranks this Magistrate among the most ancient and most famous Civilians. Besides his Commentary on *The Twelve Tables*, he also published a Body of Civil Law, which the *Romans* called *Jus Ælianum*. *Ælius's* Family was *Plebeian*, as we have elsewhere observed.

<sup>4</sup> One of *Quinctius's* Ancestors had probably distinguished himself by some Act of Religion, whilst he was *Flamen*; and from thence had the Surname of *Flamininus*, which was continued in his Branch of the Family.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLIV.  
L. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
P. VILLIUS  
TAPPULUS,  
Consuls.

distinguished himself, sometimes by his Courage, and sometimes by his prudent Administration. And lastly, his Nobility was not the least of his Qualifications; to which we may add, that he was naturally of a complaisant insinuating Temper, and well formed to obtain by Persuasion, what he could not have gained by Force. As for *Ælius*, he was known to be very expert in Business. He was not surnamed *Catus*, for nothing. There was a kind of Delicacy in his Prudence. Besides, he had acquired the Reputation of a great Lawyer, and had perhaps then published his learned Commentaries on *The Twelve Tables*. The *Conscript Fathers* therefore gave way to their Prepossessions in favour of two Candidates, who had distinguished themselves so much in different Ways; and pronounced, *That the Election ought to be left to the free Suffrages of the People, since there was no Law yet in being, which prescribed any Age, or made the Ædileship or Pratorship necessary, in order to obtain the Consulate*. Whence it is certain, that *The 6 Leges Annales*, or *Annal Laws*, were not then passed; since only a Custom <sup>7</sup>, and that not a general one, obstructed the Election of the two Candidates. In Obedience to the Decree, the *Tribunes* dropped their Opposition; and *T. Quinctius Flaminius*, and *Sext. Ælius Catus*, were elected, and proclaimed, *Consuls*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLV.  
T. QUINCTIUS  
FLAMINIUS,  
SEXT. ÆLIUS  
CATUS, Con-  
suls.

§. II. THE first Business of the new Heads of the Republick, was to introduce into the Senate the Ambassadors of *Attalus*. The Affair they came to treat about seemed a very nice one. *Antiochus* King of *Syria* was, at bottom, an Enemy to the *Romans*; but he shewed them all manner of Respect, and preserved all Appearances of Friendship. His Ambition was boundless. He had already extended his Schemes of Conquests to *Egypt*, *Greece*, and the Coasts of *Asia*. *Philip* of *Macedon* had, underhand, made a Treaty with him; but it was kept very secret. Their Fear of the *Romans* hindered both from making it known. Nevertheless, *Rome* was not imposed upon by it. She saw thro' the Secret; but did not make known her Suspicions. It was dangerous for her to draw upon herself so powerful an Enemy as the King of *Syria*, whilst she was at War with *Philip*. The Republick therefore waited to shew her Resentments against *Antiochus*, till such time as her War with *Macedon* should be ended. Nevertheless, an urgent Occasion presented itself, for the *Romans* to act against the *Syrian*, and treat him as an Enemy. This Conqueror had very lately entered the Territories of *Attalus*, that faithful Friend to their Republick, Sword in hand; and the King of *Pergamus* sent these Envoys to make Complaint of it to the Senate. The Ambassadors were admitted into the House, and the Chief of them spoke thus: *You are not ignorant, Conscript Fathers, with what Zeal the King my Master has maintained your Interests. His Fleet, and his Land Forces, have been continually fighting and conquering with you. Shall then the ambitious King of Syria hinder the Pergamians from doing what they earnestly desire, that is, join their Arms with yours? All their Countries are pillaged by the Syrians, and all their Ports invested by their Ships. If then you desire that Attalus should have a Share in your Victories, send some of your Troops to guard his Dominions. Or if not, give the King of Pergamus leave to carry back his own Fleet, to the Defence of his Country*. This was thought by the Senate to be a very reasonable Proposal; and their Resentment against *Antiochus* was visible. But nevertheless, they dissembled it; and gave the Ambassadors of *Attalus* this wise Answer: *Rome is not ignorant of the Affection and good Offices of the King your Master; and she will, at a proper Season, both acknowledge and reward them*.

<sup>5</sup> *Flaminius* gained himself great Reputation for Prudence, says *Plutarch*, when being *Decemvir*, he was ordered by the Senate to conduct two Colonies to the Cities of *Cosa* and *Narnia*.

<sup>6</sup> We shall hereafter speak of the famous *Annal Law* which *Lucius Villius*, the *Tribune of the People*, got passed, in the Year of *Rome* 572, say some; or 574, as others. And from hence, the Lawgiver and his Descendants had the Surname of *Annalis*. The Design of this Law was to fix a certain Age, before which it should not be lawful, for the future, for any to enter upon the *Curule* Offices. This was the surest Way to restrain the Ambition of Multitudes of Pretenders, who would not have been ashamed to have canvassed for the Magistracies before they were well arrived at the Age of Manhood.

<sup>7</sup> Before the Promulgation of *The Annal Laws*, says *Cicero*, *Philippic*. <sup>5</sup> Custom had the Force of a Law. His Words are these: *Legibus enim annalibus cum grandiore ætate ad consulatum constituebant, adolescentiæ temeritatem verebantur . . . . Itaque majores nostri veteres illi admodum antiqui, Annales non habebant, quas multis post annis attulit ambitio, ut gradus essent petitionis inter æquales*. Nevertheless, the *Romans* did not scruple varying from this ancient Custom, in certain Cases, where in the publick Good was concerned, and when the Services and great Qualities of the Competitor made it necessary, to deviate from it, in his Favour. This History has already produced some Instances of it, and will produce more hereafter.



But as to the Succours you demand of us, it is with Concern that we find it out of Year of our Power to grant them. Antiochus is our Friend and Ally. And therefore we R O M E will not send you Succours to act against him. Neither will we indeed, on the DLV. other hand, forbid the King of Pergamus to carry back his Fleet to his Dominions. T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS, SECT. AELIUS CATUS, Con-uls. He is his own Master, and the Republick does not pretend to exercise a tyrannical Power over her Allies. All we can do in Favour of Attalus, is to send an Embassy to the King of Syria, to tell him, That it will be very grateful to us if he will spare the Dominions of the King of Pergamus, and put an End to the War: And this shall be done. Is it not just that the Allies of Rome should live in the same Concord with one another, as they do with her? And this Promise of the Senate was not delusive; an Embassy was accordingly sent; and Antiochus's Respect for the Roman Name brought him to a Compliance. He withdrew his Troops from the Territories of the King of Pergamus; and Attalus sent the Romans the usual Succours, and assisted them in Person, as before.

Livy, B. 32. c. 8.

Plut. Life of Cato.

§. III. THE new Consuls had not yet drawn Lots for their Provinces, but now they happened to be determined in such a manner, as tended most to the Interest and Glory of the Republick. Flamininus had the Conduct of the War in Macedonia, his Collegue that of the War in Italy. And as for the Prætors, the Jurisdiction in Rome, and the Care of guarding the neighbouring Cities, fell to Cornelius Merula; Sicily, to Claudius<sup>8</sup> Marcellus; Gaul, to C. Helvius; and Sardinia to Cato; who made so great a Shew of his Virtues, in his Government, that we cannot pass them over in Silence. No Man ever put on a greater Air of Reformation than Cato did, in his Administration in Sardinia. He himself laid aside all the Luxury and Pomp of his Predecessors. He neither demanded any fine Tents of the Islanders for Encampments, nor a numerous Train of Attendants, nor any valuable Furniture. His Table was frugal; and his Dress, and Manner of Life, plain and simple. He travelled on foot, attended with only one Domestick, who carried his Robe, and a little Vessel for Libations. And after he had begun a Reformation with himself, Cato thought he was at Liberty to insist rigorously on the Service of his Troops, and the regular Administration of the Cities under his Government. As he was severe to himself, he was rigid to others. Justice was administered with great Exactness; and the Governour was inflexible in the Punishment of Offenders. And what was the Consequence? Cato caused the Roman Government to be both feared and beloved in Sardinia. In short, he gave himself no other Relaxation and Amusement, but that of hearing the Instructions of the Poet Ennius<sup>9</sup>, whom he found in the Island, or rather<sup>10</sup> brought thither. Under this Great Master, Cato learnt the Greek Sciences, and perfected his fine Genius by Study. The Prætor banished Usurers from his Province, and reduced the Interest of Money almost to nothing.

But the Prætorship of Marcellus, in Sicily, had none of these Marks of Auste-

<sup>8</sup> Claudius Marcellus went into Sicily, at the Head of four thousand Foot, and three hundred Latin Horse. The Republick assigned Cato three thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse. And these two Armies, which had been raised in Latium, were more than sufficient for Sicily and Sardinia. These two Provinces were subdued, and no longer in Danger of Hannibal's Hostilities, since the Conclusion of the Peace between Rome and Carthage. So that the two Prætors no sooner came to their Provinces, but they disbanded the old Troops, both Cavalry and Infantry, which had served the Republick for some Years past.

<sup>9</sup> See what we have said of Ennius, Vol. 3. p. 2. To which we shall here add, what Cicero has said in Praise of this Poet, in several Parts of his Works, but especially in his Piece entitled Brutus, and his Treatise Of Old Age. Ennius, says he, was much superior to Nævius, tho' he received Assurances from the Works of the latter, and borrowed several things from them. The Sublimity of his Genius, the Vivacity, and happy Sallies of Imagination which animate his Descriptions, and the sublime Strokes that appear in his Images, do in a manner conceal the Roughness of his Versification. This Fault was pardonable, in an Age when the Rules of Diction were not yet

known. The Latin Poetry was then, if I may so speak, unformed, and in its Infancy. But if he had not the Honour of perfecting it, he had at least the Glory of the Invention. Before his time, the Muses were banished to Forests, and Huts; but he found an honourable Retreat for them in Rome. Indeed we don't discover all Sorts of Elegancies in those Fragments of his, which are conveyed down to us; but nevertheless, some of his Verses are deemed worthy of the Augustan Age. Virgil himself is not ashamed to adopt several. He thought them so many Pearls, which he had collected out of Ennius's Trash. Horace, Ep. 19. B. 1. says of this Poet, That he was fired with Poetic Fury, by Bacchus instead of Apollo.

Ennius ipse pater nunquam nisi potus, ad arma  
Profuit dicenda.

<sup>10</sup> Ennius spent Part of his Life in Sardinia. In the Beginning of this Year, he was about forty, having been born about the 514th Year of Rome, as we have observed, Vol. 3. Cornelius Nepos pretends that Cato stopped in Sardinia, after his Quæstorship in Africa was expired, became acquainted with Ennius there, and brought him from thence to Rome. If so, it is certain he returned to that Island a second time, with his Patron.

rity;



Year of rity, which were so suitable to the former Times of Old Rome. He was exceed-  
 R O M E ing well born; and needed no Affectation to recommend him. The Son of the  
 DLV. Great *Marcellus* suffered all those Honours to be paid him, which the *Sicilians* had  
 T. QUINCTIUS decreed should always be paid to his Family. The *Syracusans* had instituted a Fes-  
 FLAMININUS, tival in Honour to *Marcellus*, called *Marcellea*. They had also erected a Statue,  
 SEXT. ÆLIUS in Memory of the Father of the new *Prætor*; and they now erected another in  
 CATUS, Con- Honour to the Son, and denied him nothing that he asked of them. By which  
 fuls. means, *Marcellus* was enabled to furnish the *Roman* Armies in *Macedon* both with  
 Cic. in Ferr. 4. Cloaths, and Provisions.

§. IV. As for *Flamininus*, he did not imitate his Predecessors, in delaying to set out for his *Province*, till his *Consulship* was almost expired. He chose rather to acquire himself a great Name there, than to enjoy the Pleasures and Honours of his Dignity in the Capital. The Campaign was scarce begun in *Macedon*, when *Flamininus* arrived there, with his Brother, *L. Quinctius*, for whom he had gotten an extraordinary Commission to command the Fleet. They set sail from *Brundisium*, and landed at the Port of *Corcyra*, with eight thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse, all Men inured to War; whom the *Consul* had chosen out of the Troops which had formerly served in *Europe*, and *Africa*, under *Scipio*.

*FLAMININUS* appears, from this time, to have taken that Great Man for his Model. And it is certain, that if he did not equal him, he came very near him. These two Generals were much alike for their Sweetness of Temper, and great Address. They were also both Men of Valour, Probity, and good Breeding. Nevertheless it is certain, that the Conqueror of *Hannibal* as much surpassed the Conqueror of *Philip*, as the *Carthaginian* General did the King of *Macedon*. It may also be affirmed, that *Flamininus's* Conduct was a little too strict a Copy after that of *Scipio*; as will now appear, in the Progress and Conclusion of this War, which did not cost the *Romans* so much as that of *Carthage*.

WHEN *Flamininus* landed, his Predecessor *Villius* had already begun the Campaign. So that the *Consul* was forced to cross a Part of *Epirus*, in order to take upon him the Command of the *Roman* Army. *Villius* did not expect to see his Successor so soon in *Macedon*. He had judged of *Flamininus* by himself, and had taken it for granted, that he would not arrive till the latter Season. It was therefore a Surprise to him, to hear of *Flamininus's* Arrival, almost as soon as he had heard of his Election; and he was deprived of his Command, in the first Month in the Spring.

§. V. *PHILIP* was already come out of his Winter-Quarters; after having spent the Winter in Preparations and Negotiations. The Enemy he was engaged with, would give him no Rest, by Sea, or Land. He could scarce confide in his *Macedonians*; and was yet more fearful of the Revolt of his Allies. But he reconciled both to him, by wise Precautions.

*HERACLIDES*<sup>11</sup>, one of his Ministers and Generals, was become odious to *Macedon*, and *Philip* had sacrificed him to the Resentments of his People. He was put in Irons, and kept closely confined in Prison. *Achaia* had been attached to *Philip*; but she had lately been disobliged. Besides, her Alliance with him was but for one Year. *Philip* had therefore sent an Embassy to the *Achaëans*, to enter into Engagements with them. He had restored them<sup>12</sup> *Orchomenos*,<sup>13</sup> *Heræa*, and *Triphylia*, which he had formerly appropriated to himself; and he had restored the<sup>14</sup> *Megalopolitans* the City of<sup>15</sup> *Aliphera*, to which they

Livy, B. 32.  
6. 5.

<sup>11</sup> This *Heraclides*, by Birth a *Tarentine*, had insinuated himself into *Philip's* Favour; and by his pernicious Counsels, soon corrupted the good Inclinations of the young Prince. He abused his Credit with his Master, so as thereby to lead him into all Excesses; and this enraged the *Macedonians* against *Heraclides*, whom they knew to be the Author of all their Misfortunes.

<sup>12</sup> The ancient Geographers mention two Cities, which were both called *Orchomenos*, one in *Boeotia*, the other in *Arcadia*. The Place where the former stood, is now called *Orchomeno*, according to *Pines*. It anciently reduced the *Thebans* so low, as to force them to pay Tribute to this City; which was famous for The Oracle of *Tiresias*, the Fountain of

*Acidalia* consecrated to *Venus*, and the Temple erected in honour of *The Graces*, by *Eteocles*. The latter City of this Name, which is here spoken of, was like a Peninsula, being almost surrounded on all sides by a Marsh; according to *Dion. Hal. B. 1. Strabo* says, that neither of these Cities was in being in his time.

<sup>13</sup> See what we have said of the Cities of *Heræa* and *Triphylia*, Vol. 3.

<sup>14</sup> *Megalopolis*, or as others, *Megalepolis*, was then the Capital of *Arcadia*. *Niger* calls it *Londario*; and *Suphian*, *Leontari*.

<sup>15</sup> The City of *Aliphera* belonged to *Arcadia*. It is placed towards the Confines of *Elis*, on the Banks of the River *Alpheus*.



laid Claim<sup>16</sup>; and by these Means, he kept these Nations in his Alliance. The King had also disciplined his Troops; and spent the Winter in exercising his own *Phalanxes*, and his Mercenaries. He had likewise, as soon as the Season would permit, sent *Athenagoras* with his Auxiliaries, and light-armed Soldiers, to take Possession of the<sup>17</sup> narrow Passes of *Chaonia*<sup>18</sup>, on the Western Borders of *Epirus*; thereby to prevent the *Roman* Armies passing that way.

AND, as his last Precaution, *Philip* in Person, with his best Troops, had pitched his Camp in a Place so fortified by Nature and Art, that it seemed to be beyond the Power of Valour itself to force it. On the Eastern Borders of *Macedon*, about ten *Stadia* from *Apollonia*, there was a River, which the Ancients called *Asius*<sup>19</sup>, or *Æas*. It ran between two Mountains, one of which bore the Name of *Æropus*, and the other that of *Asnaus*<sup>20</sup>; in so narrow a Valley, that the Way between the Hills and the River was so streight, that an Army could not have marched thro' it without Difficulty, tho' it had neither been fortified nor guarded. And in this Place *Philip* had chosen to pitch his Camp. He had pitched it on the *Æropus*, between inaccessible Rocks, and had fixed his own Quarters on an Eminence, which was seen at a great Distance. As for the Pass itself, he had set one of his Lieutenant-Generals to guard it; and to make it the more impregnable, had cut Trenches before it, built Towers, and erected *Ballistæ* and *Catapultæ* to play on the Enemy.

§. VI. THIS was the Situation of *Philip's* Camp, when *Villius* set out from *Corcyra*, to meet the Enemy. *Charops*, a great Man among the *Epirots*, was wholly in the Interest of the *Romans*; and he had given the *Pro-Consul* an Account of the Place where the *Macedonians* were posted. *Villius* marched that Way, and came at length within five thousand Paces of the Enemy's Camp. There he left his *Legions*, and went in Person with a Guard to view the King's Entrenchments. The Passes which the *Macedonian* had seized, and the Preparations made in his Camp, terrified him; and he called a Council of War, to deliberate whether it would not be better to march a great Way about, and enter *Macedon* the same Way *Sulpicius* had done the last Year. The Officers were divided in Opinion; *Villius* continued some Days undetermined; and during this suspense, he received Advice, that his Successor was arrived at *Corcyra*, and would soon come and put himself at the Head of the Army.

ACCORDINGLY *Flamininus* made haste to the *Roman* Camp; and came thither before the eight thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse, which he had brought from *Italy* with him. As soon as he came, the new General took upon him the Command of the Troops, dismissed<sup>21</sup> *Villius*, and held a Council of War. And then

<sup>16</sup> In most Editions of *Livy*, we read *Eleis Alipheram*, instead of *Megalopolitis Alipheram*; as if *Philip* had restored *Aliphera* to the *Eleans*, and not to the *Megalopolitans*. Whereas, the King of *Macedon* was not at all concerned to put the *Eleans* in Possession of this City, since they were entered into a Confederacy against him. *Pigonius* observed this, and therefore corrected the Text; and he makes *Livy* say, that *Philip* restored this City to the *Acheans*. But *Gronovius* rejects this Correction, and puts another in its room, which is better proved, and more agreeable to the History. He thinks, and with Reason, that the Historian believed that *Aliphera* was restored to the *Megalopolitans*. *Livy* expressly says. B. 28. that they claimed it as their Right, and a part of their Demefus. Indeed, the *Eleans* had seized it, with the Assistance of the *Atolians*. But some time after the King of *Macedon* besieged it, and recovered it; And from that time, resolved to restore it to its old Masters. This the *Roman* Historian himself affirms, in the Book last quoted. By this means *Philip* gradually gained over the *Athenians* to him, they being united in Interest with the *Megalopolitans*.

<sup>17</sup> These Passes were at a little Distance from *Antigonis*, according to *Livy*. This City belonged to *Chaonia*. Several think it took its Name from

*Antigonis* its Founder. Its true Situation is now unknown.

<sup>18</sup> *Chaonia* is a little Province, now called *Canina*. See Vol. 3.

<sup>19</sup> To this River, which *Strabo* calls *Asius*, the ancient Geographers give several other Names. *Ptolomy* gives it that of *Lois*; *Appian* that of *Alorus*; *Pliny* and *Mela* that of *Æas*; *Dio* that of *Avas*; *Sequester* that of *Aras*; and *Plutarch* that of *Anius*. It falls into the *Adriatick* Sea, above *Apollonia*. It is now called *Polina*. According to *Plutarch*, the River which ran between the two Mountains, was the *Asus*, and not the *Asius*. These two Rivers are near one another. The first, says that Author, is pretty like the *Pineus* in Figure and Rapidity. See above, p. 24. Note 54.

<sup>20</sup> The *Æropus* and *Asnaus* seem to have been two Branches of the *Pindus*, a famous Mountain in *Macedon*, or rather *Epirus*. It reaches from the Mountains anciently called *Acroceraunii*, to *The Streights of Thermopylae*, that is the length of above a hundred thousand geometrical Paces, from South-East, to North-East.

<sup>21</sup> According to *Valerius of Antium*, *Villius* gained himself much Glory in his Campaign in *Macedon*. This General, according to him, after he had taken a Compass, that he might the more safely

Year of  
R O M E  
DLV.  
T. QUINCTIUS  
FLAMININUS,  
SEXT. ÆLIUS  
CATUS, Con-  
suls.



Year of then it was a second time debated, whether it was most proper to go to the  
 R O M E Country of the *Dassaretæ*, and enter *Macedon* from thence; or without march-  
 ing so far about, force the Pass which *Philip* had seized. The former was the  
 safest, the latter the shortest, and most glorious Method. *Flamininus* considered,  
 That if he took this great Compass, he must march a great Way from the Sea,  
 and should find it the more difficult to subsist his Army; and That if the King  
 should be obstinately bent on continuing in this Pass all the Year, the Campaign  
 would be spent in such Enterprizes, as could gain him but little Honour. And  
 the *Roman* being a Man of Courage, and fond of Glory, he resolved to drive the  
 Enemy out of his formidable Entrenchments.

DLV.  
 T. QUINCTIUS  
 FLAMININUS,  
 SECT. ÆLIUS  
 CATUS, Con-  
 suls.

Liv. B. 32.  
 c. 10.

THE great Difficulty was, the manner of putting this Design in execution. Forty Days had been already spent, in observing the *Macedonian* Camp, and taking fruitless Measures to force it. The two Armies languished away their time in Inaction, within sight of each other; and the *Romans* had not yet been able to draw the King into the open Field. And this Respite gave *Philip* hopes of procuring a Treaty of Peace with *Rome*, through the Mediation of the *Epirots*. To this end he solicited the chief Magistrate of the *Epirot* Nation, to procure him an Interview with the Consul. *Pausanias* and *Alexander* (one *Prætor*, and the other *Master of the Horse*, among the *Epirots*) complied with *Philip's* Request; and engaged *Flamininus* to give him an Interview. The two Generals came to the Banks of the narrowest part of the *Asius*, and there had a Conference, with the River between them. *Flamininus* first offered his Pretensions; and then it appeared with what Disinterestedness the *Romans* made War with *Macedon*. They demanded nothing for themselves. All they asked was in favour of *Greece*. The Consul only insisted, That *Philip* should restore the *Greeks* all their Cities, which he kept in his Power, together with all the Effects he had taken out of their Cities, or Fields; and That their Losses should be estimated by Arbitrators, and an Equivalent given them for them. *Philip*, on the other hand, did not refuse to restore the *Greeks* all the Cities he had conquered from them; but made a Difficulty of giving up those which his Father had taken from them, and which had fallen to him by Inheritance. And he consented to submit it to neutral Powers, to judge what Injuries he could have done the *Greeks*. To which the Consul briskly replied, *That there was no Occasion for any such Arbitration; That all the Mischief came from himself; and That as he had been the Aggressor, he ought to repair all Damages. What Cities then would you have me restore, said the Macedonian? All Thessaly, answered the Roman.* At which Words the King could no longer govern his Passion, but replied; *What more, Consul, could you have demanded of me, if you had conquered me?* Which said, he immediately broke off the Conference, and withdrew. Nay, he was strongly tempted to play his Machines on *Flamininus*, and overwhelm him with Darts.

§. VII. THE next Day Hostilities began. After several little Skirmishes between *Philip's* advanced-Guards and the *Romans*, the latter, who had always repulsed them, tried to enter into the Passes. They had the Advantage in their Arms, which were more proper for attacking; but the Enemy had all the Advantage of the Ground. They were guarded by the Rocks, which covered and sheltered them, as well as Parapets would have done. Their *Ballistæ* and *Catapultæ* were of great use to them in repulsing the Aggressors. Many were wounded on both Sides, without any Advantage to either, from this first Attempt; and the Night put an end to the Action.

DURING these Transactions, *Charops*, the *Epirot*, always watchful to favour the *Romans*, sent to the Consul a Shepherd, who knew all the Paths and By-ways over the Mountains into *Macedon*. He had long kept the King's Flocks in these

safely surprise the *Macedonian* Troops, threw a Bridge over the *Asius*, passed it, and forced the Defile. Then the two Armies came to a Battel, and the Victory was gained by *Villius*. Twelve thousand *Macedonians* were killed upon the Spot. He took two thousand two hundred Prisoners of War; and *Philip* was forced to save himself by Flight. The *Romans* also took from the Vanquished a hundred and thirty two Standards and two hundred Horses. The

Consul, in the Heat of the Action, made a Vow to build a Temple to *Jupiter*, in case the Republick succeeded. But probably, *Valerius* had no better Authority for this, than a false Tradition; or took it from some apocryphal Memoirs. At least, the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, which *Livy* says he had read with great Care, all agreed, that nothing memorable happened in *Villius's* Consulship.



Countries; and he assured the *Roman* General, that if he would commit a Detachment to his Guidance, he would lead it in three Days to the Top of the Mountains. *Charops* had left the *Consul* at Liberty to trust the Guide he sent him, or not, as he pleased; and had not taken upon him to answer for the Success of the Expedition. *Flamininus* therefore hesitated for some time, between Hope, and Fear; but at length resolved to run the Hazard of the Attempt. He ordered the Shepherd to be led bound before the Detachment; and sent with him four thousand Foot and three hundred Horse, under the Command of a *Legionary Tribune*. Their Orders were to march only by Night (for the Moon was then at full) and to hide themselves by Day in the Holes and Cavities of the Rocks; and to kindle Fires, for Signals, as soon as they should be got to the Tops of the Mountains. In the mean time *Flamininus* amused the Enemy with frequent Skirmishes.

Year of  
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FLAMININUS,  
SEXT. ÆLIUS  
CATUS, Con-  
suls.  
Plut. Life of  
Flamininus.  
Livy, B. 52.  
c. 11.

ON the third Day after the Departure of the Detachment, when no Body imagined it was come to the Place appointed, the *Consul* divided his Army into three Parts. With one he came and attacked the Enemy in the narrow Way, at the side of the River. The second crossed the Rocks towards the *Macedonian* Camp. And the third, with exceeding great Valour, climbed up the Ascent of the Mountain, over against the Camp, to drive thence the *Macedonians*, who guarded it. It must be owned, that the *Romans* acted rashly, in thus rushing into these Defiles, if they had not had Reason to depend on the Detachment guided by the Shepherd. However, the Battel was actually begun, when they saw the Smoke rising on the Hills; and that soon increasing, they from thence inferred, that the Stratagem had succeeded. Those in the Valley therefore fought with double Ardour; and those on the Mountain came down like a Torrent. They fell on the Flanks of the *Macedonian* Army, with a great Shout, which the Enemy did not hear, till the instant they felt their Blows. This therefore filled the *Macedonians* with Terror, and they fled. Their Troops were immediately put into Disorder, and their Camp abandoned; and had the Ground been more open and level, it would not have been difficult to have destroyed the whole Army. But the greatest part escaped cross the Rocks and Woods. The Enemy scarce lost more than two thousand Men in the Action. As for the King, he had no Regard to the Dignity of his Character, or the Example he ought to have shewn his Subjects. He was one of the first that fled; and after he had run five Miles, without looking behind him, he posted himself on a little Hill. There he halted; and finding that the Ways were so close and difficult, that the *Romans* could not pursue him farther, he sent some Officers into all the Roads to gather the Fugitives together, and bring them to him. So that his Troops were rallied; and after an inconsiderable Loss, <sup>22</sup> *Philip* retired to *Thessaly* for Refuge. However, the *Romans* had at least the Glory of having opened themselves a Way into the flat Country, Sword in Hand.

THIS Victory likewise produced other ill Consequences to *Philip*. Immediately after the Battel of the *Asius*, the *Ætolians* and the *Athamanes*, under the Conduct of *Amynder*, renewed their Ardour against the *Macedonians*. The former entered *Thessaly*, pretty near *Thermopylae*, through the Defiles of <sup>23</sup> Mount *Oeta*, and posted themselves on the *Sperchius*, a <sup>24</sup> River which runs into The <sup>25</sup> *Maliac*.

<sup>22</sup> *Livy* makes the King of *Macedon* go to a Place which was then called *Pyrrhus's Camp*. It was in *Stymphalia*, a little Country of *Epirus*, which was bounded to the North, by the Territory of the *Atintanes*; and to the East, by that of *Pelagonia*. From thence he continued his Rout towards Mount *Lingus*, which is one of the Branches of Mount *Pindus*. He made great Marches thither, for fear of being pursued by the Conqueror; and he encamped there for some Days, being in suspense whether he should take the Road to *Macedon*, or that to *Thessaly*. After he had long been in doubt what to do, he determined for *Thessaly*; entered *Esstiotis*; and first stopped at *Tricca*, a City on the Banks of the *Peneus*. This Place is to this Day called *Tricala*. There was a famous Temple in it consecrated to *Æsculapius*; in which were

hung up several Pictures, representing the several Diseases, the Cure of which had been ascribed, by the Persons recovered from them, to the Power of this God. And some Authors pretend, that he was born in this City.

<sup>23</sup> Mount *Oeta* (which the Moderns, and among others *Sophian*, call *Bunina*,) joined The *Streights* of *Thermopylae*, and The *Maliac Gulph*, to the Southern Borders of *Thessaly*. It is exceeding high; and according to *Pliny*, bore excellent *Hellebore*, as well as the *Helicon*. This was the Place where Fable supposed that *Hercules* had burnt himself on a Funeral-pile.

<sup>24</sup> The River *Sperchius* rises in Mount *Tymphrestus*, in the Country of the *Dryopes*, a People near *Thessaly*. After it has passed through the Canton of the *Ænians*, it takes its Course towards The *Maliac*.



Year of 25 *Maliac Gulph*. Then they took *Cymines* and 26 *Angeæ* at the first Onset; two R O M E Cities which lay between the *Enipeus* and the 27 *Apidanus*. From thence they advanced towards 28 *Callithera*, which shut her Gates against them. Nay, the Inhabitants made a Sally upon them, but being repulsed, retired within their Walls: And the *Ætolians*, content with their Victory, did not tarry to besiege the Place in Form. They fell 29 on *Theuma*, and 30 *Calathana*, two Towns, which they took and pillaged. *Achorræ* 31 surrendered of its own accord; and the Inhabitants of 32 *Xiniæ* did not wait for the Arrival of the Conquerors. They abandoned their City, and marched towards *Thaumacia*, but unfortunately fell in with a Party of the *Athamanes*, who slew them all. *Xiniæ* was pillaged; and *Cyphara*, a Castle 33 of the *Dolopes*, surrendered to 34 the *Ætolians*. *Aminander* also on the other hand, made Conquests, and committed Ravages in *Thessaly*. As he could little depend on the *Athamanian* Troops he commanded, he had obtained of the Consul a Reinforcement of Romans. With this Army he took *Phacium* by Assault, a City situated between the Mountains, which separate *Athamania* from *Thessaly*. From thence he went up to *Gomphi*, a Place which he had wanted to subdue the last Year; made an Assault upon it; and struck so much Terror into the Inhabitants, that they now surrendered at Discretion. Then this Conquest was followed by many others. *Argenta* 35, *Pherinum*, *Thimarum*, *Lisina*, *Stymon*, and 36 *Lampsus*, surrendered to the King of the *Athamanes*. So that the unfortunate *Thessalians*, on the South-side of the Country, fell a Prey to the two Nations in Alliance with *Rome*. At the same time another Conqueror was also approaching, and would soon enter this Region, which was the finest and most fertile Country of any in *Greece*.

§. VIII. *FLAMININUS*, followed by his victorious *Legions*, had taken his Rout through *Epirus*, in pursuit of the King of *Macedon*; and then the *Greeks* were made sensible of the Difference, between the Humanity and prudent Discipline of the *Romans*, and the brutal Cruelty of the *Macedonians*. The latter had given *Flamininus* a very different Character from what he deserved. *He is a Barbarian*, said they, *who is come into your Country, only to pillage your Cities, and sack your Provinces. Avarice and Cruelty attend him. His Design is to carry a great Number of Slaves from Greece, to people Italy, his own Country; and you will soon see your Wives and Children loaded with Chains, by this merciless Robber.* The *Greeks* were therefore much surprised, to see a Consul, in the Flower of his Age, of an agreeable Person, and sweet Air, who spoke *Greek* with Ease and Elegance, using his Victories with Moderation, and captivating their Affections by his Deportment. Besides, the Conference between *Flamininus* and *Philip*, on the Banks of the *Aous*, was divulged; and by it the People were convinced, that *Rome* was not an Enemy to *Greece*, but was only acting against the *Macedonian*, in favour of the *Greeks*. And as the Consul passed through *Epirus*, he confirmed the People, in the favourable Prejudices they had imbibed of him; and removed the Fears the *Macedonians* had given them. His Army marched through Places far distant from the Sea; and he found it difficult to get his Provisions brought so far to him. He could not make the usual Distribution of Corn among his Soldiers;

*Maliac Gulph*, into which it discharges itself, near a City and Promontory, which the Ancients call *Sperchia*, from the Name of the River. The City, according to some Moderns, is now called *Fetelia*; others call it, *Fiteleo*. As for the *Sperchius*, *Sophian* thinks it the same River which is now called *Agriomela*. Some distinguish it by the Name of *Selambria*.

25 See Vol. 3. of *The Maliac Gulph*, now *The Gulph of Zeiton*.

26 There are now no Footsteps remaining of these two Cities.

27 The *Apidanus*, after it has joined the *Enipeus*, runs into the *Peneus*. It rises in Mount *Pindus*. It is now called *Epideno*, according to *Father Briet*.

28 *Callithera* joins the Plains of *Pharsalia*, to the Eastern Banks of the *Apidanus*.

29 *Theuma* is thought to be the same Place as *Thauma*, a City in *Estiotis*, between *Angeæ* and *Tricca*.

30 *Calathana*, or as others, *Calatharna*, lay Eastward on the Banks of the *Peneus*, at an equal Distance from *Metropolis* and *Tricca*.

31 *Achorræ* belonged to *Estiotis*. It lay a little

more South than *Calatharna*, and almost upon the same Line, pretty near the *Peneus*.

32 We find the City of *Xiniæ*, South of that of *Angeæ*, near Mount *Pindus*.

33 Some place the Country of the *Dolopes* in *Epirus*, others in *Thessaly*. All we are sure of is, that these three Countries bordered on one another. *Ortelius* calls this Canton *Onoblacha*.

34 The *Ætolians* had appeared before *Metropolis*, a City of *Thessaly*, on the West-bank of the *Apidanus*. Whilst they were busy in ravaging the neighbouring Plains, the Inhabitants ran to Arms, and attacked the Pillagers. This unexpected Attack so disordered the *Ætolians*, that they could not form themselves, but fled, and made no more Attempts on that City.

35 All these Cities belonged to *Thessaly*. But we cannot give any certain Account of their Situations.

36 *Lampsus* stood on the Western Borders of *Estiotis*, South of *Gomphi*, and near the Springs of the *Peneus*.

DLV.  
T. QUINCTIUS  
FLAMININUS,  
SEXT. ÆLIUS  
CATUS, CON-  
suls.  
Lic. B. 32.  
C. 13.



nor did the Victuallers attend him. But notwithstanding these Inconveniencies, the *Legions* spared this fruitful Country. Tho' none of the little Sovereigns of it, except *Charops*, had been steady in Affection to the *Romans*; yet the *Consul* behaved himself with such Prudence among them, that he secured their Affection ever after. They compared the Abstinence and Frugality of the *Romans*, with the Violence and Greediness of the *Macedonians*. After the Loss of the Battel, the King had led them cross the Chain of Mountains which divides *Epirus* from *Thessaly*. This fine Country was almost entirely subject to him. Nevertheless, he deliberated whether he should tarry here, or retire into his Kingdom of *Macedon*. At length, he arrived near *Tricca*, and there began his Ravages. He lived upon his own Subjects, as if he had been in an Enemy's Country. He took out of the Cities <sup>37</sup>, all the Inhabitants that were able to follow him; burnt the Towns; gave the *Thessalians* leave to carry with them as many of their Effects as they could; and let his Soldiers pillage the rest. Indeed these Cruelties gave *Philip* himself Uneasiness; but being under a Necessity of abandoning *Thessaly* to the *Romans*, he chose to leave them Masters of a pillaged and desolate Country. As for himself, he drew near to *Macedon*, with his Troops, to cover it.

*FLAMININUS* was yet passing thro' *Epirus*, with surprizing Order and Discipline. That he might not want Necessaries, he ordered his Transports to leave *Corcyra*, and advance towards *The Gulph of Ambracia* <sup>38</sup>, from whence he could more easily bring his Provisions. His Army halted on <sup>39</sup> Mount *Cercetius*. He desired *Amynder* to come thither; not that he wanted his Troops to reinforce his own; but he hoped to have him for his Guide, to conduct him into *Thessaly*. And with this Design a great Number of *Epirots* followed the *Roman* Army, and offered to serve the *Consul* as Volunteers, among the Auxiliaries. Wherever he came, the *Epirots* ran to meet him, and were sincerely in his Interest. With this numerous Body, *Flamininus* entered *Thessaly*. The first City he attacked <sup>40</sup> was *Phaleria*, situated on the Banks of the <sup>41</sup> *Peneus*. It was a strong Place; *Philip* had left there two thousand *Macedonians* in Garrison; and these brave Men made all the Resistance that could have been expected from Men determined to die in Defence of the Ramparts. But on the other hand, the *Consul* thought himself very nearly concerned, both in Interest and Honour, not to fail of taking a City, on which depended the Conquest of all *Thessaly*; and his Constancy prevailed over that of the Besieged. He attacked the Place, Day and Night; and carried it: And this Conquest struck Terror into the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Cities. Those of *Metropolis*, and <sup>42</sup> *Piala*, came and submitted to the Conqueror; who gave them their Cities, and their Liberty. But that was not the Case of *Phaleria*. *Flamininus* first gave it up to be plundered by his Sol-

Year of  
R O M E  
DLV.  
T. QUINCTIUS  
FLAMININUS,  
SEXT. ÆLIUS  
CATUS, Con-  
suls.

Plut. Life of  
Flamin.  
Liv. B. 32.  
c. 15.

<sup>37</sup> *Philip* ravaged the Cities of *Phanium*, *Iresia*, *Enhydrium*, *Eretria*, and *Palephatus*, which were all in his Rout. The Goods of the Inhabitants, and the Fields, were all abandoned to the Avarice of the *Macedonian* Soldiers. The first of these Cities stood on the East Bank of the *Peneus*, in *Pelasgiotis*. The second is thought to be the same that *Ptolemy* calls *Ilesium*; which bordered on Mount *Olympus*. *Enhydrium*, a City in the same Country, seems to have taken its Name from the excellent Waters its Territory produced. *Eretria* had been built at the Head of the River *Enipeus*, which first falls into the *Apidaurus*, and afterwards into the *Peneus*. As for the City of *Palephatus*, we are ignorant of its Situation; the Ancients say nothing of it. Some have supposed, That the Copyists, by no uncommon Mistake, have put *Palephatus*, for *Palepharfallus*; which was the ancient Name given to *Pharsalia*, a City of *Phthiotis*, in *Thessaly*: *Strabo* gives it that Name. The City of *Phera*, was the only one that shut its Gates against the King of *Macedon*, and put itself into a Posture of Defence. *Philip* therefore, forced to give way to the Valour of its Inhabitants, passed by it. The Fear of a pursuing Enemy would not suffer him to stop. The City of *Phera* lay West of *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*, and South of the Lake *Babe*. *Leuclavius* calls it *Pere*; and *Brietius*, *Sidero*. The *Turks*, according to *Nardas*, call it *Je-*

*nisar*. It had been the Residence of King *Admetus*, so renowned in Fable. It afterwards became subject to the Tyrant *Alexander*. *Stephen of Byzantium* mentions two Cities of this Name, an *Old*, and a *New*, which were eight *Stadia* from each other.

<sup>38</sup> The City of *Ambracia*, in *Epirus*, gave Name to the Gulph now called *The Gulph of Larta*. See the preceding Volumes.

<sup>39</sup> *Pliny the Naturalist* mentions Mount *Cercetius*, in *Thessaly*. *Stephens the Geographer* places near it an ancient City, called *Pialia*, which stood in the extreme Parts of *Thessaly*, to the Side of *Pelagonia*. So that it's probable this Mountain divided the two Countries.

<sup>40</sup> *Phaleria* seems to be the same Place as *Phalara*, on the Western Borders of *Ethiots*. There were two Cities of this Name in *Thessaly*. The first, just now spoken of, was near *Epirus*; the second, which stood on the Eastern Borders of that Province, was near *The Maliaic Gulph*.

<sup>41</sup> The River *Peneus*, formerly so famous among the Poets, after it has run thro' a Part of *Thessaly*, from West to East, falls into *The Thermic Gulph*. It is now called *Selampria*. *Strabo* and *Stephens the Geographer* say that it was also called *Araxes*.

<sup>42</sup> Instead of *Pialia*, or *Piala*, we read in *Livy*, *Piera*; but *Sigomus*, and many Moderns, think both these Names belonged to the same City.



Year of diers, and then reduced it to Ashes. From thence, he came and fell on 4<sup>3</sup> c. 7.  
**R O M E** *eginium*, a City impregnable by its Situation. The *Consul* viewed it, and only  
 DLV. threw some Darts at the Advanced Guard, and continued his March into the Ter-  
 T. QUINCTIUS ritory of *Gomphi*. There his Provisions began to fail him; but the General sup-  
 FLAMININUS, plied himself with great Plenty of Corn from his Ships, which were arrived in *The*  
 SEXT. ÆLIUS *Gulph of Ambracia*. *Flamininus* sent from his Camp several Detachments of *Le-*  
 CATUS, CON- gionaries, who by turns guarded his Convoys thro' a Road which was bad indeed,  
 fuls. but not long. By this means there was, in a few Days, a very great Plenty in the  
*Roman* Camp. Then the Army left the Territory of *Gomphi*, and fell down on *A-*  
*trax* 44, a City of *Pelasgiotis*, at a little Distance from the River *Peneus*, and ten  
 Miles from *Larissa*. The Presence of the *Romans* was very agreeable in *Theffaly*.  
*Philip* only was hated there, and durst not appear there with his Troops. He had  
 therefore contented himself with cantoning them in the finest, but smallest Part of  
 this large Country; which was the famous *Valley of Tempe*, so much celebrated  
 by the Poets, for its delightful Hills, and cool Groves. And from thence the  
 King of *Macedon* sent Succours to the Cities which the *Romans* solicited to re-  
 volt, or had a Mind to take by Force.

S. IX. WHILST *Flamininus* was bringing the Northern Part of *Theffaly* into Sub-  
 jection to his Republick, his Brother, whom he had, by his Interest, made Admi-  
 ral of the *Roman* Fleet, was signaling himself on the Coast. In Imitation of  
*Scipio*, the *Consul* had chosen *L. Quinctius* for his Second; as *Africanus* had formerly  
 carried with him his Brother, and his Friend *Lælius*, in his *Spanish* and *African*  
 Expeditions. Young *Quinctius* came first to *Corcyra*, with two *Quinqueremes*.  
 Then he took *Apustius's* Place, at the Island of 45 *Sama*, and commanded his Ships.  
 He had a great deal of Difficulty to double *The Cape of Malea* with his Trans-  
 ports, which he towed along. But he himself sailed before with three *Quinque-*  
*remes*, and landed at the Port of *Piræus*, where *Apustius* had left the rest of his  
 Fleet, to defend *Athens*. Soon after this, *Attalus's* Ships, to the Number of  
 twenty four, and the twenty Galleys of the *Rhodians*, under the Command of  
*Agēsimbrotus*, arrived from *Asia*. The three Fleets joined, near the Island of *An-*  
*dros*; and from thence sailed on together towards *Eubæa*. This was no long Pas-  
 sage; and they first made Descents at the End of the Island, and ravaged the Coun-  
 try of the *Carystii*. When the latter had received Reinforcements from *Chalcis*,  
 the Fleets sailed for *Eretria* 46, a City near the *Euripus*; and the *Romans* and  
 their Allies pursued the Siege of it with Vigour. They landed the Machines they  
 had brought in the Ships for the Attack; and built new ones of the Wood which  
 they found in great Plenty in the Island. As for the Inhabitants, tho' they de-  
 fended themselves well enough at first; yet when greater Numbers of them were  
 wounded, and they saw Part of their Walls beaten down, they were for capitula-  
 ting. But they were not strongest in their own City. The *Macedonian* Garrison  
 were against surrendering the Place; and they were as formidable within, as the  
*Romans* were without. Besides, *Philocles*, the Governour of *Chalcis*, was conti-  
 nually sending Messengers to the *Eretrians*, and assuring them, That he would  
 send them Succours in time, if they would prolong the Siege; and this Hope ani-  
 mated them to do more than was for their Interest. This *Philocles* at length ap-  
 peared, and was driven back to his City of *Chalcis* by the Besiegers. Then the In-  
 habitants of *Eretria* sent Deputies to *Attalus*, earnestly pressing him to accept of a  
 Capitulation. But whilst they were kept in Suspence, and were employing all  
 their Soldiers in guarding the Places where the Breach was made, *Quinctius*, in  
 the Night, scaled that Part of the Wall, which was left defenceless. So that the

43 A City of *Æginium*, which *Strabo* says belong-  
 ed to *Illyricum*, stood on the Confines of *Epirus*  
 and *Theffaly*.

44 In the old Text of *Livy* it is said, that *Fla-*  
*minius* took his Rout towards *Rhages*; but *Gro-*  
*novius* not being able to find any Traces of this  
 City, he has substituted another in the room of it,  
 which is better known to the ancient Geographers,  
 by the Name of *Atrax*.

45 *Sama* is one of the Islands which were anci-  
 ently called *Echinades*; and are now called *Curso-*  
*lari*. In several Editions we read *Zama*, instead of

*Sama*; but we know of no Island of *Zama*, in the  
*Ionian* Sea.

46 We have above spoken of *Eretria*, a City of  
*Phthiotis*. The new Maps give it the Name of  
*Vatia*. We must take care not to confound it  
 with the City here spoken of. The latter was on  
 the Coast of *Eubæa*; and is the Place the Moderns  
 call *Rocho*. It was one of the most considerable  
 Places in the Island. *Strabo*, B. 10. says it was built  
 by the *Athenians*; and *Briettius* contends that it still  
 preserves its ancient Name.



City was taken by Assault; all the Townsmen, with their Wives and Children, retired to the Citadel; and soon after surrendered at Discretion. The Conquerors found not much Gold or Silver in the Place. The Riches of the Inhabitants consisted in Statues, Pictures valuable for their Art and Antiquity, and other Ornaments of that Kind. *Eretria* was overstocked with them, in Proportion to its Grandeur, and other Riches.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLV.  
T. QUINCTIUS  
FLAMININUS,  
SEXT. ÆLIUS  
CATUS, CON  
sul.

AFTER this, the Fleets returned to *Carystus*, and only ravaged its Territory. All things were got ready for besieging the City; but the People fled for Refuge into the Citadel; and from thence sent a Deputation to the *Roman* General, offering to submit to him. *Quinctius* gave the *Carystii* their Lives and Liberty: but he condemned the *Macedonian* Garrison to pay three hundred *Sesterces* per Head, for their Ransom; to march out of the City without their Arms; and to get themselves transported to *Bæotia*. These successful Expeditions in *Eubæa*, lessened the Power of the *Macedonian* there, in a few Days; and then the Confederate Fleets doubled *The Cape of Sunium*, entered *The Saronic Gulph*, and appeared before *Cenchrea*, one of the Ports of *Corinth*.

§. X. THE *Consul* was already come from *Theffaly*, with all his *Legions*, and was laying Siege to this proud City, which held out for *Philip*. The Design was great; and if it had succeeded, would have almost equalled *Flamininus's* Glory to that of *Scipio*. But the Time for the Destruction of *Corinth* was not yet come. However, the two Brothers carried on the Siege, one by Land, and the other by Sea, with Vigour; and the Port of *Cenchrea*, which passed for a City, or at least for one of the Ports of *Corinth*, was taken by the Marines. From the main Body of the Place, *Flamininus* found a greater Resistance than he had expected. He had flattered himself, that as soon as he had made a Breach in the Walls, he should enter it Sword in hand, and immediately put an End to the Siege, by the Slaughter of the Inhabitants, or by forcing them to surrender. But he found, that a Company of Brave Men, when surrounded with Ramparts, have sometimes more Resources than one. The Breach was made with the *Rams*, and nothing remained, but to mount it. The Garrison of *Corinth* consisted of some of the choicest of the *Macedonian* Troops, and of those *Roman* Deserters who had formerly surrendered themselves up to *Hannibal*; and whose Escape he had secured, when he was ready to make Peace with *Rome*. The latter had therefore nothing to expect from the *Romans*, but the utmost Severity; and despairing of Favour, they chose to die, Sword in hand. But they did not range themselves on the Ramparts, to drive the Enemy from thence. They chose rather to make the City the Field of Battel. They drew up in good Order, as in a Plain, designing to fight a regular Battel there. On one Side, the Besiegers appeared in the Breach; on the other, the *Macedonians*, formed into a *Phalanx*, opposed, and repulsed them. The *Consul* imputed this Disadvantage to the Disorder the Ruins of the Wall caused among his *Legionaries*; and therefore cleared the Way, and advanced a *Moveable Tower*, full of Soldiers, *Ballistæ*, and *Catapultæ*. His Design in this was to throw Darts and Stones at the *Phalanx* drawn up behind the Breach. But an unexpected Accident prevented the Machine's having its due Effect. One of its Wheels sunk deep into the Earth, which was very soft, and the Tower inclined to one Side. The Accident made the Besieged laugh, and raised their Courage. The *Legionaries* immediately came down from the Tower, and proceeded to the Attack; but they were unequally engaged. The *Macedonians* levelled against them their long Pikes, with which the *Phalanx* was well provided; and it was difficult to come near them without being run thro' by them. Indeed the *Romans* with their Swords cut off the Tops of some of these armed Poles; but the broken Shafts were sufficient to keep them at a Distance. Besides, the Breach was narrow, and many of the *Romans* could not enter it together. Then the *Consul*, seeing that nothing succeeded, was disheartened, and resolved to retreat. He was afraid, that such Attacks would make his Soldiers too sensible of the Advantage the *Macedonian* Arms gave their Enemies over them. This might have been enough of itself to have discouraged them. *Flamininus* therefore raised the Siege.

Liv. B. 32.  
c. 18.

ALL that now remained for the *Consul* to do, was to chuse his Winter Quarters. All the Country round *Corinth* was ruined by the Wars. Besides, it was difficult to bring Provisions so far. There was no Port on the Coasts of *Ætolia* and



Year of and *Acarmania*, large enough to hold all the Transports which supplied the Army with Provisions. Nor was there any City large enough to furnish Quarters for his Soldiers and Seamen. *Flamininus* therefore chose to pass the Winter in *Phocis*. He thought the City of *Anticyra* the most proper of any, to receive his Fleet, and lodge his Troops. It stood on *The Gulph of Corinth*, and was not far, either from *Ætolia*, or *Thessaly*. Then the Consul turned his Arms towards *Phocis*. *Phanotea* 47 was taken upon the first Assault. *Anticyra* surrendered, after a slight Defence. 48 *Ambryfus* and *Hyampolis* became easy Conquests. *Daulis* 49 alone was defended by its Situation. As it stood on an Eminence, it was difficult to scale the Walls, or bring Machines up to them. The Romans, however, threw some Darts on the Advanced-Guards, who covered the Neighbourhood of the City; and this Insult enraged the *Daulians*. They attempted to make a Sally; but were so briskly repulsed, that the Romans entered the City in the Crowd with them. All *Phocis* was in a Consternation. Nevertheless, *Elatia* 50 shut her Gates against the Conquerors. The Consul blocked it up; and whilst he was thus slightly engaged before the Place, formed a Scheme which might have ruined *Philip's* Affairs in *Greece*.

R O M E  
DLV.  
T. QUINCTIUS  
FLAMININUS,  
SEXT. ÆLIUS  
CATUS, CON-  
suls.

§. XI. *ACHAIA* was, till that time, entirely devoted to the *Macedonian* Party. One *Cycliades* had engaged his Nation to the King of *Macedon*, and by his Interest inclined them to favour him. *Cycliades* was a Tyrant, whom *Philip* supported in his Power; and the Usurper being under the Protection of so great a Prince, he rendered his Yoke insupportable to his People. Till at length, the *Achæans* freed themselves, expelled *Cycliades*, and put the Government into the Hands of *Aristenes*, a Man well affected to the Romans, and watchful of any Occasion to bring *Achaia* into an Alliance with *Rome*. The Consul therefore seized this Opportunity, which he thought a very good one, to gain *Achaia*; but left the Execution of the Design to his Brother. And young *Quinctius*, who continued at *Cenchrea*, and was in a continual Readiness to renew the Siege of *Corinth*, managed the Affair with Dexterity. He sent a Deputation to the *Achæans*, and attacked them on their weak Side. *Corinth* and its Territory had anciently belonged to *Achaia*; and he promised them that he would oblige the *Corinthians* to submit again to their Jurisdiction. It seemed to be an Affair that required Dispatch; but the Minds of the *Achæans* were divided between *Philip* and the Romans. In order therefore to make the strongest Impressions on this timorous People, Deputies were sent, with the Roman Ambassadors, from *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, and the *Athenians*. The *Achæans* assembled their Diet at *Sicyon* to hear them; and then the Uncertainties of a wavering Mind appeared in the strongest Light. The *Achæans* were afraid of the Romans; but at the same time both loved and dreaded *Philip*. The Reduction of *Corinth* was indeed a powerful Attractive; but on the other hand, the *Macedonian* had always done *Achaia* important Services; and it was dangerous to provoke him. Besides, they were very unwilling to draw upon themselves *Nabis*, the formidable Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, who had so openly declared for *Philip*. So that their Fears for the present, their uneasy Apprehensions of what might afterwards happen, and their Gratitude for past Benefactions, kept them in Suspence. These were the Dispositions of the *Achæans*, when the Ambassadors were introduced into the Diet. The King of *Macedon* had sent an Ambassador to it, named *Cleomedon*, whose Intrigues and Interest in the Country *Rome* had Reason to fear. *L. Calpurnius*, who spoke for the Romans, was first heard; after him, the Envoys from *Attalus*, and the *Rhodian* Minister; and then *Cleomedon* appeared in his Turn. What the latter said in Favour of *Philip* raised the Attention of the Diet; but the Deputies from *Athens*, who spoke last, endeavoured to efface the Prejudices *Cleomedon* had raised. The *Athenian* spoke with a great deal of Spirit, and bitterly inveighed against the King of *Macedon*; who had indeed used the *Athenians* worse than any other People. All these different Pretensions stated and defended with Eloquence, divided the *Achæans* more than

129. B. 32.  
C. 19.

47 *Phanotea* was called *Panopea*, in the most ancient Times, according to *Strabo*.

48 The City of *Ambryfus* was near *Boeotia*, as well as *Hyampolis*. The latter is now called *Iumboli*.

49 *Daulis*, called by others *Daulia*, stood near *Ambryfus* and *Panopea*, on the right Bank of the *Cephisus*.

50 *Elatia*, or *Elatea*, was one of the chief Cities of *Phocis*. See Vol. 3.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLV.

T. QUINCTIUS  
FLAMININUS,  
SEXT. ÆLIUS  
CATUS, Con-  
suls.

Livy, B. 32.  
c. 22.

Livy, *ibid.*

Livy, B. 32.  
c. 21.  
Livy, *ibid.*

Livy, *ibid.*

Livy, *ibid.*

ever. It grew late, and the Sun being near setting, the Sessions which had lasted the whole Day, broke up.

THE next Day the Diet assembled again; and the foreign Ministers were not admitted into it. Only the Deputies of the *Achæan* Cities were assembled to give their Opinions, and come to some final Resolution. An Herald, according to the Custom of the *Greeks*, invited those to speak who had a Right of Voting; and they all looked upon one another, and continued silent. Not that the *Greeks* were not great Haranguers; or that there were no Orators in the Assembly. The Importance of the Affair, the Danger of offering bold Advice, and the many Difficulties that occurred, were what occasioned this long Silence. And they who spoke afterwards, only repeated what the foreign Ambassadors had said, and started new Difficulties. No one durst pronounce, in so perplexed an Affair. Till at length *Aristenes*, being impatient to see so many Deputies of his Nation hold their Peace so long, and President of the Assembly, addressed himself to them in this manner. *Achæans, What is become of that Freedom of Speech which you use in private Conversation, sometimes contending for Philip against the Romans, and sometimes for the Romans against Philip? How decisive are you in private, how undetermined in our Assemblies! Cannot even your Inclinations for one, or the other Party, extort a Word from you? Can you be ignorant of what Importance it is, for every one to speak his Mind freely, and for all to consider well before we give our Answer? But when we have once determined, we must adhere to our Resolution, whether agreeable to our private Opinions, or not.* But even this Speech of *Aristenes* did not make the Assembly at all the more ready to explain themselves. Not a Murmur, or Whisper, was heard, among all these Men, who were assembled from so many different Cities, and so were different in Inclination. *Aristenes* therefore assumed the Discourse, and went on thus. *Achæans, you neither want Tongues, nor Prudence. But I plainly see, that every one is afraid of running the Hazard of offering Advice, which cannot please some, without displeasing others, and the Success of which is uncertain. And I should perhaps follow your Example myself, if it was lawful for me to be silent, in the Place which I fill. But, to my Misfortune, you have placed me at the Head of your Assembly; and certainly, since we have introduced two foreign Ambassadors here, we are indispensably obliged to give them an Answer. But what Answer can I give them, if you don't authorize me to give any? And since then none of you will, or dares say, what is his own Opinion, let us consider the Speeches made by the Ambassadors Yesterday, as so many different Opinions offered us, with a Design to persuade us to pursue what they think is for our Interest, and without Regard to their own. On one side, Rome, Attalus, and Rhodes, solicit our Friendship, and think it reasonable that we should assist them against Philip. On the other hand, Philip presses us to remember his past Services, and the Oaths by which we have bound ourselves to him, but desires only that we would stand neuter. Can no Man then perceive, why they who are not Allies, should demand more of us, than he who is? This does not proceed either from Philip's being over modest, or the Romans impudent. The Truth is, Philip has no Fleet; and our Ports are exposed to Invasions by the Roman Fleet, which is not far off. It has been victorious in Eubœa, and now rides at Anchor in the Neighbourhood of Corinth. And there is only an Arm of the Sea between us and the Army of the Consul, who has already subdued the Phocæans, and the Locri. Has not then Achaia great Reason to be afraid? Cleomedon himself seems to have been very sensible of this, by his not requiring us to take up Arms in favour of Philip. He was apprehensive that we would demand Succours of him, to protect us against the Roman Armies which invest us; and he knew, that no Succours were to be had from his Master. Experience has but too plainly shewn us, how fruitless our Alliance with Philip has been to us. Did he defend us against the Ravages which Nabis and his Lacedæmonians committed in our Territories? And indeed, Cleomedon's Speech seems not to be very consistent. If, as he pretends, the Roman Army is no more considerable now than in the former War with Philip; whence was it that Philip could not resist the Arms of Flamininus in Thessaly? For if the Macedonian Army be as formidable as Cleomedon represents it; how came it to be routed by the Consul, in the Defiles of the Aolis? And can a Prince, who is not able to defend his Allies, expect that they should continue in his Alliance? Our Fears*



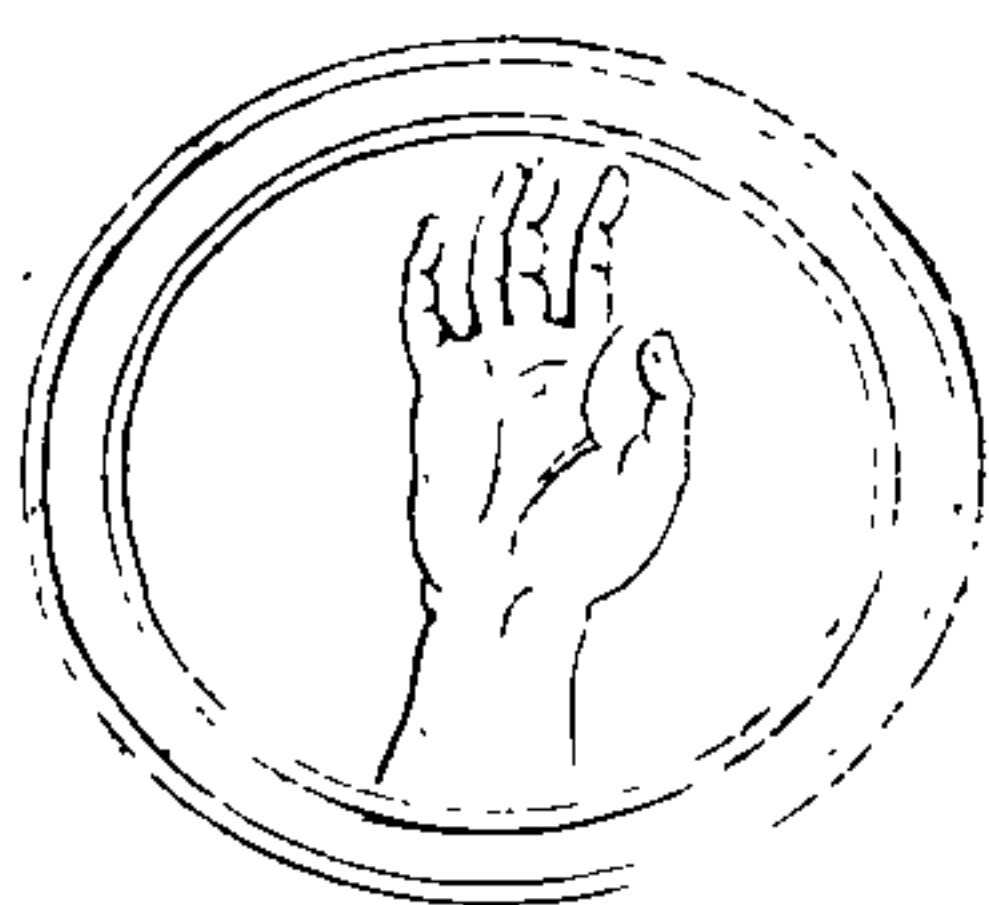
Year of force us to desert him; and he has no Reason to complain of it? A Macedonian  
 R O M E Army could not resist the Romans; how then can we weak Achæans? When the  
 DLV. Romans were engaged in the Punic War, Philip was indeed more formidable to  
 T. QUINCTIUS Greece, than he is now. But it is not our Business, in point of Prudence, to re-  
 FLAMININUS, gulate our Conduct by the past, but the present State of Affairs. Rome then only  
 SEXT. ÆLIUS sent the Ætolians Succours. But now all the Roman Forces are come to fall upon  
 CATUS, CON- Macedon and her Allies. Three Consuls have already appeared in our Countries.  
 suls. So that Rome pursues the War here with Vigour. Sulpicius struck Terror into  
 Livy, *ibid.* Macedon itself. Flaminius has just defeated Philip at the Entrance into Epirus;  
 has entered Thessaly; and has taken several Places from him, in a manner, before  
 Livy, *ibid.* his Face. Not to mention the Crimes which the Athenians have laid to the  
 charge of this cruel, this infamous King; or the Ravages he has caused to be com-  
 mitted in Attica; and much less the Fate of the Abydenians. We may perhaps  
 have no Reason to expect the same Treatment. But after all, you know Philip;  
 and I doubt not, but it is the Idea you have formed of him which has kept you  
 silent. Let us for a Moment forget that he is a King; and suppose that we were  
 only to treat with Antigonus, who was his Guardian in his Infancy. Would this  
 Livy, *ibid.* good Prince have forced us to enter into an Alliance with him, at so perillous a  
 Conjuncture? Would he have required us to do what is absolutely out of our Power?  
 Peloponnesus is a Peninsula; the Sea which surrounds us is always open; and no-  
 thing is more easy than to attack our maritime Cities. And when they shall be  
 taken, what will become of us? Shall we retire to the inland Countries, far from the  
 Coast? In the Centre of Peloponnesus, we shall find Enemies which ought to be  
 Livy, *ibid.* more formidable to us than the Romans. Nabis, and his Lacedæmonians, will  
 fall upon us there. And will it then be time enough to implore the Assistance of  
 Macedon? Or shall we be able to defend our Cities ourselves? The safest Way is to  
 make an Alliance with the Romans. Don't imagine, that because they come first  
 to ask it, they are therefore forced by Necessity to have Recourse to us. They are  
 Masters of the Sea, and the Nations submit to them, as soon as they appear. They  
 have it in their Power to oblige us to do what they desire of us. It is a Favour  
 Livy, *ibid.* for them to entreat us. They condescend so far as to court our Alliance, purely  
 in order to preserve us. To stand neuter then, as Cleomedon advised, is to lose  
 all. Rome will resent our Refusal, and take us for an artful People, who delay  
 determining, only to have an Opportunity to declare for the strongest Party. This  
 will make her treat us as Enemies, and cause our Ruin. Let us not therefore delay  
 to do this Day, what we shall one Day repent neglecting, if we omit it. We ought  
 to have shaken off Philip's Yoke long since. We have not continued in Alliance with  
 him so much out of Affection, as Fear. And now we have an Opportunity of dis-  
 engaging ourselves from him, with Honour, and without Danger. Let us therefore  
 Livy, *ibid.* seize it. The Consular Army, and the Fleet which threaten us, will acquit us of  
 the Reproach of Inconstancy. There is no Medium. We must either declare for  
 Rome, or have the Romans our Enemies.

§. XII. THIS Discourse divided the Assembly, and left the Diet in as great Un-  
 certainty as ever. Some voted for an Alliance with the Romans, others for con-  
 tinuing faithful to their Engagements with the Macedonian. The House was in an  
 Uproar. They who were for Philip, reproached those who declared for Flami-  
 ninus. Even the Heads of the Deputies were not unanimous. Five of the ten  
 were for decreeing an Association with the Romans. The other five opposed it,  
 and pretended, that it was against Law, for them to decree any thing new in the  
 Assembly. Indeed, Philip had inserted a Clause in his Treaty with the Achæans  
 to this effect, that the Affair of his Alliance should no more be brought before  
 the Council. So that all the Day was spent in Debates. The Diet was to sit but  
 one Day longer. And even this short time was consumed in Divisions. The Fa-  
 ther disagreed with the Son, and one Citizen with another of the same Place.  
 Rhiasius voted in favour of Rome, and his Son Memnon was steady to the con-  
 trary Party. The Father desired the Son not to oppose the Welfare of Achæa;  
 but Memnon at first refused to comply with his Father's Request; till Rhiasius  
 threatened to treat him as an Enemy, and put him to Death. In a Word, the  
 Majority were for the Romans; but the Deputies of Dymæ, and Megalopolis,  
 and some of those from Argi, rose up, and left the Assembly; which was no

Surprise



Surprise to them. Every Body knew the Services the *Macedonian* had done these Year of three Cities. The *Dymeans* lately become a Prey to the *Romans*, and by them *R O M E* reduced to Slavery, were just then delivered from Slavery by *Philip's* Means. The DLV. *Megalopolitans* had very lately been resettled in their Country by *Antigonus*, *Phi-* T. QUINCTIUS *lip's* Guardian, after they had been driven out of it by the *Lacedaemonians*. And FLAMININUS, as for the Inhabitants of *Argi*, besides that they boasted, that the 51 Kings of SEPT. AELIUS *Macedon* were descended from them, they were almost all united to *Philip*, by CATUS, COR- the 52 Laws of Hospitality. These were thought sufficient Reasons, to excuse fuls. the



51 *Alexander*, the first King of *Macedon*, had been excluded from *The Olympic Games*, under Pretence that he was a Barbarian. The *Greeks* treated all other Nations, the *Macedonians* themselves not excepted, as such. But afterwards he obtained the Privilege of being present at this general Show for all *Greece*, having first proved that he came originally from the City of *Argos*. *Cas-* nus, the first King of *Macedon*, pretended to be descended in a right Line from *Temenus*, one of the Descendants of *Hercules*. In the Division the *Heraclide* made of *Peloponnesus* among them, *Temenus* obtained the Kingdom of *Argos*, after having driven out of it those of the Family of *Pelops*, who had reigned there till that time. Now *Antigonus*, the Father of that *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, whose great Grandson, *Philip* the King of *Macedon* was, said he was descended from the *Temenidae*.

52 The Laws of Hospitality owed their Rise to those beneficent Dispositions, which Nature inspires us with, towards our fellow-Creatures. Men, when united in civil Societies, have ever given a Sanction to them, and observed them as sacred. Not to go up to the Patriarchs, with whom it was Matter of Merit to do all manner of good Offices to Travellers, it is well known, that the Pagans were not Strangers to this Custom. *Egypt* and *Greece* established the Practice of it. In the Island of *Crete*, there were, in the most distant Ages, publick Buildings, which were set apart for the Reception of Strangers. It was customary among the *Lucanians*, to furnish all Persons whatsoever with Lodgings, and all Necessaries, who happened to come into any of their Cities after Sun-set. This *Aelian* affirms, *Var. Hist. Lib.* And that the most cruel Nations adopted this charitable Custom, appears by Multitudes of Instances in ancient Story. At *Rome* especially, and among the *Greeks*, there were Families that gloried in paying these friendly Regards to Persons of other Nations. And when by this means a Friendship was contracted between Families, it became perpetual, and was transmitted from Father to Son. What they called *Tessera Hospitalitatis*, was carefully preserved, and transmitted down to Posterity, in the same Family. This Mark was at it were the Seal, or Pledge of Hospitality. It was generally a little piece of Money, Wood, or Ivory, which the Persons engaging divided into two Parts, each taking one to keep, in proof of their mutual Friendship. The Antiquaries have collected several

of these Marks, on which are inscribed the Names of the two Persons entering into a Friendship together. This was the Custom among particular Persons: Which *Plautus* very expressly affirms, in the fifth Act of his *Pænulus*.

*Deum Hospitalem ac tesseram mecum fero.*  
Pæn. *Pater tuus ergo hospes Antidamas fuit;*  
*Hæc mihi hospitalis tessera cum illo fuit.*  
Ag. *Ergo apud me hospitium tibi præbebitur.*

As for the Right of Hospitality, which Cities or Provinces gave to any Person, it was confirmed by a solemn Decree, a Copy of which was given to the Person concerned. *Tacitus* tells us, *B. 17.* that the *Lingones* distributed among the *Roman Legions*, little pieces of Metal, on which were stamped the Figure of an Hand, as a Mark of Hospitality. *Miserat civitas Lingonum vetere instituto, dona Legionibus dextras hospitii insigne.* These sorts of Symbols are yet to be seen in the Cabinets of the Curious. *Casalius* produces one, of which that above is the Copy.

By virtue of this ancient Custom, a Traveller was sure to find an hearty Welcome with his Friend. The latter, who was always informed of the Day of his Arrival, went out to meet him. After he had given the Stranger all Demonstrations of the most sincere Friendship, he gave him his Hand, and led him to his House. There he placed him by his Fire-side, and they both joined in invoking the domestic Gods, the Protectors of Hospitality. Then the Master of the House gave his new Guest some Bread, Wine, and Salt, the Symbol of Friendship. Hence the proverbial Saying so famous among the *Greeks* and *Latins*, *That before Men could establish a perfect Friendship, they must eat several Bushels of Salt together.* *Cicero* makes this Reflection in his Book *de Amicitia.* *Verum illud est, quod vulgo dicitur multos modios salis simul edendos esse, ut amicitie munus expletum sit.*

It was a received Custom among the People of the East, to wash the Hands, and especially the Feet, of a Guest newly arrived. We have Proofs of it in the sacred Writings. The Ladies of the best Fashion sometimes discharged this charitable Office themselves. *Homer* represents *Nausicca*, *Polycaste*, and *Helen*, as performing this to Strangers. After this Ceremony was over, the Stranger was conducted to a Bath, and from thence to a Feast, which was prepared to entertain him with good Cheer and Musick. And this Repast, which was begun with



Year of  
R O M E  
DLV.  
T. QUINCTIUS  
FLAMININUS,  
SEXT. ÆLIUS  
CATUS, Con-  
suls.

the Deputies of the three Cities, for not declaring against *Macedon*. But the rest of *Achaia* followed the most prudent Advice. They presently made an Alliance with *Attalus*, and the *Rhodians*, and deferred declaring for a Confederacy with the *Romans*, till the return of the Ambassadors which were sent to *Rome*, to get it approved by the *Roman* Senate.

§. XIII. BUT in the mean time the *Achaëans* thought it very necessary to lend the *Romans* their Assistance, in order to reduce *Corinth*. They saw it was their Interest to do it. Ever since this City had been subject to King *Philip*, it had been divided from *Achaia*; and in order to annex it to that Province again, Force was necessary. This was a favourable Opportunity for it, which would have been absolutely lost by Delays. The Port of *Cenchrea* was now in the Power of the *Romans*; which made it the more easy to take *Corinth*. And therefore, without waiting for the Consent of the Senate of *Rome*, which was taken for granted, the *Achaëans* joined the *Romans*. The Siege was already begun by the Marines, commanded by the Admiral *L. Quinctius*, who was attacking the City on the side of the Port. The *Achaëans* attacked it at *The Gate of Sicyon*: And *Attalus*, after he had marched his Army over the *Isthmus*, made a third Attack at the

with Libations, was finished with Vows and Prayers for his Prosperity, in honour to whom the Feast was made.

Of all the People who practised Hospitality, the *Romans* were, beyond Contradiction, most religiously exact and scrupulous in discharging the Duties of it. *Cicero* gives them this Character, *B. 3. de Offic. Recte etiam est a Theophrasto laudata hospitalitas. Est enim valde decorum patere domos hominum illustrium hospitibus; idque etiam est reipublice ornamento, homines externos hoc liberalitatis genere in urbe nostra non egere.* Their Regularity in this Matter chiefly appeared in the manner in which they received Ambassadors from foreign Countries. It was one part of the *Quæstor's* Business to prepare Lodgings for them, and furnish them with plenty of all Necessaries. Among the *Greeks*, this Office belonged to those whom they called *Proxenoï*, and *Parochoi*. The former were ordered by the State to meet Envoys, and conduct them to their Lodgings; and the latter, to supply them with every thing they wanted.

And lastly, when Strangers were about to go from *Rome*, or *Greece*, they had all possible Marks of Respect shewn them, at taking their Leave. The Presents called *Xenia* were always made them upon this Occasion. It was a religious Duty, which could not be dispensed with, without an open Breach of settled Conventions, and established Customs.

Add to this, that both Humanity and Religion concurred in cementing this universal Concord among all Nations. The same natural Suggestions which incline us to acknowledge one God, an Avenger of Evil, and Protector of Virtue, led the Pagans to worship a Divinity, whose Care it was to protect, and avenge the Rights of Hospitality. They gave this Office to *Jupiter*, according to that Line of *Virgil*, *Æn. 1.*

*Jupiter! Hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur.*

Among the Titles which the *Greeks* and *Latins* gave this God, that of *Xenius*, or *Hospitalis*, was one of the most venerable. They likewise ascribed the same Quality to *Venus*, *Minerva*, and *Castor* and *Pollux* (the allegorical Divinities who presided over Concord and Love) and to *Hercules*, and their domestick Gods. The Inhabitants of *Pellene* worshipped *Apollo*, and erected a Temple to him, under the Title of *Teoxenus*, or *The Hospitable*. During the Festival called *Teoxenia*, which the *Greeks* celebrated in honour to him, and in Memory of *Castor* and *Pollux*, according to *The Scholiast of Pindar*; all Foreigners were magnificently entertained at the publick Expence. The Feast concluded with Shows, and several sorts of Games.

Agreeably to these Dictates of Nature, and Religion, a Man who was convicted of having violated the Rights of Hospitality, was deemed accursed. All the Gods were thought armed against him to destroy him, and the *Furies* employed in tormenting him. If a Man happened involuntarily to kill his Host, it was thought an unpardonable Crime. *Homer* represents *Glaucus* and *Diomedes* as ready to engage in a Battel. The two Warriors meet, and are just going to begin. But they recollect that their Families had long been united by mutual Acts of Hospitality; and this is enough to put a Stop to the Fury of the Heroes. They make mutual Presents, in Token of their mutual Good-will, and Part. So that the Laws of War did not destroy those of Hospitality. This Engagement was indissoluble, unless a Man publickly disavowed it, in a juridical manner. One of the Ceremonies practised in this solemn Act of Renunciation, was to break the Mark or Symbol of Hospitality. By this Act, he who came to this open Rupture, authentically declared, he would for the future have no more Commerce with him, who had broken his Faith to him.

§3 The taking of *Corinth* could not but be Matter of the highest Importance to the *Achaïans*. Besides, that this City was a Key to *Peloponnesus*, it was then thought one of the most wealthy and stately Cities in all *Greece*. It stood on the Point of the *Isthmus*, which divided the two Seas, that is, the *Ionian* and *Ægean*; and by its Commerce, enjoyed all the Riches of *Asia* and *Europe*. Delicacy, Magnificence, and Debauchery, the usual Companions of Plenty, were soon introduced among the Inhabitants; and this City was then looked on by the *Greeks* as the Seat of Pleasure. Hence the known Proverb, *Non licet omnibus adire Corinthum*, i. e. *Every one cannot go to Corinth*. The Historians tell us, that the *Corinthians* carried their Dissoluteness of Manners, and Love of Women to such excess, as to consecrate the most monstrous Brutalities, as pretended Acts of Religion. They were not ashamed to employ common Women in their Festivals, and publick Ceremonies. Nay, they had even Forms of Prayer, which they addressed to the Gods to prosper their Debauches. The Vows they made to the Gods were sometimes, only that they would increase the Number of Prostitutes in the City. And these Extravagancies gave Rise to the proverbial Expression *Corinthiani*, to signify the most extravagant Licentiousness.

§4 The Port of *Cenchrea*, stood on *The Saronic Gulph*, now *The Gulph of Engia*, to the East of *Corinth*.



Port of <sup>55</sup> *Lechaum*, over against *Cenchrea*, on the Extremity of *The Gulph of Corinth*. Year of  
R O M E  
DLV.

At first the three Armies did not pursue the Siege with much Vigour. Their Generals fancied, that there would quickly arise a Difference between the *Macedonian* Garrison, and the Inhabitants of the City. But they soon saw how much they were mistaken. *Androsthene*s, who was Commander in the Place for *Philip*, had gained the Affections of the *Corinthians*; and they obeyed his Orders with as much Readiness and Deference, as if he had been chosen Governor by themselves. So that the Besiegers were obliged to have recourse to their Machines, and to Force. The Walls of the City were not very accessible; and therefore they raised *Cavaliers*, or *Terrasses*, round them; and on these *Cavaliers* erected Towers made of Timber. By this Means, they easily brought forward the *Ram*; battered the Wall with it; and soon made a Breach. Then a bloody Battel was fought there, between the *Romans* and *Macedonians*; and the former could not withstand the *Phalangites*. Upon this, the *Asiatics* of *Attalus's* Army, and the *Achaens*, came to the Assistance of the *Legionaries*; and the Besiegers no longer doubted of forcing their Way through the *Macedonians*, and making themselves Masters of the Place. And indeed, the last Attack had without doubt carried it, if some *Roman* Deserters had not sustained that Attack, with a Valour more than human. But these brave Men, joined with the Seamen of the *Roman* Fleet, who had deserted, out of Hopes of making their Fortunes better, by assisting the *Macedonians*, defended the Breach, and saved the City. Besides, the Reinforcement the Besieged received, made it still more difficult to take *Corinth*.

T. QUINCTIUS  
FLAMINIUS,  
SEXT. ÆLIUS  
CATUS, Con-  
suls.

*PHILOCLE*S, one of King *Philip's* Generals, after he had crossed *Boetia*, appeared all on a sudden near *The Promontory of Juno*, about seven Miles from *Corinth*, at the Head of fifteen hundred Men. Then the Garrison of *Lechaum* immediately sent away Barks, to bring these new Troops into their Port. And with this increase of Forces, *Corinth* and *Lechaum* were in a Condition to hold out against the three Armies which besieged them. The *Macedonians* made such seasonable and vigorous Sallies on *Attalus's* Quarter, that he was the first who declared for raising the Siege. The *Roman* Admiral resolved to stay a little longer before the Place. But at last, he acknowledged, how much more useful the long Pikes of the *Macedonian Phalangites* were, in defending a Breach, than the *Roman* Arms: And then *Quinctius* was of *Attalus's* Opinion. He dropped the Enterprize, and retired with his Gallies. So that the Fleets separated. The King of *Pergamus* carried his, to the Port of *Piræus*; and the *Roman* sailed with <sup>56</sup> his, for *Corcyra*.

As for *Philocles*, he did not continue unactive, after he had raised the Siege of *Corinth*. He marched his Troops into the Heart of *Achaia*, which had so lately joined with the *Romans*; and the City of <sup>57</sup> *Argi* was the Object, that most flattered his Desires. *Philocles* was not ignorant, that the Citizens of *Argi*, generally speaking, still retained an Affection for the *Macedonian* Party. They had very lately given a new Proof of it. It had long been a Custom among the *Argians*, to invoke *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Hercules*, on the first Day of their *Comitia*; and to add to the Names of these Gods that of the King of *Macedon*. Only since the General Diet of *Achaia* had entered into an Alliance with the *Romans*, the Herald who pronounced the Form, thought it his Duty to omit *Philip's* Name; but the Commons were displeased with the Omission. They at first shewed their Resentments only in low Murmurs. But afterwards these grew into general Clamours, and all loudly demanded, that the Name of the King of *Macedon* should follow those of the tutelary Gods of their Country. *Philocles* therefore depending on this Affection for his Master, advanced his Troops towards *Argi*, and in the Night, posted them on an Eminence, which overlooked the City. But this Regard for *Philip* was not universal in *Argi*. Besides, the *Achaian* Garrison, which the Ge-

Livy B. 32  
c. 25.

<sup>55</sup> The Port of *Lechaum* stood on *The Gulph of Corinth*, now *The Gulph of Lepanto*. The two Ports were forty *Stadia*, or about five thousand geometrical Paces, distant from each other.

<sup>56</sup> This is the Island which is now called *Corfu*. We have spoken of it already, as well as of another *Corcyra*, an Island in *The Adriatick Gulph*.

<sup>57</sup> *Argi*, or *Argos*, was one of the most famous

Cities in *Peloponnesus*. It had long been the Capital of a Monarchy. The *Greek* Historians give the first King the Name of *Inachus*, whom the Chronologists make cotemporary with *Moses*. The *Argians* in some time expelled this Sovereign, and put *Daucus*, who was lately arrived from *Egypt* in Possession of the Kingdom. *Argi* had a very strong Citadel, which was called *Larissa*.



Year of R O M E DLV. T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS, SEXT. AELIUS CATUS, CONSULS.

neral Diet had placed there, continued faithful to the *Romans*. *Ænesidemus* was Governor; and *Philocles* sent a Deputation to him, to engage him in the *Macedonian* Interest. *Tour* Romans, said he to him, *will not be able to guard you against Philip's Arms. They have lately experienced the Superiority of Macedon before Corinth. Think you that your Garrison is sufficient to hold out against a People who have declared themselves in favour of Philip?* Nevertheless, this Discourse did not move the brave Commander. Though his Garrison was but five hundred Men, he thought himself strong enough to withstand the Menaces of the *Macedonian*. But he changed his Mind, when he saw the Burghers take up Arms, and begin an Insurrection against him. He had Compassion for the brave Youth he commanded; and demanded their Lives, and Leave to march out of *Argi*. Accordingly the Garrison marched away, and only *Ænesidemus* tarried behind, with a small Number of Clients. It was surprising to see the Governor continue immoveable in his Post, after the Soldiers were gone; and *Philocles* sent to ask him, *Why he tarried, and what he pretended to do?* To which the bold *Achaian* courageously answered, *To die in the Place committed to my Care.* Upon which Words *Philocles* ordered his *Thracians* to let fly their Arrows at him, and his Attendants; and was obeyed. The Governor himself fell dead on his Buckler, which he had thrown on the Ground. Thus *Philip* became Master of two important Places in *Achaia*; and *Argi*, and *Corinth*, continued attached to him.

§. XIV. DURING the useless Attempt of *Quinctius* on *Corinth*, the Consul *Flamininus* was employing himself in the Conquest of *Phocis*. The City of *Elatia* alone yet stopped him; but the Blockade of it was now soon changed into a Siege in form. The Consul had in vain solicited the Inhabitants to surrender. The *Macedonian* Garrison was more numerous than the Townsmen. So that it was necessary to make use of Force to reduce it. Large Breaches were made with Rams, in several Parts of the Courtine. The greatest part of the Wall, all round the Place, except the Towers, was damaged. Nevertheless, the *Romans* pretended to resolve to enter the City, only where the Breach was largest. There a Battel was fought, which drew all the Besieged thither to see it, and assist at it. The Garrison left their several Posts on the Ramparts, to take their Parts in the Action. Which the Besiegers thought a very favourable Opportunity. The Consul therefore gave Orders, that the *Legionaries* should attack the City in different Places, and make use of scaling Ladders, to mount the Wall in those Places where it was but half tumbled down. This Sight terrified the *Macedonians*, who were all assembled together, in that Place alone where the Battel was fought; and despairing of being able to withstand a general Assault, they left the Breach they defended, and retired into the Castle. So that the City was taken, and plundered; and as to the Citadel, *Flamininus* summoned it to surrender. He gave the *Macedonians* Leave to march away, but without Arms, or Baggage; and he gave the Inhabitants of *Elatia*, their Lives, and Liberty. Thus by the Conquest of one fruitful Region, *Flamininus* procured himself Cities enough, to furnish his Land-Forces with Winter-Quarters, and Ports, for his Fleet to winter in. *Anticyra* was his Retreat; and his Transports were laid up there.

Plut. Life of  
Flamininus.

THE Season would not now permit the *Romans* to take the Field; but the Consul employed his leisure-time, in useful Negotiations. King *Philip* sent to *Flamininus* to demand a second Interview. The War with the *Romans* began to prove fatal to him. He was already deprived of a great Number of Cities which had been conquered, and was deserted by his most faithful Allies. That sovereign Authority which he had usurped over *Greece*, was insensibly dwindled almost to nothing. He therefore was wholly bent on making Peace with *Rome*, in order to save at least the Remains of his Power. In the Conference between the two Chiefs, an Accommodation was attempted. But *Flamininus* kept steady to his Resolution, not to put an end to the War, till he had re-established the Liberty of all *Greece*. And upon the bare Proposal of this, *Philip* flew off. This was to confine him to *Macedon*, and utterly to destroy the Scheme he had formed, to extend his Power far into *Asia*. So that *Philip* rejected the hard Terms of the Consul. But *Flamininus* acquired by the Conference, the Reputation of having made War, purely to serve the *Greeks*; and this gained him more Honour, and Confidence, among the Nations, which he was come to free from the *Macedonian* Yoke.

THOUGH



THOUGH *Flamininus* was personally interested to make an end of the War, in order to go and receive the Honours of a Triumph at *Rome*, after his *Consulship*, he did not abate of his Pretensions. On the other hand, *Philip* thought he had granted enough to the *Romans*; and fancied, that his Proposals, the Particulars of which the Historians have not given us, were sufficient to content the Senate. He therefore sent an Embassy to *Rome* to obtain a Peace on the Conditions he offered; and *Flamininus* also sent a Deputation thither. The prudent *Roman* had these two things in view. 1. To prevent *Rome's* consenting to *Philip's* Proposals. And 2<sup>dly</sup>, to negotiate for himself, a Commission to continue the War beyond Sea, till he had entirely recovered the Liberties of all *Greece*. *Flamininus* had taken *Scipio* for his Pattern. He knew that the Republick had given this famous General a Power to continue in *Africa*, till he had effectually humbled *Carthage*. And after this Precedent, *Flamininus* hoped that the People and Senate of *Rome*, would have the same Regard for him, as they had shewn to *Scipio*. Accordingly, when *Philip's* Ambassadors, and the *Consul's* Messengers came to *Rome*, the Negotiations of the latter, had their desired Effect. The Proposals of the *Macedonian* were rejected; and the People were disposed to continue *Flamininus* in the Command of the Armies in *Greece*, the next Year, with the Title of *Pro-Consul*. His Friends served him effectually; and we shall see the Senate grant him the same Favour, as they had done *Scipio*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLV.  
T. QUINCTIUS  
FLAMININUS  
SEXT. ÆLIUS  
CATUS, Con-  
suls.

§. XV. THE time of the Elections now drew near; and it was necessary to recall *Ælius Catus* to the City, to preside in the *Comitia by Centuries*. This *Consul*, whose Province was *Cisalpine Gaul*, had gained but little Glory there. The *Gauls* had not appeared in the Field, all his Year. Doubtless, the Rebels were terrified with the numerous Troops the *Romans* brought into their Country. The *Consul* led one Army thither; and the *Prætor Helvius* commanded another there. These Forces, which were infinitely superior to those of the Enemy, obliged the *Gauls* to entrench themselves; and the *Roman Arms*, by being too formidable, became the less prejudicial to their Enemies. All this great Apparatus ended in nothing more, than bringing back to *Cremona*, and *Placentia*, the Inhabitants of these two Colonies, whom Fear, and the Ravages of the *Gauls*, had dispersed.

Livy, B. 32.  
c. 26.

So that *Rome* now signalized her self in *Italy*, only by her Severity. The *Romans* had confined to the Country of the *Volsci*, the many Hostages they had demanded of *Carthage*, till all the Debt she had contracted upon making the Peace was paid. *Setia*, a City at a little Distance from the Marsh of *Minturnæ*, was the Place of their Residence. These Hostages were almost all well-born; and the Number of their Slaves was proportioned to their Rank and Condition. The *Setini* themselves, had also in their Service a considerable Number of those *Africans*, who were taken in War, and by their Captivity, reduced to Slavery. And all these unhappy Men joined together, and took it into their Heads to raise a Sedition in the very Center of *Italy*. The Scheme was soon formed. Games were in a little while to be celebrated in *Setia*; the Cities of *Circeum* and *Norba* would then be deserted by their Inhabitants, who would croud to the Feast; and the Design was to seize all three Places. To this end, the Emissaries of the Conspirators dispersed themselves over the Cities we have mentioned, and drew the Slaves, with which *Circeum* and *Norba* abounded, into their Measures. So that when the People were most intent on the Show, the Conspirators were to fall on the Spectators, Sword in Hand, and immediately seize the three Cities. This was a mad Project; but what could be expected from young Children, given in Hostage by their Parents, and a Company of Slaves? During the Absence of the *Consul Ælius*, three Men, one of whom was of free Condition, and the other two Slaves, brought Information against the Conspirators, to the *Prætor, Cornelius Merula*. He made a Report of it to the Senate, and the Senate gave him Orders to prevent the Sedition. He therefore without Delay, assembled together in the Field about two thousand Men, gave them the military Oath, and hastened to punish the Offenders.

THE Arrival of the *Prætor* was unexpected; and it immediately stopped the Proceedings of the Managers of the Plot, and alarmed the Seditious. The Slaves fled; were pursued cross the Country; and some took Refuge in *Præneste*, and raised new Disturbances there. The *Prætor* came thither, and there condemned



Year of  
R O M E  
DLV.  
T. QUINCTIUS  
FLAMININUS,  
SEXT. ÆLIUS  
CATUS, Con-  
suls.

five hundred of these factious Men to die. Even *Rome* herself was not free from the Alarm these *Africans* had raised in the Neighbourhood. Strict Watch was kept there in the Night, and the Prisons, where the Slaves were kept, were double guarded. It was ordered, that the Hostages should be confined in their own Houses. They were always kept in sight; and lastly, the Chains of the Slaves were made heavier. An Order was given out, That their Fetters should weigh at least three Pounds and three Quarters; and That they should be kept in the publick Prisons in the Night. As for the Informers, the Senate rewarded them differently. They gave the Value of a hundred thousand Pounds weight of Brass to him, who was of free Condition; and to the two Slaves, twenty five thousand Pounds of it, and their Liberty. The Price of their Freedom was paid out of the publick Treasury. Thus the *Carthaginians*, even in their Humiliation, still retained their old Hatred to the *Romans*, and shewed it, even in the Heart of their Republick.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVI.  
C. CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
Q. MINUCIUS  
RUFUS, Con-  
suls.  
Livy B. 32.  
c. 27.

§. XVI. AFTER this, the *Comitia* were soon assembled in the *Campus Martius*. *Ælius* presided in them, and the *Centuries* chose C. *Cornelius Cethegus*, and Q. *Minucius Rufus*, *Consuls*. A few Days after, in an Assembly of the same kind, *Rome* chose *Prætors*; and the Republick thought fit to increase the Number of them. Till this time there had been no more than four; but now she chose six. The Dominions of the *Romans* out of *Italy* were so much enlarged, that it was necessary to choose as many *Prætors*, as there were *Provinces*. The *Centuries* pitched upon six Men, who were equally well qualified for civil Government and for War. These were *Manlius Vulso*, M. *Minucius Rufus*, L. *Attilius Regulus*, C. *Sempronius Tuditanus*, M. *Helvius*, and M. *Sergius Silus*. Then they all drew Lots. The Jurisdiction of the City of *Rome* fell to *Sergius*; the Determination of the Affairs of Foreigners to *Minucius*. *Regulus* had *Sardinia*; and *Manlius*, *Sicily*. These were the four old *Provinces*, which had long been governed by *Prætors*, annually chosen. The two new *Provinces* were in *Spain*. Hitherto *Rome* had governed this large Country, only by *Pro-Consuls*, or *Presidents*, sent with extraordinary Commissions to administer Justice there. But now she divided *Spain* into two *Provinces*, one called *Hispania* <sup>58</sup> *Citerior*, or *Hither Spain*; the other *Hispania Ulterior*, or *Further Spain*: And both were governed for the future, by *Prætors* chosen by the *Centuries*, as those for *Sardinia* and *Sicily* were. The *Prætorship* of *Hither Spain* was now given to *Caius Sempronius*; that of *Further Spain*, to M. *Helvius* <sup>59</sup> *Blasio*. So that nothing now remained, in order to settle the Government for this Year, but to assign the new *Consuls* their *Provinces*. They were both ambitious of making War in the *Levant*, and succeeding *Flamininus*, who had distinguished himself there. They both presented their Requests to the People, and desired Leave to determine by Lots, which was to conduct the War in *Macedon*, and which that in *Italy*. But two *Tribunes of the People*, one named *Oppius*, the other *Fulvius*, opposed the Desires of the *Consuls*. We know not whether it was out of Love to the Publick, or Regard to the Person and Glory of *Flamininus*. But the two *Tribunes* represented to the *Comitia*, how prejudicial the recalling of *Flamininus* might be to the Publick. *We have had*, said they, *but too plain Proofs of what Importance it is, to continue the same Generals a great while together at the Head of our Armies*. *Sulpicius* went too late to *Macedon*, and returned too soon. The greatest part of his *Generalship* was spent in seeking for *Philip*. *Had he time to overcome him? Villius* had scarce joined the *Consul* before he was recalled. *Flamininus* indeed, has succeeded beyond our Expectation. *Had not the Winter come on, just when it did, he would have finished the War, and we should no longer have been under any Apprehensions from the King of Macedon*. But though we are not Masters of the Seasons, we can dispose of our own Generals as we please; and *Flamininus*, has taken up his *Winter-Quarters* in *Phocis*, and chosen them with so much Judgment, that we have great Reason to expect that he will finish the War the next Campaign, if the sending him a Successor does not prevent it. Can we then send another in his room? Will you suffer another to reap the Fruits of his Labours?

<sup>58</sup> *Hispania Citerior*, contained all the Countries in *Spain*, on this side the *Ebro*; and *Hispania Ulterior*, all those beyond it.

<sup>59</sup> The two *Prætors*, *Caius Sempronius*, and

*Marcus Helvius Blasio*, led into *Spain* eight thousand Foot (with which the *Latin* Confederates, and other Allies, supplied the Republick;) and four hundred Horse.



THIS Discourse made so great an Impression on the People, that the two *Consuls* themselves consented to submit to the Determination of the Senate, if the *Tribunes* would do the same. So that the Affair was referred to the *Conscript Fathers*, who pronounced in favour of *Flamininus*. They ordered, That he should be continued in his Employment, in Quality of *Pro-Consul*; and That no other Officer should be sent to act against *Philip*, till the People thought fit to recall him. They also decreed him a Recruit of five thousand Foot, three hundred Horse, and three thousand Seamen and Rowers. And lastly, They left him his Brother *Quinctius* to command the Fleet under him. *Sulpicius* and *Villius* were also sent to *Macedon*, to act as Lieutenant-Generals in his Army. So that the *Consuls* could only draw Lots for *Italy*; and it was decreed, That they should both go and make War with the revolted *Gauls*. All the Nations in *Cisalpine Gaul* had taken up Arms; and *Hamilcar* the *Carthaginian*, the Author of the Revolt, was at the Head of them. The *Boii*, *Insubres*, *Cænomani*, *Ligures*, and in short, all the Nations from the *Alpes*, to the Confines of *Hetruria*, were in a Flame. But the *Consuls* did not think it proper to act together, in order to reduce them. *Cethegus* marched to the Side of *Insubria*; and *Minucius*, into *Liguria*. Their Forces were equal. Each had two *Roman Legions*, and as many Auxiliaries as were generally incorporated in *Consular Armies*. But we will, for some time, suspend giving an Account of their Exploits; and return to *Greece*, to *Philip* and *Flamininus*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVI.  
C. CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
Q. MINUCIUS  
RUFUS, Con-  
suls.

§. XVII. THE *Roman* General in the *Levant* did not yet know what *Consuls* the Republick had chosen, or whether he should be continued the next Year in *Greece*, to pursue the War there. But he spent the Winter in *Phocis*, as intent upon the Preparations for the next Campaign, as if he had been sure not to be displaced. *Locris* bordered upon *Phocis*, where his Troops were quartered; and *Flamininus* received Intelligence that the Inhabitants of the City of *Opus*<sup>60</sup> were divided; some being for submitting to the *Romans*, others to the *Ætolians*. This was no contemptible Place. It was defended by a strong Castle, in which *Philip* had a Garrison; and it was one of the chief Cities in the Country of the *Locri*. The *Ætolians*, though in Alliance with *Rome*, were very earnest to get into it; but they were driven out by the Faction which was for the *Romans*. So that the latter, being Masters of the City, would doubtless have taken the Citadel from *Philip*, if he had not shewn fresh Inclinations to a Peace. He sent an Herald to demand a third Conference with *Flamininus*. To conclude a Treaty with *Philip*, was what the *Pro-Consul* most ardently desired. In his present Uncertainty whether he should be displaced, he had nothing more at Heart, than to finish the War, and return to *Rome*, with all the Glory of it. *Scipio*, his Pattern, had been in the same Circumstances, in *Africa*; and had, in some measure, sacrificed the Conquest of *Carthage* to his own Glory. And, after his Example, *Flamininus* was very ambitious of getting such reasonable Terms from *Philip*, (without reducing him to Extremities,) as the Senate should approve, before he went out of his Employment. He at first pretended an Unwillingness to grant the Conference *Philip* demanded; but he plainly saw he should find his Account in it. If he should be forced by Duty, or Necessity, to return to *Rome*, he would at least have the Glory of having set the Treaty of Peace on foot. So that in short, the Place for the Conference was appointed. On *The Maliac Gulph* stood a City named *Nicæa*<sup>61</sup>. Near this maritime City there was a Strand, which was washed by the Sea. There was Depth enough of Water there for Gallies to come up very near to the Shore; and to this Place *Philip* came by Sea, in one of his Ships of War. He was convoyed by five *Felucca's*; and he had on board with him his two Secretaries of State, *Apollodorus* and *Demosthenes*, and the chief of the greatest Lords of his Court; among whom were *Brachyllas*, the chief Man in *Bæotia*, and the famous *Cycliadas*, whom the *Achaïans* had driven out of their Country, in order to put their Government in the Hands of *Aristæus*. On the other hand, *Flamininus* came by Land to the Place of the Conference; and was attended by the Heads of all the *Roman* Allies in *Greece*. He brought with him *Amynder*, the King of the *Athamanes*; *Dionysodorus*, the Ambassador of *Attalus* King of *Perga-*

*Polyb. B. 17.*  
*Æt. ex 60.*  
*Liv. B. 32.*  
*c. 32.*

<sup>60</sup> The City of *Opus* gave the Name of *Opuntia*, to *Locris*, and the neighbouring Gulph. See *Vol. 3.*

<sup>61</sup> We have already spoken of the City of *Nicæa*, *Vol. 2.*



Year of  
R O M E  
DLVI.

C. CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
Q. MINUCIUS  
RUFUS, Con-  
suls.

Lic. B. 32.  
C. 32.

*mus*; *Ageſimbrotus*, the Admiral of the *Rhodian* Fleet; *Phæneas*, the General of the *Ætolians*; and the two chief Magistrates of *Achaia*, *Aristænus* and *Xenophon*. THESE Kings, and Chief Magistrates of Republicks, had all their Interests to settle with *Philip*. The *Roman* appeared at the Congress only as the Avenger of the Liberties of the *Greeks*, which had been taken away by a greedy Conqueror. *Flaminius* came on foot to the Sea-shore; and *Philip* continued in the *Proconsul* of his Ship, which lay at Anchor. *Why don't you come ashore?* said the *Consul*, *we shall hear one another better near. Which of us do you fear?* The Gods only, replied the Monarch haughtily, *can terrify me. But I suspect those about you, particularly the Ætolians. The Danger is equal on both Sides*, rejoined *Flaminius*; *there is always some Hazard run in Conferences with Enemies.* No; replied *Philip* briskly, *the Danger is not equal. Would the Loss of a Phæneas be equal to that of a Philip?* Another *Prætor* of *Ætolia* could easily be found; but the Want of a Great King in his Dominions, is not so easily supplied. At which Words, both Parties continued in a profound Silence. The *Pro-Consul* expected that *Philip* would have first explained himself, and declared what he would give to obtain a Peace. But the *Macedonian* said to *Flaminius*, *It is your Business to begin. The Peace is a kind of Merchandize, and you are to set your Price upon it.* After these Words, the King was silent; and *Flaminius* proceeded thus. *I have but one Word to say; which if not complied with, no Peace will be granted you. Restore my Republick all the Places in Illyricum, which you have invaded, since the last Peace made in Epirus. Surrender up our Deserters. Evacuate the Cities you have conquered from the Egyptians, since the Decease of King Ptolomy Philopator. Satisfy all the just Pretensions of our Allies, and immediately leave Greece. If you refuse to comply with any one of these Conditions, all the Miseries of War will inevitably be the Consequence.* The *Pro-Consul* pronounced these Words like a *Roman*; that is, with an imperious Air: And then invited the Heads of the Confederates to propose their Demands. The Deputy of the King of *Pergamus* spoke first: And he demanded, in the Name of his Master, That all the Ships taken in the Sea-Fight, off *Ciros*, should be restored: and That *Philip* should, at his own Expence, rebuild the Temple of *Venus*, which he had demolished; and plant again the Forest called <sup>62</sup> *Nicephorium*, in the Neighbourhood of *Pergamus*, which he had cut down. *Ageſimbrotus* demanded, for the *Rhodians*, That the *Macedonian* should give up *Peræa* <sup>63</sup>, a maritime Country of <sup>64</sup> *Caria*; withdraw his Garrisons from the Cities of <sup>65</sup> *Jassus*, <sup>66</sup> *Bargylia*, and <sup>67</sup> *Euromus*; re-unite *Perinthus* <sup>68</sup> to the Territory of *Byzantium* <sup>69</sup>; evacuate *Sestos*, and *Abydos*, in the *Helleſpont*; and lastly, give up all the Ports he possessed in *Asia*. *Aristænus* and *Xenophon* demanded, for *Achaia*, That *Corinth* and *Argi* should again be united to it. And lastly, *Phæneas* and *Alexander* made their Demands for the *Ætolians*; and the former treated *Philip* without any manner of Ceremony. He insisted, as the *Romans* had done, That *Philip* should

<sup>62</sup> *Strabo*, speaking of the Forest called *Nicephorium*, says expressly, that it was planted by *Eumenes*, the eldest Son, and Successor, of *Attalus*, probably to repair the Ravages he had committed there. *Ortelius* speaks of a City of this Name, in the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, near *Peloponnesus*.

<sup>63</sup> The maritime Canton of *Peræa* lay over against the Island of *Rhodes*. *Stephens* also gives this Name to a little Country belonging to *Corinth*, and to a little Town in *Syria*.

<sup>64</sup> *Caria* is a Province of *Asia Minor*; and is bounded, to the East, by *Liguria*; to the West, and South, by *The Mediterranean*, and *The Archipelago*; and to the North, by the River *Madre*, or the *Mæander*. This Province is now called *Aidinelli*. We shall have Occasion to speak of it hereafter, when the *Romans* come to extend their Conquests into *Asia*.

<sup>65</sup> *Jassus* was a City situated on the Sea-Coasts of *Caria*. The *Italians* now call both the City and neighbouring Gulph by the Name of *San Pietro*.

<sup>66</sup> Old *Bargylia* is now buried in its Ruins. It took its Name from Mount *Bargylus*, in *Caria*, near the City.

<sup>67</sup> All we can say of *Euromus*, is, that it was a City of *Caria*, and lay between *Bargylia* and *Stratonice*.

<sup>68</sup> *Perinthus* was a City of *Thrace*, on the Coast of *The Propontis*. *Stephens the Geographer* makes one *Perinthus*, a Companion of *Orestes*, the Founder of it. It was afterwards called *Heraclea*, says *Tzetzes*, from *Hercules*, who conquered this City, which was before called *Mygdonia*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* will have it to have been built by *Hercules*, whom we find on the Medal of this ancient City. But *Eusebius* says it was founded in the 44th Olympiad; which was several Years after his time. *Marcian of Heraclea* says, That a Colony of *Sami* came to this City, and That its first Inhabitants were Natives of that Island. And *Eusebius* perhaps regarded only this Settlement.

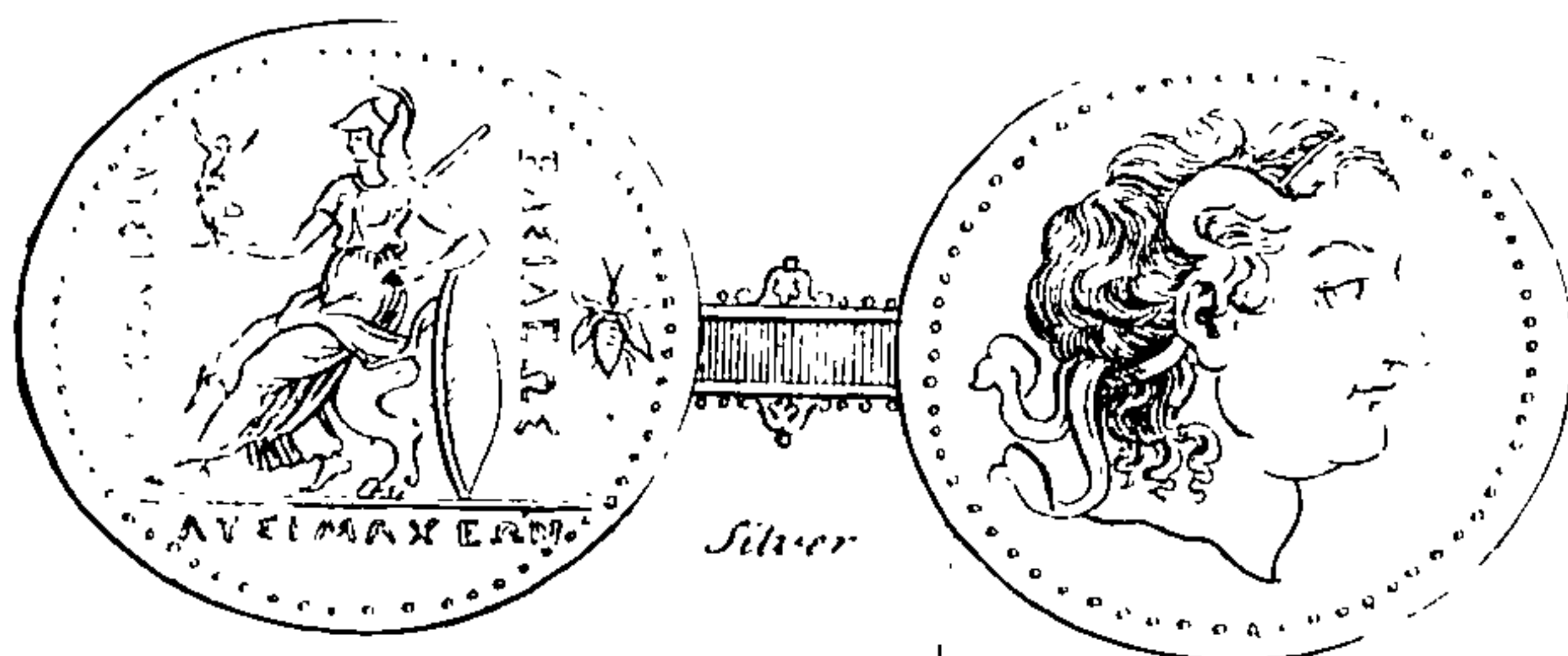
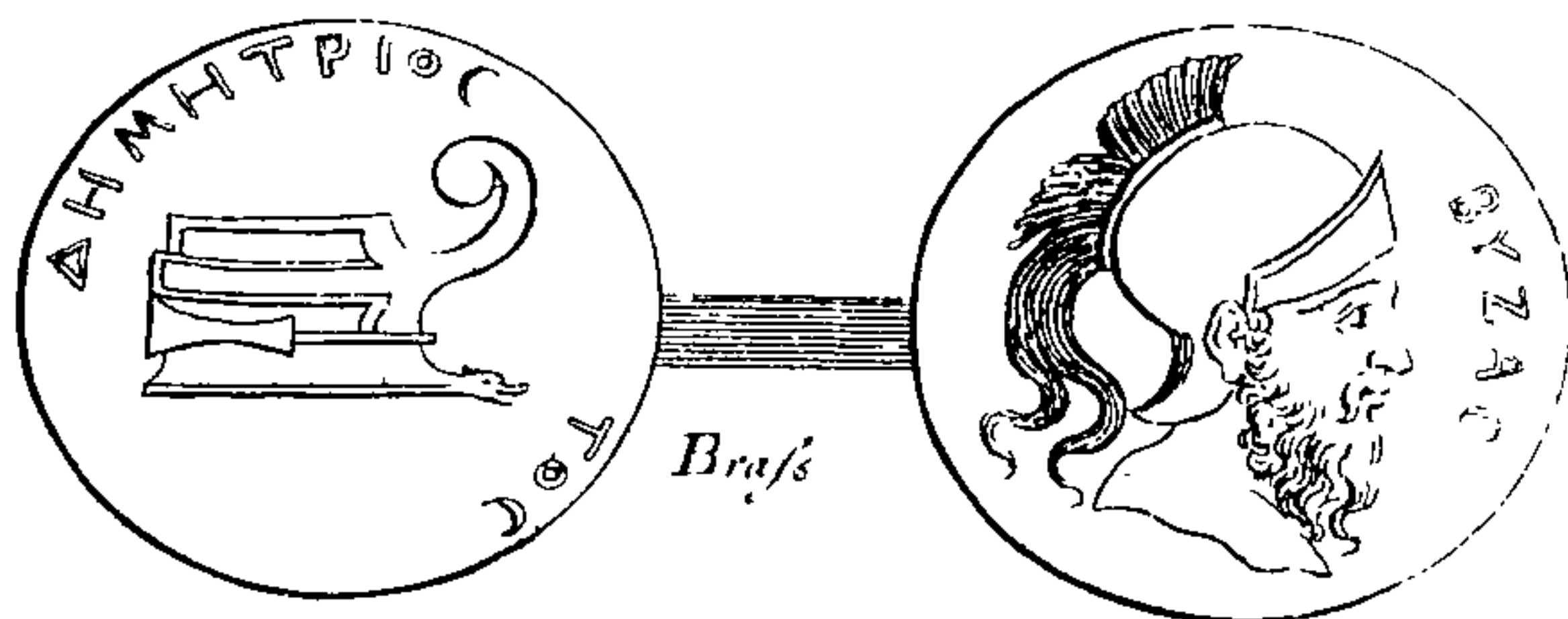
<sup>69</sup> *Byzantium*, or *Lyngos*, as *Pliny* and *Solinus* call it, is now known by the Name of *Constantinople*. It was founded, according to *Eusebius*, about the 30th Olympiad, when *Tullus Hostilius* reigned at *Rome*. But *Diodorus Siculus* carries its Foundation as high as to the Time of the *Argonauts*. It was built, according to him, by *Byzas*, who reigned in



should evacuate all Greece, and restore all the Places he had usurped from the *Ætolians*. Nor was this all. As he was a good Speaker, and had the Reputation of understanding publick Business, he addressed himself to the King with all the Confidence the Protection of the *Romans* could give him, and with all the Audaciousness his Hatred could dictate. *My Lord*, said he, *you now treat of a Peace with as little Sincerity as you have Valour in War. You use all Artifices to avoid Battels; and make it your Business to deceive us by frequent Conferences. In the Field you shun our Arms, and turn your own on some unfortunate Provinces, which you destroy with Fire and Sword. Having been vanquished in several Places, you think of nothing but laying waste the Fields, and Towns, which might be of Use to your Conquerors. Did your Predecessors make War thus? We have seen the Great Alexander, and his Father, seek for pitched Battels; and spare the Cities, that they might not impoverish their Conquests. How barbarous is it to sack the Countries, the Possession of which is disputed; and to bear Arms, only to commit Robberies! How many Tears has Philip caused to be shed, but last Year, in Thessaly! He has sacked more Cities of his Allies, than the Romans have conquered from him. And the Case is the same, as to Ætolia. The Macedonian has possessed himself of 70 Ly-*

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVI.

C. CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
Q. MINUCIUS  
RUFUS, Con-  
suls.  
*Liv. ex Polybi*



in the neighbouring Country; and is said to have been called *Byzantium* from thence. This *Byzas*, according to *Eustathius*, then commanded a Fleet of *Megarenses*, who landed in *Thrace*, and settled there. But be that as it will, we certainly find the Name and Head of *Byzas*, and the Prow of the Ship that brought him into *Thrace*, on a Medal of *Byzantium*. Thus *Janus* is put on the *Roman* Medals. *Velleius Paterculus* will have the first Inhabitants of *Byzantium* to have been a Company of *Milesians*, who came into these Parts. But *Ammianus Marcellinus* makes them to have been a Colony of the People of *Asia*. And *Justin* is certainly mistaken, when he says that *Pausanias*, King of *Lacedæmon*, built the City of *Byzantium*. It is certain it was in being long before *Aexes* came into *Greece*. According to *Thucydides*, who deserves the most Credit of any Greek Historian, *Pausanias* himself took it from the *Perians*, who had made themselves Masters of it. It underwent many Revolutions; being sometimes subject to the *Perians*, sometimes to the *Lacedæmonians*, and sometimes to the *Athenians*; and at length, was subdued by the *Romans*. It is not without Reason that *Byzantium* has been deemed the finest City in the whole World, with respect to its Situation. It stands on a Neck of Land which runs out towards *The Thracian Bosphorus*, *The Propontis*, or *Sea of Marmora*, *The Euxin* or *Black Sea*, and *The Archipelago*, which all surround it, and make it the most convenient Mart for all the Commerce of *E-*

*rope, Asia, and Africa*. Had not the Oracle this commodious Situation in view, when being consulted about the Site of the new City, it answered, That it should be built over against the Territory of *The Blind*? This Epithet was applied to the *Chalcedonians*, who had built the City of *Chalcedon* on the opposite Sea-shore, in a barren Soil, and a Place whither Ships could not conveniently come. The Fruitfulness of the Territory of *Byzantium*, and its Form, gave it the Name of *Chrysoceras*; that is, *The Golden Horn*, or *Cornucopia*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* speaks of a Promontory near *Byzantium*, on which had been built a Tower, like a *Pharos*, for lighting Ships. The Tunny-fishing, which was much used as early as this time, in the *Euxine Sea*, created a great Trade among the *Byzantines*.

70 *Lyfimachia*, called also by some ancient Authors *Hexamilium*, was a City of *The Thracian Chersonesus*; which is the Name yet given to that Peninsula which is shut in, Southwards, by the *Ægean Sea*; Westwards, by *The Gulph Melas*; and Eastwards, by the *Hellepont*. The City we speak of took its Name from *Lyfimachus*, its Founder, who was one of the Generals of *Alexander the Great*, and afterwards King of the *Thracians*. The Medals prove this. On that above, is the Head of this Monarch, adorned with a Diadem, to which are affixed two Goats Horns, after the Manner of the Kings of *Macedon*, as we have observed, Vol. 3.

Stephen



Year of  
R O M E  
DLVI.  
C. CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
Q. MINUCIUS  
RUFUS, Con-  
suls.

simachia, and driven out the Governour, and the Ætolian Garrison. He has dis-  
mantled <sup>71</sup> Cios, and ruined it. <sup>72</sup> Thebes in Phthiotis, <sup>73</sup> Echinus, <sup>74</sup> Larissa, and  
<sup>75</sup> Pharsalus, have undergone the same Fate. Unfortunate Greece! Canst thou ac-  
knowledge thy Tyrant to have been thy Protector? These Words highly exasperated  
the King. He brought his Ship near the Shore, and with an angry Tone made this  
Reply. *What an Orator, and what Rhetorick is this! The audacious Alexander  
may have been taught to harangue in a Theatre; but he knows nothing of the cruel  
Exigencies to which Kings and Generals are sometimes reduced, with respect to  
their Subjects and Allies. Sometimes the Circumstances of Affairs oblige them to  
sacrifice both to the common Good. It was with Regret, that I ravaged Thessaly;  
but I had good Reasons of State for so doing. The King was going on, when  
Phæneas interrupted him, and said, Let us have fewer Words, and more Business  
done. You must either conquer or obey us. To which the King replied, with a  
Sneer, You are very clear-sighted, for a blind Man!*

PHÆNEAS had indeed weak Eyes, and was troubled with a Rheum in  
them. But this Jest was very unseasonable; and beneath the Dignity of a King.  
Philip was naturally jocular. This was a Fault which Education could not correct;  
and which the Liberty Sovereigns have of saying any thing, had increased. Se-  
vere Sarcasms escaped him, even in the most important Negotiations. But at  
length, he assumed a more serious Air, and went on thus: *Is it not surprizing,  
that Ætolians should speak to me with as much Haughtiness as if they were Ro-  
mans? They order me to abandon Greece. Did they ever know the Boundaries of  
it? Ought Ætolia itself to be reckoned among the Nations of which Greece con-  
sists? Were the <sup>76</sup> Agræi, the <sup>77</sup> Apodeotes, and the Amphilochians, who are the  
greatest Part of the <sup>78</sup> Ætolian Confederacy, ever reckoned Greeks? Alexander is  
pleased to say, I have not spared my Allies. But has an Ætolian any Right to cast  
this Reproach upon me? Is it not customary in Ætolia, to suffer the Youth to make  
Incursions into the Countries of Friends? She permits her Subjects to commit any  
Robberies, provided they are not legally authorized. Bodies of Ætolians have of-  
ten been known to serve for and against Nations which were in Alliance with them.  
It is also said, that I destroyed Cios. Is it not then known, that I only sent  
Succours to King Prusias, who was besieging it? It is true, I did take Lyfima-  
chia. But was it not by way of recovering it from the Thracians? Thus much in  
Answer to the Ætolians. As to King Attalus, what Right has he to complain of*

Stephen of Byantium pretends, that Lyfimachia and Cardia were the same Place. Whilst Pliny, far  
from confounding these two Cities, says that Pactya  
and Cardia, the one situated on The Propontis, the  
other on The Gulph Melas, united in the single City  
of Lyfimachia. But this Union will appear incon-  
ceivable, if we at all consider the Distance between  
the two former. Unless Pliny's Meaning be said  
to be, that the Inhabitants of Pactya and Cardia re-  
moved to Lyfimachia. Pausanias says that the lat-  
ter was built on the Ruins of Cardia. Strabo and  
Ptolomy make them two different Cities. Lyfima-  
chia was first destroyed by an Earthquake, twenty  
two Years after it was founded; and was afterwards  
rebuilt. Then it was destroyed a second time by the  
Thracians; and Antiochus the Great raised it out of  
its Ruins. Sophian now gives it the Name of Hex-  
amili; and Nardus that of Polycastro. Pliny speaks  
of another Lyfimachia, which he reckons among  
the Ætolian Cities that were destroyed before his  
time.

<sup>71</sup> All we can say of Cios is, that there are now  
no Footsteps of it remaining.

<sup>72</sup> The City of Thebes, in Phthiotis, a Province  
of Thessaly, stood near The Maliac Gulph, which  
from the modern Name of this City, is now called  
The Gulph of Zeiton. Polybius tells us, B. 5. That  
Philip made himself Master of it, reduced its Inha-  
bitants to Slavery, and, after he had settled a Colo-  
ny of Macedonians in it, called it Philippopoli, or  
Philippi. There Augustus fought the famous Bat-  
tel of Philippi.

<sup>73</sup> Echinus belonged to Thessaly. It stood near

the Mouth of The Sperchius, a little more to the  
South, over against Eubœa, from which it was se-  
parated by The Maliac Gulph.

<sup>74</sup> The City of Larissa here meant, is that of  
which we have spoken already, under the Name of  
Cremaste.

<sup>75</sup> Pharsalus, which became afterwards so famous  
for the celebrated Victory which determined the Em-  
pire of the World, between Cæsar and Pompey,  
stood on the Banks of the Eripiæus. There are now  
no Traces of it left.

<sup>76</sup> The Agræi inhabited a little Canton, which  
bordered on Acarnania on one Side, and the Coun-  
try of the Amphilochians on the other, at a little Dis-  
tance from the Banks of the Achelous. These Peo-  
ple are supposed to be the same that Pliny calls E-  
phyrii. At least it's certain, the City of Ephyra  
stood in the same Canton.

<sup>77</sup> The Apodeotes, or Apodotes, as Polybius calls  
them, are absolutely unknown to us; unless they  
were the same People that Livy calls Aperantii,  
B. 38. and B. 43. The latter possessed the Territory  
near the Head of the Achelous.

As for the Amphilochians, a People of Epirus,  
they were so called from one Amphilochus, the Son  
of Alcæon. Their Country lay between The Gulph  
of Ambracia, and the Achelous. A Part of it was  
watered by the Inachus.

<sup>78</sup> Strictly speaking, neither the Agræi, nor the  
Apodeotes, nor the Amphilochians, were of the Æto-  
lian Body. But their Interests were the same. And  
therefore Livy reckons them among the Nations  
who entered into their Confederacy.



*my Usurpations? Was I the Aggressor? Nevertheless, out of Regard to the Ro-* Year of  
*mans, I offer to restore him Peræa, the Ships I took, and all the Prisoners I have* R O M E  
*which were taken from him. But as to the Temple of Venus, and the Forest, which* DLVI.  
*I destroyed, does it become a King to insist on such Trifles? However, I will come* C. CORNELIUS  
*into it. I will restore both. I will send Masons to re-build the one, and Gardi-* CETHEGUS,  
*ners to re-plant the other. These last Words, which Philip spoke with an Air of* Q. MINUCIUS  
*Raillery and Satyr, pleased Flamininus, who could not help smiling at them; and* RUFUS, Con-  
*then the King proceeded thus: As for you, Achaïans, I was always your Friend* suls.  
*and Protector. Antigonus my Guardian, did you 79 great Services; and I have*  
*added many more to them. You protested you would never abandon Macedon, and*  
*bound your selves to me by Oaths. You made me one of your Divinities, and joined*  
*my Name with those of Jupiter, Apollo, and Hercules. But you have broken your*  
*Promises. Have you then deserved any Favour at my Hands? Nevertheless, I will*  
*shew some Regard to our ancient Friendship. I will restore you Argi. And as to Corinth,*  
*Flamininus and I will settle that Matter. We will consider, whether it be as just, that*  
*I should restore the Cities my Ancestors have conquered in Greece, as that I should*  
*give up those which I have conquered my self. Then the King began to declare his*  
*Reasons to the Pro-Consul; and Phæneas, on the Part of the Ætolians, and A-*  
*ristæus on that of the Achæans, were preparing to answer him; but Night drew*  
*on. Philip demanded, That every one should give him his Pretensions in Writ-*  
*ing; and promised to consider of them. I am alone, said he, and have none to*  
*assist me with their Counsels. To which the Pro-Consul answered, with a Sneer,*  
*I am not at all surprized at it; you have deprived your self of all your Friends.*  
*The King was stung with the Reproach; and could only put on a forced Smile.*  
*Mutual Promises were given, That the Conferences should be continued the next*  
*Day, in the same Place. Philip retired with his Fleet; and Flamininus returned to*  
*his Camp.*

§. XVIII. EARLY in the Morning, the *Pro Consul* and his Company came to the Sea-shore, and walked a great while on the Strand; but no Appearance of *Philip*; neither came any Express from him, to bring word that he would not come. They were quite tired with waiting for him; when at length he appeared on board his Ship. He was attended in the same manner as the Day before; and all the Excuse he made to the *Pro-Consul* was, That he had spent the Night, and good part of the Day, in examining, without any Assistance, the Pretensions the Allies of *Rome* had given him in Writing. He pretended, That he had been fatigued the Day before, with hearing the Declamations of so many Speakers. Whereas his real View was to exclude the *Achæans* and *Ætolians* from the Conference. He was tired with their Chicanery and Invectives.

As soon therefore as the King of *Macedon* was near enough to be heard, he demanded that the Conferences should be continued by him and *Flamininus* alone; which, he said, would be a Means to cut off a thousand frivolous Disputes. He repeated the same Demand a second time; and no Consent was given to it. But at last the *Pro-Consul* turned to his Allies, and asked them what they thought of such a private Conference? And they all having Confidence enough in *Flamininus* to entrust him with the Management of their Interests, desired him to treat alone with the King of *Macedon*. They retired from the Sea-side, and the *Legionary Tribune, App. Claudius* only, continued at some Paces Distance from the General. Then *Philip* came ashore, attended only by *Apollodorus* and *Demosthenes*, his Confidants.

THE Conference was not long; and it is impossible for us to relate what was said. All we know is what *Flamininus* reported to the Council of his Allies, who were not far from the Place where the two Heads had conferred. *Philip* offered to give up *Pharsalus* and *Larissa* to the *Ætolians*; but refused to restore *Thebes* to them. He offered likewise to restore *Peræa* to the *Rhodians*; but reserved *Jassos* and *Bargylia*. He promised to surrender *Argi* and *Corinth* to the *Achæans*; and to give King *Attalus* the Ships and Prisoners he had taken from him. But when *Flamininus* made this Report to the Council, they all made a

79 After *Antigonus* had cut in pieces an Army of had entered into an Alliance with them; and had  
*Lacedæmonians*, commanded by *Gleomenes* King of lent them Troops against the common Enemy.  
*Sparta*, he had united the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*;



Year of  
R O M E  
DLVI.  
C. CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
Q. MINUCIUS  
RUFUS, Con-  
suls.

great Clamour. *Philip* heard it to the Strand; and from the Heat that there seemed to be in the Assembly, concluded that his Proposals were rejected. And indeed, the Allies unanimously agreed, not to grant the *Macedonian* a Peace, till he had evacuated all the Cities he possessed in *Greece* and *Asia*, without any Reserve. Then *Philip* plainly saw that these Offers were vain, and therefore desired the Interview might be renewed the next Day. It grew late, and the King was willing to have a little time to think of some new Method of Accommodation. And then, I know not upon what Motive, the Place of Conference was changed.

ON the same Coast of *The Maliac Gulph*, not far from *Nicaea*, stood a City named <sup>80</sup> *Thronium*; and both Parties agreed to meet the next Day, on the smooth Shore, near that Place. Accordingly, they all came early thither; and *Philip* did not make a long Discourse to them. He exhorted the Heads of the Nations not to be averse to a Peace: and as he had already granted all that King *Attalus* and the *Achaians* had desired; he proposed as to the other Allies, to refer all Differences to the Arbitration of the *Roman* Senate, and promised to submit to their Decision. But the *Ætolians*, and other Persons concerned, saw thro' the Designs of the artful *Macedonian*; and said privately to *Flamininus*, *Who does not see, that Philip has nothing in View but to gain time? His only Aim is to lull us on in Security and Inaction, whilst he amuses the Senate of Rome with the slow Proceedings of his own Ambassadors, and ours. Is there any Dependance to be had on a fawning deceitful Politician? I have as little Dependance upon him,* replied the *Pro-Consul*, *as you. But after all, what can he gain by this Expedient? The Winter is but just begun. It will not be possible to take the Field for some Months. Nothing hinders us from making Preparations for the Spring, by way of Precaution. Besides, the Peace the Macedonian desires will not take place, till it is ratified by the Roman Senate, to whom he refers himself. So that he has by no means taken his Measures well, if he designs to deceive us.*

ALL were of *Flamininus's* Opinion. *Philip* dispatched his Ambassadors to *Rome*, and the Allies of *Flamininus* sent their Deputies thither. *Amynder*, the King of the *Athamanes*, went in Person, at the Head of the Embassy; and the *Pro-Consul* sent with him, on his Part, *Q. Fabius*, and *App. Claudius Nero*, a *Legionary Tribune*. A Truce was granted the *Macedonian*, for two Months; and he was required to withdraw his Troops out of all *Phocis*, and the Country of the *Locri*. Nevertheless, the *Romans* narrowly observed his Conduct, and watched his Steps.

§. XIX. ALL the Deputies arrived at *Rome*, much about the same time; but before Audience was given to *Philip's* Ambassadors, those of the Allies were introduced into the Senate. In their Harangues, they were very liberal of their Invectives against *Philip*; and insisted on what they thought a capital Point. *Philip* had long obstinately refused to give up either *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*, or *Corinth* in *Achaia*, or *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*. He called these three Places *The Fetters of Greece*. The Garrison of *Corinth* kept all *Peloponnesus* in Awe. That of *Chalcis* made *Phocis*, *Locris*, and *Bœotia* tremble; and that of *Demetrias* kept *Thessaly* and *Magnesia* in Subjection. If the King had promised to restore either of these Places, it had been only a Feint, to avoid some present Danger. When the *Greeks* in Alliance with the Republick had filled the Senate with these Prejudices; then *Philip's* Ambassadors were admitted into the Assembly of *The Conscript Fathers*. Their Orator began with a studied Harangue; but the *Fathers* interrupted him, and said, *Without so many Preambles, tell us in two Words, Will the King of Macedon give up Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias?* The Ambassadors were surprized at this Question; and with Confusion answered, That their Master had given them no Instructions, as to that Matter. At which Words, they were dismissed; and immediately a Decree was pass'd, giving *Flamininus* an absolute Power, either to force *Philip* to deliver up the three Cities, or to pursue the War with Vigour. The Friends of the *Pro-Consul* immediately sent him the Decree; by which he found himself made the Arbitrator of Peace and War, between *Greece* and *Macedon*; and when supported by these full Powers, *Flamininus* no longer complied with *Philip's* Intracacies for Conferences and Negotiations. He now had at least one Campaign more to reduce his Enemy by Arms, and force him into a Peace by

<sup>80</sup> *Thronium* lay to the South of *Nicaea*, in the Country of the *Locri Epicnemidii*.



Violence. And it was necessary that *Flamininus* (as *Scipio* had done in *Hannibal's* Case) should first get a decisive Victory, before his Enemies would accept a Peace upon such Terms as he should dictate.

§. XX. As for *Philip*, he with Grief saw that his Artifices were discovered at *Rome*, and his Hopes frustrated. He refused to give up the three Cities, and turned his Thoughts wholly to War. It was of great Importance to him to preserve the famous City of *Argi*, which had lately submitted to him. But the Difficulty was, how to continue Master of a City in the Heart of *Achaia*. *Argi* was surrounded on all Sides by Nations steady in their Attachment to *Rome*. The King therefore took a Step which was very prejudicial to the *Argians* his Allies. He treated about this City with the famous *Nabis*, who had usurped the Sovereignty in *Lacedæmon*. This Tyrant was powerful enough to defend *Argi*; and the Conditions upon which *Philip* delivered it up to him was, That *Nabis* should not continue in Possession of the Place, unless *Philip* lost his Life in the War; but should restore it to the *Macedonian*, in case he escaped the Danger. The ambitious King of *Lacedæmon* consented to this; but pretended that he would not take Possession of it without the Consent and Approbation of the Inhabitants. Whereas the Villain had really nothing in view, but to plunder the Place, and enrich himself with the Spoils of the unfortunate *Argians*; who foresaw their Misfortunes, and therefore refused to receive the *Lacedæmonian* within their Walls.

In the mean time, *Nabis* drew near the Place; only waited for an Opportunity to enter it; and by the Help of *Philocles*, who had made the Treaty with him for *Philip*, was brought into *Argi* in the Night. Then *Nabis* possessed himself of all the advantageous Posts, and ordered the Gates to be shut. Of a great Number of Inhabitants, only a few of the chief Magistrates made their Escape in the Tumult; and the Tyrant made use of this Pretence to begin his Violences with them. He confiscated the Estates of those who had voluntarily banished themselves, to his own Use. And then, knowing that no Body was able to withstand his Oppressions, he set no Bounds to them. He demanded of the Townsmen all their Gold and Silver; and put those to the Rack, whom he suspected of having concealed any. Nor was this all. The new Sovereign assembled the People, and notified to them two Edicts. By the first, he cancelled all old Debts; and by the second, ordered a new Division to be made of the Lands, whereof every one should have an equal Share. This was the ready way to set the Rich against the Poor, and to put the City in a Flame; and *Nabis* finding that he could not preserve *Argi*, without a powerful Protection, had Recourse to the *Romans*. *Flamininus* was then at *Elatia*, and *Attalus* at *Ægina*. The Tyrant sent them word, that if they would draw near to *Argi*, he would treat with them about it, and then enter into a Confederacy with them. The Ingrate had forgotten *Philip* his Benefactor, and the Conditions upon which he had been put in Possession of *Argi*; and the *Pro-Consul* and *Attalus* accepted his Offers, without examining over nicely into the Injustice and Treachery of the Tyrant. *Flamininus* desired the King of *Pergamus* to meet him at *Sicyon*, in order to march together towards *Argi*; and the *Pro-Consul* himself crossed *The Gulph of Corinth*, on board the Fleet his Brother had brought him from *Corcyra*, and came to *Sicyon*. There he found *Attalus*, who was waiting for him; and made the best Use of his Intelligence. But the King of *Pergamus* thought it beneath the Dignity of either of them to go to the Tyrant *Nabis* to *Argi*; and they therefore resolved to make him meet them part of the Way, and confer with them in a Place of their chusing. This Place was a vast Plain, near the Ruins of old *Mycenæ*. *Nabis* came thither first, under Arms, and attended by his Guards. The *Pro-Consul* came unarmed, and with only

§1 The City of *Mycenæ*, situated on the Banks of the *Inachus*, was formerly one of the most considerable Cities in this Country. It even had the Preference before *Argi*, as long as the *Pelopidae* continued in Possession of the Monarchy. After the Death of *Acrisius*, it's certain that *Persæus* reigned there, tho' *Ensebius* has omitted this King, in his List of the Kings of *Mycenæ*. It was the Capital of this Monarchy, for the Space of two hundred and ten Years; till the Reigns of the Sons of *Orestes*, *Tisamenus*, and *Penthius*, whom the *Heraclide* de-

throned, eighty Years, or thereabouts, after the Destruction of *Troy*; and three hundred thirty four Years before the Foundation of *Rome*. But at last, the Citizens of *Argi*, whose Hatred and Jealousy incited them to take up Arms against those of *Mycenæ*, entirely destroyed it. *Strabo* expressly says, that it was not in being in his time. *Sophian* guesses, that it was not far from a Place in the *Moræa*, which the *Greeks* call *Agios Hadrianos*, or *Saint Adrian*. *Le Noir* places it near *Charia*.



Year of his Brother *Lucius*, and two of his *Tribunes*, to attend him; and *Attalus* imitated the Boldness of *Flamininus*. *Nabis* began the Conference with Apologies for appearing in Arms, and surrounded with Guards. *It is not, my Lords*, said the Tyrant, *that I fear you. But I am afraid of the Argian Exiles, whose Estates I have seized.* Then they came to the Conditions of the Alliance; and the *Pro-Consul* insisted upon two. First, That the *Lacedemonians* should put an End to the War in *Achaia*; and secondly, That their King should furnish the Confederates with his Contingent of Troops, to act against *Philip*. Whereas *Attalus* was more bold, or more sincere, than the *Roman*. He reproached the Tyrant with having gotten Possession of *Argi* thro' the Treason of *Philocles*. *Nabis*, on the other hand, contended, That he had not entered the City without the Consent and Desire of the Citizens; and the Dispute grew warm. *Attalus* insisted, That the *Argians* should be assembled; and That the Tyrant should bring his Garrison out of their City, that they might be at full Liberty to declare their Thoughts. But *Nabis* was too cunning to consent to it; and at length, *Flamininus* put an End to the Dispute. He did not regard Punctilio's, so much as the Eastern Princes did; and in Negotiations, he came immediately to the Point, without losing time in Disputes about Trifles. In short, he concluded an Alliance with *Nabis*. The latter made a Truce with the *Achaians* for four Months, and furnished the Confederates with a Body of six hundred *Cretans*, which the *Pro-Consul* incorporated with his Auxiliaries.

§. XXI. WITH this Reinforcement *Flamininus* thought himself in a Condition to insult *Philocles* the *Macedonian* General, who was *Philip's* right Hand. *Philocles* was then Governour of *Corinth*. The *Roman* Army drew near that City; and the *Pro-Consul* affected to shew the *Corinthians* the *Cretan* Troops he had received from *Nabis*. This was giving *Philocles* to understand that the *Lacedemonian* was come over to the *Romans*. Nor was this all. He brought the *Macedonian* Commander to a Conference; pressed him to surrender *Corinth*; and *Philocles* at least gave him good Words. He made him hope that he would soon evacuate *Corinth*, and join the Confederates. So that *Flamininus* returned to *Anticyra*, well satisfied with his Expedition, and spent the rest of the Winter there. As for *Nabis*, being absolute Master in *Argi*, and proud of his Alliance with *Rome*, he resolved to evacuate it, and return to *Lacedemon*, where his Presence was necessary. But his Avarice was not sufficiently glutted with the excessive Contributions he had raised upon the *Argians*. There yet remained a kind of Robbery to be committed, which it would not have been very decent for him to have been concerned in himself. The *Argian* Women never appeared in the Sight of the Men; and not one of them had been at Court. Nevertheless, they were rich in Jewels, and the Avarice of the Tyrant was such, that he wanted to rob them of them. *Nabis* therefore, before he left *Argi*, brought thither his Wife *Apega*, whose Inclinations were exactly suited to his own. This Sort of Queen received the *Argian* Ladies at Court, and they came thither dressed in all their Finery. At first *Apega* only admired the Richness of their Cloaths. Then, by the particular Liking which she took to some of the Jewels, she prevailed on some to make her Presents of them. Others she cajolled into stripping themselves to cloath her. And in the last place, she made use of Threatenings to others; and took from them their precious Stones, and finest Cloaths, by Force. And on this Occasion, an Artifice is mentioned, which would justly be esteemed fabulous, if it were not attested by a venerable Author, who lived about this time, and might have been an Eye-Witness of the thing.

*Polyb. B. 13.  
Jub finem.*

*NABIS*, says he, had, in the third Year after he had usurped the Throne, practised in *Sparta*, what he has since done in *Argi*. His Tyrannies and his Rapines were carried to Excess. His Wife *Apega* was then the Instrument of his Extortions; and the Tyrant, not content with her assisting him herself, ordered a Figure to be made of her, which was exactly like her, and was moved by Springs hid under the fine Cloaths with which the Image was dressed. It was, properly speaking, a Statue of her, exactly of her Size, and so like her, as to be capable of deceiving any Body. This Statue generally stood in the King's Apartment; and he made it move as he pleased, by turning a Spring, which was out of sight. When the Tyrant had any *Lacedemonian* brought into his Presence, whose Estate he had a mind



mind to usurp, he first exhorted him to contribute liberally towards the Wants of the State. And if he appeared in the least inflexible, he desired him to go to the Queen, who would make him more tractable. At the same instant the Statue moved out of its Place, and advanced some Steps towards the refractory Citizen; and at length came up to him, and took fast hold of him. As soon as she had done this, some Daggers, and Swords, started out of the Folds of her Clothes, stabbed the poor *Lacedæmonian*, and killed him. This would appear an incredible Story, if we did not know how expert the *Greeks* were at such Inventions; which have been imitated in our Days, rather for Diversion, than as Instruments of Cruelty. And this at least lets us into the Characters of this *Nabis*, and his Wife *Apega*, with whom *Flamininus* had made an Alliance. The Scandal of having joined him with the Allies of *Rome*, left a Stain on the Reputation of this Roman General.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVI.  
C. CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
Q. MINUCIUS  
RUFUS, Con-  
suls.

§. XXII. IN the mean time the Winter was just at an end, and the Spring invited the Armies to take the Field. *Flamininus* marched out of his Quarters, guarded only with one *Manipulus*, and attended by King *Attalus*, who was come to join him at *Elatia*. They advanced together towards *Thebes*<sup>82</sup>, the Capital of *Bæotia*, and a City, which it was of Importance to the Confederates to seize: And the *Pro-Consul* pitched his Camp five Miles from the Place. *Thebes* yet held out for *Philip*, through the Interest of *Brachyllas*<sup>83</sup>, his zealous Friend. But when the *Thebans* saw the *Pro-Consul* arrive with so small a Guard, *Antiphilus*, their chief Magistrate, came to meet him. The *Roman* had not neglected a Precaution which he thought necessary. Two thousand of his *Hastati* followed him at some Distance. They marched on slowly, and were hid behind the Hills round the City. All the *Thebans* were either come out of their Gates, or stood on the Ramparts, for the most part without Arms; out of Curiosity to see what passed. As for *Flamininus*, he designedly slackened his Pace, that his *Hastati* might have time to come up; and as soon as they appeared, the *Thebans* thought themselves betrayed. *Antiphilus*, said they, *has sold the City to the Romans. We shall not be at Liberty to chuse their Alliance, or that of Philip, in the Assembly of the People, appointed to be held to morrow.* Nevertheless, they disguised their Uneasiness; (how could they safely discover it?) And the *Pro-Consul* mightily caressed the Inhabitants, and gave them Leave to assemble their Council, to deliberate what Measures to pursue. But what had they to do, unless to surrender to the *Romans*, who were already Masters of their Ramparts? However, they held the Assembly, and *Attalus* was present at it. This Prince was old and infirm. Nevertheless, he spoke first; and with all the Ardour that his Zeal for the *Romans* inspired. But by that time he had represented to the *Thebans*, the good Offices he had done their City, and all *Bæotia*, he was seized with an apopleckick Fit, which took away the use of his Speech. He gave several Hiccups, and fell down. Those near him endeavoured to raise him, and the Motion brought

Liv. B. 33.  
C. 1.  
Plut. Life of  
Flaminin.  
Livy, B. 33.  
C. 1.

<sup>82</sup> There were two Cities which were called *Thebes* in *Greece*. One was in *Phthiotis*, not far from the Sea, and near *The Malian Gulph*. We have spoken of it. Vol. 3. The other, which is that here spoken of, was the Capital of *Bæotia*. Most People have thought that it was founded by *Cadmus*; but *Strabo* makes him only to have founded a Citadel, called from him *Cadmæa*. *Pausanias* pretends, that *Thebes* was founded by *Amphion* and *Zethus*, the Son of *Antiope*. But there is nothing at all reasonable in the miraculous Circumstances with which the Pagan Mythologists adorn this Fact, unless it be the Allusions couched under them. The two Founders gave their new City the Name of the famous City of *Thebes*, from which they came; and they also called it *Heptapylus*, from its seven Gates. By this latter Name they distinguished it from *Thebes* in *Egypt*, which was also called *Hecatompylos*, or *The City with an hundred Gates*. The Rivers *Ismenus* and *Asopus*, watered its Territory. Near it was the Fountain of *Dirce*, so well known among the Poets. It ran into the former of these two Rivers. After *Thebes* had undergone several Revolutions, it acquired new Lustre. By

the Victory of *Leuctra*, which the *Thebans* gained, under the Conduct of *Epaminondas*, they acquired a Superiority over all *Greece*. And *Thebes* continued formidable to its Neighbours, till it was utterly destroyed by *Alexander the Great*. He spared no House, but that of the famous *Pindar*. However *Cassander*, the Son of *Antipater*, raised it out of its Ruins. It now scarce deserves the Name of a City. It is no better than a Village, which the *Turks* call *Tives*, *Tibes*, or *Stives*. *Lazius* calls it *Tyana*. Its Inhabitants formerly had the Reputation of being the dullest People in *Greece*. Nevertheless, though they had no Wit, the Ancients say, they had a singular Talent for Musick. Which made *Alcibiades* say, *They can't speak indeed, but they can sing mighty well.* *Thebes* was famous for having given Birth to the two fabulous Heroes, *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, the Sons of *Jupiter* and *Alcmena*.

<sup>83</sup> *Plutarch*, or his Copyists, seem to have misfigured the Name of *Brachyllas*. He, in his *Life of Flamininus*, calls him *Bracbullelis*. We follow *Polybius* and *Livy*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLVI.  
C. CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
Q. MINUCIUS  
RUFUS, Con-  
suls.

him a little to himself; but he had lost the Use of some of his Limbs. *Flamini-*  
*mus* ordered him to be taken care of, and put on board a Galley, which carried  
him to *Asia*, where he died, at seventy one Years <sup>84</sup> of Age. This Prince was  
the first who made the City of *Pergamus* the Capital of a Monarchy, by taking  
the Title of King. The immense Riches he inherited from his Mother <sup>85</sup> *Antiochis*,  
*Antiochis*, emboldened him to give himself a Crown; which he maintained for forty  
Years, by his Wealth and Victories, and the Protection of the *Romans*. He was  
faithful to his Allies, liberal to his Friends, mild to his Subjects; and was univer-  
sally lamented, at Home, and Abroad. He left four <sup>86</sup> Sons, the eldest of whom  
was *Eumenes*, who inherited his Crown. We shall hereafter see this young Prince  
live in a very good Understanding with his Brothers, long cultivate the Alliance  
of the *Romans*, and signalize himself by his Courage, and Virtues.

THIS unspeakable and unforeseen Accident suspended a little the Deliberation  
of the *Thebans*; and then *Aristæus*, the *Prætor* of the *Acheans*, undertook to  
be the Advocate of the *Romans*, in the room of *Attalus*. His Speech was the  
more prevalent, because he did not endeavour to persuade others to any thing  
but what he had done himself. After this, *Flaminius* spoke a few Words. He  
did not so much boast of his Exploits, or the Superiority of his Republick, as of  
her Fidelity in observing Treaties. And lastly, what determined the Assembly in  
favour of the *Romans*, was the Petition made to it, by the chief Magistrate of  
<sup>87</sup> *Platææ*. This City formerly belonged to *Bæotia*; and the Head of it had great  
Interest in the national Diets. The *Platæan* desired, that *Bæotia* might join with  
the *Romans*; and no one durst contradict him. So that *Thebes*, and all *Bæotia*,  
deserted *Philip*, and entered into a Confederacy with *Rome*. And now *Flaminius*,  
who had no Enemy left behind him, was wholly bent on going in quest of *Philip*,  
and fighting him.

§. XXIII. THE *Macedonian*, on the other hand, spent the Winter, in preparing  
for a Campaign, on which depended the Fate of his Dominions, and the Preser-  
vation of his Conquests. He found *Macedon* exhausted of Soldiers. His Prede-  
cessors had always loved War, and he himself had continually been raising Troops  
all his Reign. And lastly, the best part of his old Soldiers had been killed in the  
late Battels with the *Romans*. He was therefore forced to raise new *Corps* of  
weak young Men, who were scarce past sixteen. Only he joined with them some  
few Veterans, whom he forced to take Arms again, though advanced in Years.  
He encamped with all these Troops near <sup>88</sup> *Dium*, and there exercised his new  
Levies. From thence he went down to *Thessaly*; and *Flaminius* took the same  
Rout. From *Elatia*, he turned towards <sup>89</sup> *Scarpheæ*, and came to *Thermopyla*,  
where the *Ætolian* Diet was assembled. The Business before them was to delibe-  
rate, how many Troops *Ætolia* should send to the *Pro-Consul*; and it being de-  
termined, that *Phaneas* should carry him two thousand Foot, and five hundred  
Horse as her Contingent, this Reinforcement joined him without Delay.

*FLAMININUS* continued his Rout through *Phthiotis*; and five hundred  
<sup>90</sup> *Cretans*, and three hundred *Apolloniates*, joined him there. Soon after this,  
*Amynder* brought him twelve hundred *Athamanes*. So that the *Pro-Consul's*  
Army increased in all Places wherever he came. He had gained the Affection of  
all these Nations; and it may be affirmed, that his Prudence and Address contri-  
buted as much towards gaining his Victories, as his Valour.

<sup>84</sup> According to *Polybius*, *Attalus* was seventy two, when he died.

<sup>85</sup> *Antiochis*, the Mother of *Attalus*, was the Daughter of *Acheus*, who had usurped part of *Asia Minor*, to the Prejudice of *Antiochus the Great*, his Pupil.

<sup>86</sup> *Attalus* had these four Children by his Wife *Apollonia*, the Daughter of a Citizen of *Cysica*. The second was named *Attalus* as well as his Father; the third *Phileterus*; and the fourth *Athenour*.

<sup>87</sup> *Platææ* was one of the most famous Cities in *Bæotia*. It stood on the Banks of the *Asopus*, between *Thebes*, and Mount *Cytheron*. This City became yet more famous for the Battel which the *Greeks* gained over *Mardonius*, one of the Generals of *Xerxes* King of *Persia*. The *Platæans* had been the only People in *Greece*, who had seconded the

*Athenians* in the Battel of *Marathon*. And in Gratitude for their Adherence to the Interests of *Attica*, they had, according to *Herodotus*, a Share in the Vows the *Athenians* made every five Years, by the Mouth of an Herald, in favour of the *Tribes*, and Cities, in Alliance with them.

<sup>88</sup> The City of *Dium* here spoken of, stood in that part of *Macedon*, which the ancient Geographers called *Pieria*, near *The Thermaic Gulph*. *Nardus* gives this City the Name of *Stadia*.

<sup>89</sup> *Scarpheæ* was a City of *Locris*; and bordered upon *The Maliac Gulph*.

<sup>90</sup> *Livy* distinguishes these five hundred *Cretans* by the Name of *Gortynii*. This Body had been raised at *Gortyna*, an ancient City of *Crete*, which is now only a small Town called *Gortina*.



IN the mean time, *Philip* was advanced farther into *Theffaly*, which was to be the Seat of the War. His Army consisted of one *Phalanx* only, that is, of sixteen thousand Men, all *Macedonians*, who were formed into one *Corps*. All his Strength, and all his Hopes, depended on this single Body of Men. But besides the *Phalanx*, *Philip* had also in his Army, two thousand light-armed Men, who wore small light Bucklers, in the Form of an Half-moon, called by the *Greeks*, *Peltai*; and about a thousand Mercenaries, who served him as Auxiliaries. To which, if we add his two thousand Horse of different Nations, his whole Army will amount to twenty one thousand Men. And all things considered, the *Roman* Army was very little more numerous; only their Cavalry was superior to that of the Enemy.

THE first Attempt *Flamininus* made in *Theffaly*, was unsuccessful. He flattered himself, that he should be able to surprise *Thebes*, a City of *Phthiotis*, different from the City of that Name in *Boeotia*. *Timon*, the Governor of it, had given the *Pro Consul* hopes, that he would deliver it up to him. *Flamininus* therefore drew near it, with a small Body of Horse and Foot; but the *Thebans* made so brisk a Sally upon him, that he would have lost his Life, or have been taken, if his Infantry had not ran to his Assistance from the Camp. Upon which the *Roman* General entrenched himself. He knew *Philip* was entered into *Theffaly*; but knew not where he was encamped.

THEN the *Pro-Consul* sent out Detachments, some to discover the Enemy, others to cut Stakes, to guard his Trenches, if there should be Occasion. Both the *Macedonians* and *Romans* used Pallisades; but the latter, with most Art. The *Macedonians* made use of young Trees, which were pretty high, and very bushy. These they planted pretty wide, and twisted their Branches together. The *Romans* on the contrary chose forked Stakes, of a moderate Size; one side of which was cut smooth, and the other had its Branches, which were pliable enough to be fastened together: and these Stakes they set so thick, that you could not thrust a Hand between them. By this means the *Romans* had great Advantages over the *Macedonians*; both in pitching, and defending, a Camp. A *Roman* Soldier, when he had slung his Buckler over his Shoulders, could easily bring from a Forest, besides his Javelin, two or three of these Stakes, because most of the Branches were cut off. But a *Macedonian* on the contrary, could not without Difficulty carry one of his heavy Piles, with the Branches about it. Besides, in the Attack of a Camp, when two or three Foot-Soldiers had caught hold of some of the *Macedonian* Pallisades, and pulled them down, they made a wide opening into the Entrenchments. The removal of two or three Stakes made a large Breach. But the Case was very different, as to the *Roman* Pallisades. There was nothing to hold them by; and if one of them was pulled up, it made but a very little opening. Besides, the whole Enclosure of Pallisades, was in a manner but one Body; and as it took up a great deal of time, to pull up every Stake, one after another, it was in a manner impossible to force a Way through it. Behind Trenches, thus strongly fortified, did *Flamininus* every Night lodge his Army.

§. XXIV. THUS furnished with Pallisades, the *Romans* advanced near *Pheræ*, a City of *Magnesia*; and there received Intelligence, that the King of *Macedon* was encamped at *Larissa*. The two Armies drew nearer and nearer together, insensibly; but *Philip* first shewed an Earnestness to come to a Battel. He marched on hastily, and came and encamped four Miles from *Pheræ*. Then both Generals sent out Detachments to seize an Eminence, which they thought of Importance. There the detached *Romans* first got sight of the *Macedonians*, in this Campaign, and continued in their Posts till further Orders. Both Parties sent to their Generals, to know whether they should advance, or return to the Camp; and the Orders were to retreat. The next Day the *Ætolian* Horse, joined with some *Roman* Squadrons, returned to the same Place, to take Possession of the Eminence. Some of the *Macedonian* Cavalry came also to seize the same Post. Then a Battel ensued between the Horse, which was begun with inconceivable Valour by the *Ætolians*; and the *Romans* seconding them, they together chased the *Macedonian* Troop, which retired in Disorder. And this first Advantage of the *Pro Consul*, was the Prelude to a Victory. Nevertheless, the two Generals, as it were by Consent, thought the Neighbourhood of *Pheræ*, a very improper Place for a pitched

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVI.  
C. CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
Q. MINUCIUS  
RUFUS, Con-  
suls.

*Polyb. B. 17.*  
*Æ ex co.*  
*Livy, B. 33.*  
*c. 5.*



Year of pitched Battel. It was full of Trees, ruined Houses, and Gardens. How then  
 R O M E could the *Roman Legions*, or *Macedonian Phalanx*, be formed in such a Country?  
 DLVI. The two Armies therefore marched towards *Scotussa*: *Philip* to reap the Fields  
 C. CORNELIUS there; and *Flamininus* to ravage them, and deprive the Enemy of their Subsistence.  
 CETHEGUS. What was remarkable is, that the two Armies marched to the same Place, through  
 Q. MINUCIUS different Roads, without meeting, or so much as seeing each other. A long  
 RUFUS, CON- Chain of Hills hid them from one another. At length, after they had marched  
 sul. all the Day, the *Pro Consul* came and encamped at <sup>91</sup> *Eretia*, in *Phthiotis*; and  
*Philip*, on the Banks of the <sup>92</sup> *Onchestus*, a River which divides *Phthiotis* from  
*Magnesia*. The next Day both the *Roman* and *Macedonian* decamped. The lat-  
 ter marched up towards <sup>93</sup> *Melambium*, pretty near *Scotussa*; the former came and  
 encamped at <sup>94</sup> *Thetidium*. So that the Generals lost sight of one another again, and  
 neither of them knew exactly where the other was. The next Morning at break  
 of Day, a violent Storm arose, with great Rains, and terrible Thunders; and the  
 bad Weather kept *Flamininus* in his Camp. Whereas *Philip* decamped, notwith-  
 standing the Darkness; but as his Soldiers could not see one another at two Paces  
 Distance, and could only guide themselves by the Shouts of the advanced Guard,  
 as in a Night-march, he only crossed the Plain, called <sup>95</sup> *Cynocephalæ*. This Place,  
 which we shall soon see the Scene of a signal Victory, was so called, from a great  
 Number of Hills about it, which were naturally shaped like *Dogs-Heads*. There  
*Philip* posted advanced-Guards of Horse and Foot, and encamped a little above  
*Cynocephalæ*. In the mean time *Flamininus*, who had not left his Camp at *Theti-*  
*dium*, sent ten Companies of Horse, and a thousand Foot, to find out *Philip*.  
 Neither of the Generals thought the decisive Stroke so near at Hand.

*PHILIP* had seized the Eminencies with a Detachment of his Troops. The  
*Romans* came upon them, and climbed half way up the Hills, without seeing the  
 Enemy. The Fog, which yet continued, hid them; and there the Skirmish began.  
 The *Romans*, who fought up-Hill, and with a more numerous Body, than their  
 own, were worsted; and sent to their General for Assistance. *Flamininus* sent them  
 two Bodies <sup>96</sup> of *Ætolian* Horse, and two *Legionary Tribunes*, with all the *Ma-*  
*nipuli* under their Command. And then the Battel had a different Aspect. The  
*Romans* pressed their Enemies with Vigour, and forced them to retreat to the  
 Ridge of the Hill. From thence they sent *Philip* Word, that if they were not  
 succoured, they should be surrounded. The King had no Thoughts of coming so  
 soon to a general Action; and some of his Troops were dispersed about the Fields  
 to gather Forrage, others to guard the Convoys. Nevertheless, he detached away  
 three <sup>97</sup> of his Officers, with his *Macedonian* and *Thessalian* Cavalry, and all his  
 mercenary Infantry, except the *Thracians*. The Fog began to go off, as this Re-  
 inforcement arrived at the Hill; and then the Enemy fell on the *Romans*, and  
 repulsed them. Indeed, the *Ætolian* Cavalry did Wonders in this critical Junc-  
 ture. They covered the *Romans*, gave them time to rally, and saved them the  
 Shame of a dishonourable Flight. The *Ætolian* Squadrons were incomparably  
 good at Rencontres and Skirmishes. They as much excelled in tumultuous En-  
 gagements, as they were defective in pitched Battels. The *Pro-Consul* having No-  
 tice of the Danger of his *Romans*, immediately drew out all his Troops into the  
 Plain; led them to the Foot of the Mountains; and formed them there. In the  
 mean time *Philip*, who continued in his Camp, received every Moment fresh Ad-  
 vice of the beginning of the Battel; and the Challenge *Flamininus* gave him. The  
 slight Advantage his Troops had just gained over an Handful of *Romans*, was ex-

<sup>91</sup> The ancient Geographers mention two Cities of *Eretia*, one in *Phthiotis*, a Country of *Thessaly*, the other in the Island of *Eubœa*.

<sup>92</sup> According to *Livy*, *Polybius*, and *Stephen of Byzantium*, the River *Onchestus* watered *Thessaly*. The Ancients give the same Name to a Wood, a Lake, and a City, in *Boœtia*.

<sup>93</sup> We know nothing more of the Situation of *Melambium*, than that it was in *Pelagiotis*, a part of *Thessaly*.

<sup>94</sup> *Strabo* and *Polybius* place the City of *Thetidium* in *Thessaly*, near *Pharsalus*.

<sup>95</sup> *Stephen of Byzantium* gives this Name of *Cy-*

*nocephalæ* to a little Canton near *Thebes* in *Boœtia*, of which the Poet *Pindar* was a Native; and *Ar-nophon* speaks of this Country in the History of *Agésilas*.

<sup>96</sup> These two Bodies of *Ætolian* Horse were commanded by *Archidamus*, and *Eupolemus*, two Generals of that Nation.

<sup>97</sup> The Name of one of these three Generals was *Heracles*, who commanded the *Thessalian* Horse; that of the second *Leon*, who commanded the *Macedonian* Horse; and that of the third *Albenagoras*, who commanded the Mercenaries.



aggregated to him. But nevertheless he yet continued in suspense, between a Desire to fight, and his inward Forebodings of some great Misfortune. He neither liked the Day, nor the Place, where the Battel was going to be fought. The Plain of *Cynocephalæ* was encumbered with Rocks, and there was scarce Room enough for his *Phalanx* to be drawn up to the best Advantage. But at length the Discourses of his Officers, and the Ardour of his Soldiers, prevailed over his own Misgivings; and he marched all his Troops out of his Entrenchments.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVI.  
C. CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
Q. MINUCIUS  
RUFUS, Con-  
suls.

*Just. B. 30.*

§. XXV. THEN the Armies came immediately in sight of each other, and the two Generals were very busy in running from Rank to Rank, to encourage them to fight. *Who are these Soldiers with such Multitudes of long Poles?* said *Flaminius* to his Romans. *Are they not those Macedonians whom we vanquished on the Banks of the Aoïs?* If their Fathers gained any Reputation in their Wars with the Persians, they have lost it in their Battels with the Romans. Whilst *Philip* on the other hand, was putting his *Phalanx* in mind of the Victories of *Alexander*. Your Ancestors, said he, extended their Conquests from Persia to the Indies; and they fought only for Glory: Whereas, you are now going to fight for Liberty. After these short Harangues, the Roman Troops which first left their Camp, when they saw themselves supported by the Legions, renewed their Attack with more Intrepidity. Then *Philip*, seeing that the Detachment he had sent to the Hills was in Danger of sinking, ran thither himself with his light-Horse; and gave Orders to *Nicanor* to follow him with the rest of the Army. When it was come up, in part at least, he ordered his right Wing, where he posted himself, to fall on the left of the Romans. *Flaminius* had commanded his right Wing not to stir till further Orders; and to cover it, had posted in the first Line, a Rank of Elephants, which *Masinissa* had given to his Republick. Then in order the better to sustain the Impetuosity of the Macedonians, who charged the Wing he commanded from the upper Ground, the *Pro-Consul* first advanced his light-armed Troops. *Philip* saw from the Top of the Hill, the first Onset given, and leaped for Joy, to see his Macedonians fight with Advantage. But his Joy was a little damped, when he found them give Way, and Retreat. All that had yet passed, was but the Prelude to a great Action. All the *Phalanx* was not yet got up to the Eminencies. He formed it almost all towards his right Wing, with the Infantry and Cavalry, which had begun the Skirmish. First he ordered the *Phalangites* to double their Ranks, and form themselves very deep. Afterwards, when he saw the Legions advance, he commanded his *Phalangites* to level their Pikes, and to widen, in order to make a larger Front than the Romans. And then the Action became serious. The *Pro-Consul* brought his light-armed Troops into the Spaces between the Corps of his Army; the Skirmish was at an end; and the Battel was begun in form. In the first Place a terrible Shout was given, at the same instant of Time, by both Armies. The Air resounded far with it, and the Spectators returned it with confused Clamours, which were enough to encourage the Combatants. *Philip's* right Wing fell with Fury, from the Tops of the Hills, on *Flaminius's* left Wing, which was posted under them, and broke through it. Whilst the Legionaries could not penetrate into the *Phalanx*, whose long Pikes preserved them from the Roman Swords. Their Situation, their Arms, and in short, all Circumstances, favoured the Macedonians in their right Wing. But it was otherwise in their left. Their *Phalanx*, which was more extended, was thinner to the left, than to the right, and did not preserve that Order, which made it invincible. The Rocks, the Inequalities of the Ground, and the Orders of the General, hindered the *Phalangites* from forming themselves<sup>98</sup> into one Body. They were divided, and rather formed for a March, than a Battel. Some of them were posted in the Plain, others on the Brow of the Hill. *Flaminius* therefore, who thought it would be more for his Advantage to fight in the right, than the left Wing, passed from the left to the right. Then he first ordered his Elephants to advance, and after them the *Hastati* of the first Line; and at this new Attack, the Enemy had no Head, and their Orders were neither prudently given, nor well executed. So that the Macedonians in the Front of their left Wing, no longer withstood the Efforts of the Romans. Their Elephants spread Disorder every where, and the

*Plut. Life of  
Flamin.  
Polyb. B. 17.  
& ex eo.  
Livy, B. 33.  
c. 8*

<sup>98</sup> See our Account of the Order and Disposition of the *Phalanx*, Vol. 2.



Year of divided Parts of the *Phalanx* fled. But though *Flamininus* was victorious in his  
 R O M E right Wing; his left was still vigorously attacked by the strongest part of the  
 DLVI. *Phalanx*, where the King commanded in Person. The Difficulty was how to break  
 C. CORNELIUS it; and a *Legionary Tribune*, whose Name is not transmitted to us, both formed a  
 CETHEGUS, Design for it, and undertook to put it in execution. He was pursuing the dis-  
 Q. MINUCIUS banded *Phalangites* of the left Wing; and though he had but a few *Manipuli*  
 RUFUS, Con- with him, undertook to break through the rest of the *Phalanx*, which was fight-  
 suls. ing with Advantage in the right Wing of the *Macedonian* Army. He attacked  
 them behind, without any Resistance. Men armed with long Pikes, and exceed-  
 ing closely drawn up, could not face about, and present their Arms that way.  
 So that the hindmost of them were cut in pieces, and the rest fled. Then the left  
 Wing of the *Romans*, which scarce made any Resistance, but still stood their  
 Ground against the Enemy, began to pursue the Fugitives. And that Moment  
*Philip*, to his great Surprise, saw his whole Army in Disorder. Till that time, he  
 had thought himself victorious on all sides, and had scarce heard of the Rout of  
 his left Wing, where the Misfortune had begun. How shocking must it have  
 been to see, from the Top of the Mountain, which he had seized with a few Horse  
 and Foot, the Field of Battel strowed with the dead Bodies of his *Macedonians*,  
 and the *Romans* at the Heels of his routed Soldiers! And his Fright was yet greater,  
 when he saw the *Romans* of the left Wing gain the Eminencies. He then assem-  
 bled together in haste, as many of his *Macedonians* and *Thracians* as he could, and  
 fled. Nevertheless, he still preserved his Presence of Mind, in the midst of his  
 Misfortune. He had left his Papers at *Larissa*; and if the *Pro-Consul* had seized  
 them, he would have discovered all the Secrets of his Negotiations and Intelligen-  
 ces. *Philip* therefore dispatched an Express to fetch them; and whilst the King  
 himself was seeking for a Place of Safety, *Flamininus* was incessantly pursuing the  
 Fugitives. He saw on the Top of a Hill a Body of *Phalangites*, who held their  
 Pikes upright, with the Points towards Heaven; which among the *Macedonians*  
 was a Signal, that they surrendered to the Enemy. But the *Pro-Consul* was not  
 acquainted with this Custom. Nevertheless, he suspected that they asked Quarter;  
 and therefore halted, and suspended the Fury of his Troops. But a *Roman* Officer,  
 unfortunately fell on these poor Men, on the other side, and cut them in pieces:  
 And the General was grieved to see, that those who sought his Clemency should  
 not be suffered to partake of it. Thus ended the Battel of *Cynocephalæ*. As  
 soon as the Slaughter was over, the *Ætolians* were the most ready to enter the  
 Camp of the Vanquished, to pillage it; in the Absence of the *Romans*, who were  
 yet busy in making Prisoners. The *Legionaries* complained of it to the General;  
 and reproached him, with having laid all the Weight of the Battel upon them,  
 without giving them their Share of the Booty. The Dead on both sides were  
 numbered; and according to some *Latin* Authors, *Philip* lost more Men than he  
 had had in his Army. One makes the Loss of the *Macedonians* amount to forty thou-  
 sand Men; another, to thirty two thousand; which is an Exaggeration. It is  
 more certain, that only about eight thousand *Macedonians*, and seven hundred *Ro-*  
*mans*, were killed on the Spot. *Flamininus* took from the Enemy five thousand  
 Prisoners<sup>99</sup>, whom he sold; and divided the Money, with the rest of the Spoils,  
 among his Soldiers. From thence he came and encamped under *Larissa*; whilst  
*Philip*<sup>100</sup> sheltered himself in *The Valley of*<sup>101</sup> *Tempe*. It is said, that the  
*Ætolians* occasioned his Escape, by their haste to fall upon his Camp. But be  
 that as it will, his Affairs declined, and he had no Resource, but in a Peace.

*Valerius An-*  
*tias and Clau-*  
*dias in Livy,*  
*B. 33. c. 10.*

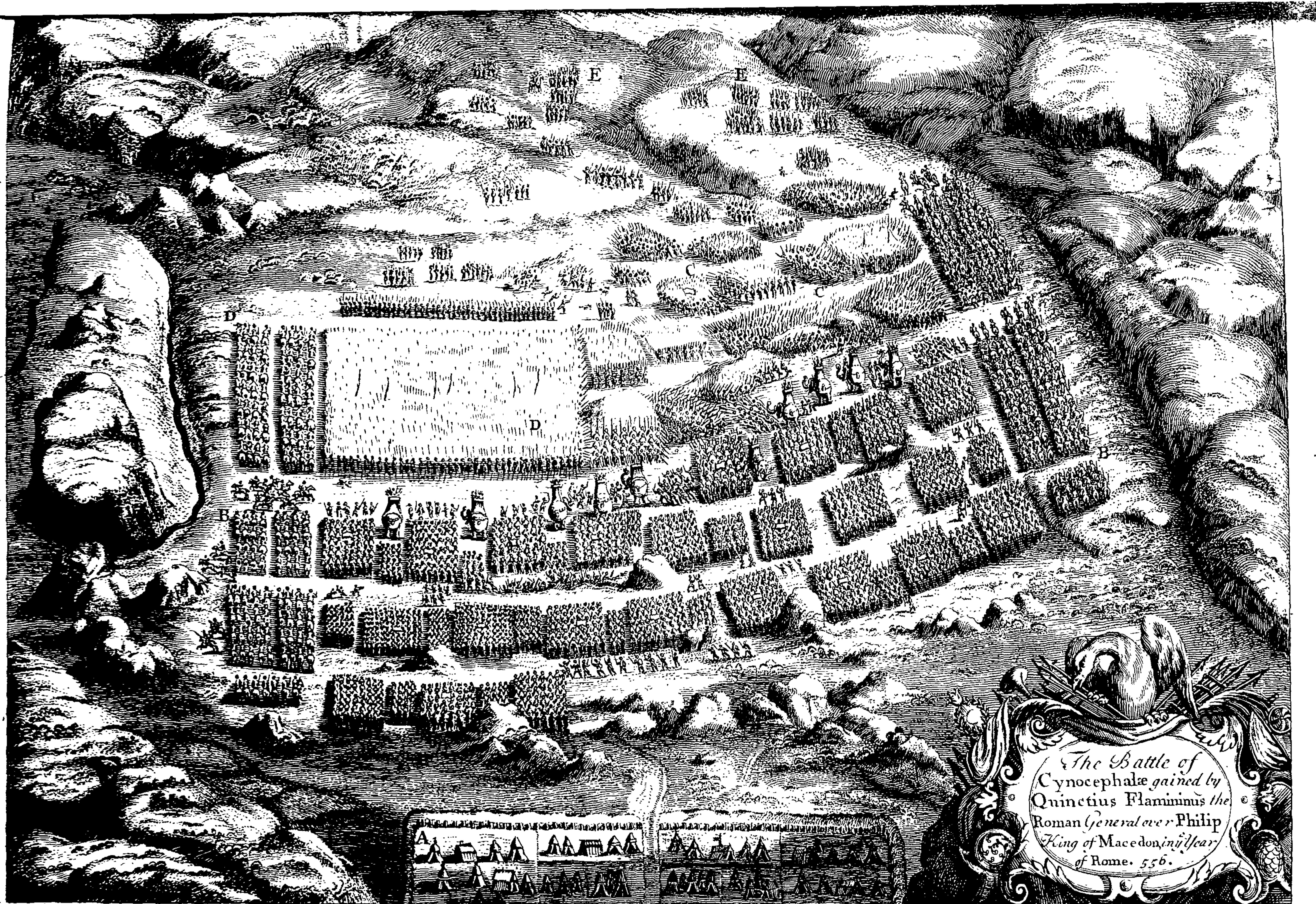
<sup>99</sup> According to *Valerius of Antium*, the *Mace-*  
*donians* lost forty thousand Men in the Battel of  
*Cynocephalæ*, and had five thousand seven hundred  
 made Prisoners of War by the *Romans*, who also  
 took from the Vanquished two hundred and forty  
 one Standards. *Claudius*, an ancient Author, rec-  
 kons that *Philip* had thirty two thousand killed, and  
 four thousand three hundred made Prisoners. But  
*Livy* thought it necessary to abandon these two An-  
 nualists, whose Fidelity he suspected, and adhere to  
*Polybius*, an Author who deserves more Credit than  
 any other, in what relates to the Affairs of the

*Greeks and Romans*. This was the *Latin* Histori-  
 an's Opinion of him.

<sup>100</sup> *Polybius* says, that after the Battel of *Cyno-*  
*cephalæ*, *Philip* escaped to a Place called *Alexan-*  
*der's Tower*, and from thence to *Gonni*, a Place  
 near *The Valley of Tempe*.

<sup>101</sup> *The Valley of Tempe*, which was bounded  
 to the North by Mount *Olympus*, and to the South  
 by Mount *Ossa*, was about five thousand geometri-  
 cal Paces long, in the longest Place, and about an  
 Acre and an half broad.





The Battle of  
Cynoecephalæ gained by  
Quinctius Flaminius the  
Roman General over Philip  
King of Macedonia Year  
of Rome. 556.

A.A. The Roman Camp. B.B. The Roman army. C.C. Part of the Macedonian Phalanx broken and disunited. D.D. Another part of the Phalanx which keeps its ground against the Roman army for some time E.E. Eminent seized by a detachment of Philip's troops.



§. XXVI. AND what increased *Philip's* Misfortune, was another Battel, which one of his Generals had lost, at the very same time, or at least, a few Days after, in *Achaia*. *Androsthene*s the *Macedonian* had continued at *Corinth* with a Body of six thousand Men, partly his own Countrymen, and partly *Thracians* and *Cretans*. The Design of the King of *Macedon*, was to protect *Corinth* from the Insults of those *Greeks* which were in the Interest of *Rome*; and the Orders he had given *Androsthene*s, were to continue in the City, or its Neighbourhood. But he had a great Desire to take the Field; and instead of being Governor of the Place, he made himself the General of his little Army. Then he over-run *Achaia*, and ravaged the Fields of <sup>102</sup>*Pellene*, <sup>103</sup>*Phlius*, and *Cleonæ* <sup>104</sup>. No Enemy at first appeared to oppose his Enterprises. But at length *Nicostratus*, the *Prætor* and General of the *Achæans*, put himself in Motion. He could ill brook the Ravages of *Androsthene*s; but he had under his Command only two thousand Men, who were left in *Achaia*, to guard *Sicyon*; and these were too few to oppose the superior Forces of the *Macedonian*. *Androsthene*s therefore advanced into the Territory of *Sicyon*, as it were to insult the Weakness of *Nicostratus*. His Numbers gave the *Macedonian* Confidence, and his Confidence made him the less cautious. His Troops were often dispersed in the Fields in small Bodies, and his Army was scarce ever all in a Place. This gave *Nicostratus* hopes of being able to surprise the Enemy, whose Presumption made him negligent; and he took very proper Measures to put his Design in execution. He privately sent Expresses to the Garrisons of the neighbouring Cities, ordering them to appear at a general Rendezvous, on a Day appointed. The Place he chose was called <sup>105</sup>*Apelaurum*, a little Town near *Stymphalia* <sup>106</sup>, in *Argolis*: And the *Prætor* was obeyed. He set out from thence with his little Body of Troops, and came by Night to *Cleonæ*, without the *Macedonian's* suspecting his March. He had in his Camp five thousand Men; and among them three hundred Horse, which *Nicostratus* detached with some light-armed Troops, to watch the Enemy. Then the *Achæan* General re-

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVI.  
C. CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
Q. MINUCIUS  
RUFUS, Con-  
suls.  
*Livy*, B. 33.  
c. 14.  
  
*Livy*, *ibid.*



<sup>102</sup> *Pellene*, which *Stephen of Byzantium* also calls *Pellina*, was a City of *Achaia Propria*. It bordered upon the Territory of *Sicyon*. From thence to *The Gulf of Corinth*, was reckoned to be sixty *Stadia*, or seven thousand five hundred Paces. *Gemistus* gives this City the Name of *Cercoba*, and *Le Noir* that of *Zaracha*. The Natives of the Country now most commonly call it *Diaconon*.  
<sup>103</sup> *Livy* here mentions this City, under the Name of *Phliasus*. This seems to be the *Phlius* of *Achaia*, which we have already mentioned. We must take care not to confound it with another *Phlius*, which was in *Argolis*.  
<sup>104</sup> *Cleonæ*, a little City in the Territory of *Argolis*, bordered upon that of *Corinth*, a little above *Nemea*. *Le Noir* says, it is now called *San-Vasilii*.  
<sup>105</sup> The ancient Geographers say nothing of the Name or Situation of *Apelaurum*.  
<sup>106</sup> The City of *Stymphalia* was in *Arcadia*, a Canton of *Peloponnesus*. *Pinet* now calls it *Vulsi*; and *Le Noir*, *Longanico*. *Pausanias* says it was anciently divided into two Cities, *The Old*, and *The New*. Its Inhabitants paid a particular Worship to *Juno*. They believed, upon the Credit of a fabu-

lous Tradition, that the Goddess had been brought up there, under the Care of *Temenus*, the Son of *Pelagrus*. They also paid great Honours to *Diana*, to whom they erected a Temple. Near it was a Spring, which formed *The Lake Stymphalus*, whose Waters, according to *Pliny*, ran under Ground, and appeared again in *Argolis*; and then the Lake or River took the Name of *Erasinus*. In *Strabo's* time, the City which had been built on the Borders of the Lake, was fifty *Stadia*, or six thousand two hundred and fifty geometrical Paces, distant from it. *Lucretius*, *Hyginus*, *Apollodorus*, *Virgil*, and *Claudian*, speak of some Birds of an enormous Size, which destroyed all this Neighbourhood. *Hercules* is said to have driven them away, with the Sound of Cymbals, and killed them with Arrows. The Memory of this Fact, fabulous as it is, has been transmitted down to us on a Medal, which bears the Name of *Stymphalia*. On it we see a *Hercules*, striking with his Club. The Inscription is this, ΣΤΥΜΦΑΛΙΩΝ ΣΩ; to shew that the *Grecian* Hero delivered the Citizens from these winged Monsters. The two *Greek* Letters ΣΩ, are the Initials of the Word Σωτήρ, or *Deliverer*.

ceived



Year of received Advice, That they were encamped on the River <sup>107</sup> *Nemea*, between *Co-*  
*R O M E* *rinth* and *Sicyon*; and That the *Macedonian* had there divided his Troops into  
 DLVI. three Bodies, and had sent one into the Territory of *Sicyon*, another into that of  
 C. CORNELIUS *Pellene*, and the third towards *Phlius*. And upon this News *Nicostratus* took his  
 CETHEGUS, Measures like an able Soldier.

Q. MINUCIUS  
 RUFUS, Con-  
 suls.

HE ordered a Body of his Mercenaries, to go and lie in Ambush in a Forest, through which the *Macedonians* must pass, in their return to *Corinth*. Whilst he led on his Detachment himself, and marched in two Bodies. His Army was not far from *Androsthene's* Camp, when they met a Party of *Thracians*, and attacked them. They surprised *Androsthene*, who did not expect to find an Enemy in the Field; and immediately ordering his Trumpets to give the Signal for assembling the Soldiers scattered about in the Villages, he drew up his Men in order of Battel, along the River *Nemea*. But the Body he commanded was an inconsiderable one, and his Soldiers could not return soon enough to join him. So that *Androsthene* was easily defeated. After a slight Resistance his Troops fled, and returned to *Corinth*. And this first Advantage excited *Nicostratus* not to leave his Victory imperfect. He ordered his Cavalry to go and fall upon the *Macedonian* Soldiers, who were laying waste the Fields of *Sicyon*; and there the *Achaëans* made a greater Slaughter of the Enemy, than in the first Battel. As to the *Macedonians*, who were ravaging the Country round about *Pellene*, and *Phlius*, they either fell into the Ambushes which were laid for them, or were murdered by the Peasants, who surrounded them. This Action, in which the *Macedonians* lost fifteen hundred Men, <sup>108</sup> delivered *Achaia* from their Oppressions, and doubled *Philip's* Concern; who could not hear of this Loss, till after he was retired to *Tempe*, where he was assembling the Remains of his Army, after his own Defeat.

§. XXVII. IN the mean time, *Flamininus* at *Larissa* enjoyed little of the Pleasure of having come off victorious. The *Ætolians* already gave him Uneasiness; and afterwards came to an open Rupture. It must be granted, that the *Ætolian* Troops bore a good part in the Action of *Cynocephalæ*; but the *Roman* General thought their Vanity intolerable. They ascribed all the Glory of the Success to themselves. They declared themselves the Authors of the Victory; and said, that the *Romans* had only seconded their Valour. In the Songs which they dispersed all over *Greece*, they named themselves first, as if they had determined the Victory in favour of their Party. *Thirty thousand* Thessalians <sup>109</sup>, said they, speaking of the *Macedonians*, were killed upon the Spot. The *Ætolians* subdued them, with the Assistance of the Latins, whom *Flamininus* had brought to the Ruin of <sup>110</sup> *Emathia*. In this Distick, the Poet *Alcæus* <sup>111</sup> magnified the Number of the Dead; and preferred the *Ætolians* to the *Romans*; and *Flamininus* took it ill, that his Reputation among the *Greeks* should be lessened. It was necessary, that they should have an Esteem for him, in order to his subjecting them to his Republick, under Pretence of re-establishing them in their Liberty. And it was while the General was warm with his Resentments against the *Ætolians*, that *Philip* sent three Envoys to him, under Pretence of obtaining of him a Truce for some Days, to bury his Dead; but in reality to bring about a Peace.

*Polyb. B. 17.*  
*c. 29.*

THE King of *Macedon* never appeared greater than in his Misfortunes. If he was not successful in Battel, he shewed a great deal of Prudence after his Dis-

<sup>107</sup> The River *Nemea* watered part of *Peloponnesus*, and discharged itself into *The Gulph of Corinth*: It is now called the *Largia*. We have already described the Forest and City of *Nemea*, which were both in *Argolis*.

<sup>108</sup> According to *Livy*, *Nicostratus* also took three hundred Prisoners from the Enemy.

<sup>109</sup> The Poet insulted *Philip* in, a Distich, to this Effect. *The Fierceness and Boldness of this Prince vanished, at the sight of his Conquerors. He was more fearful, and more swift in Flight, than a Deer.* But the King of *Macedon* despised the Insult of the Poet, and contented himself with replying in another Couplet, of the same Measure, to the following Effect, according to *Plutarch in his Life of*

*Flamininus. The Tree, Traveller, which you see standing on yonder Hill, striped of its Bark, is the Gibbet which waits to reward Alcæus for his Poetry.*

<sup>110</sup> Though *Pliny*, and many others, give both *Thessaly* and *Macedon* the Name of *Emathia*; yet it strictly signifies only one particular Province.

<sup>111</sup> The Poet here spoken of, is known only by the Wit which is reported of him in the Text, after *Plutarch*. He was a very different Person from the famous *Alcæus*, who was Cotemporary with *Sappho*. The latter lived about the 44th *Olympiad*, and about the Year of *Rome* 152. The *Alcæic* Verses, which are some of the most harmonious, of any used among the *Lyric* Poets, took their Name from him.



after. This Praise the Ancients could not refuse him. *Flamininus* received his Year of Deputies, and designedly gave them their Answer, without consulting the Head of *R O M E* the *Ætolians*. He was glad of this Opportunity to mortify these vain People, who had assumed to themselves some of that Glory which belonged to him. Besides, he had penetrated into the Designs of the *Ætolian* Faction; which was to lay claim to a Dominion over the rest of *Greece*, as soon as the *Romans* should be gone. *Flamininus* therefore received *Demosthenes*, *Cicliades*, and *Limneus*, *Philip's* three Deputies, very graciously; but admitted none to their Audience, except the Officers of the *Roman* Army.

DLVI.  
C. CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
Q. MINUCIUS  
RUFUS, Con-  
suls.

He agreed with these Deputies upon a Truce for fifteen Days; and promised them, that within that time, he would grant their Master a Conference to treat of a Peace. This Air of absolute Authority, and Independence on the other Allies, shocked the *Ætolians*. They spread a Report in all the Cities in the Neighbourhood, that *Flamininus* was betraying the common Cause, and was bribed by *Philip*. These contemptible *Greeks* judged of the *Roman* by themselves. It had long been customary among the *Greeks*, to sell the Interests of their Allies for Money. But this shocking Perfidiousness had not reached *Rome*. *Flamininus* was a Stranger to it. Motives more honourable than that of Avarice, induced him to conclude a solid Peace with the *Macedonian*. *Antiochus*, the King of *Syria*, to whom the Nations had given the Name of *The Great*, was preparing to come into *Europe*. It was well known, that he had long kept a Correspondence with *Philip*. And if these two Monarchs joined their Forces, it might prove of dangerous Consequence to the *Roman* Republick. Besides, *Philip*, tho' vanquished, might still shut himself up in the Cities in his Territories, and dispute the Conquest of them, Inch by Inch. All these Reasons inclined the *Pro-Consul* to conclude a Peace before *Antiochus* arrived; and he appointed a Day for a Conference with the King of *Macedon*.

§. XXVIII. THE Place pitched on for it, was the narrow Pass which leads into *The Valley of Tempe*. And now, the *Pro-Consul* shewed Regard to his Allies, and wrote to them to be present at the Conference. Nor was this all. Before he would enter into a Treaty with the *Macedonian*, he called a Council, consisting of the Heads of his Confederates, and asked them, *Upon what Terms they thought it might be proper to grant Philip a Peace*. To this *Amynder* first answered, with a great deal of Moderation; *I must entreat you to have some Regard to me and my Dominions. My Kingdom of Athamania has enraged Philip more than any other Country in Greece. My Forces are not considerable, and I am a Neighbour to Macedon. As soon then as the Romans are retired, the Macedonian will vent his Rage upon me*. This was a reasonable Request of the King of the *Athamans*; and after him *Alexander*, one of the Heads of the *Ætolians*, spoke thus. *You have done wisely, said he haughtily to the Pro-Consul, to call us to the Conference. You have at last thought fit, not to treat of a Peace without the Allies. But pray, what do you propose by granting a Peace to Philip? The Liberty of Greece will never be restored, as long as he reigns. You are mistaken, if you fancy it will. There is no Freedom for us, if Philip continues on the Throne. He must be dethroned, if you would give Greece any time to breathe. Your Romans promised us Liberty; but our Slavery will never be at end, till the Macedonian is dead, and his Dominions ruined. You are mistaken*, replied *Flamininus* coldly, *if you fancy you understand the Sentiments of the Romans, better than I do. My Republick does not carry her Resentments to Madness. She knows how to revenge Injuries by her Arms. But upon the first Appearance of a Submission, her Anger ceases. Did not we treat Hannibal and Carthage in this manner? Never was a more inveterate Hatred than that of Rome to Africa; and yet never was Peace less burdensome than that which we suffer her to enjoy. We never pretended to push on the War with Philip to Extremity. Think you then, that I assembled you, only to hear you talk inhumanly? Shall we be inexorable, because we are Conquerors? Animosity dies after Victory. Brave Men are courageous in Action, and mild after it. Nay, is it your Interest to destroy the Kingdom of Macedon? We ought to humble it, I grant you; but ought we utterly to destroy both King and Kingdom together? What an Inundation of Barbarians would then pour in upon Macedon first, and afterwards upon Greece? Have*



Year of not we seen Thracians and Gauls <sup>112</sup>, first ravage those Provinces, and then over-run  
 R O M E ours? I conclude therefore, in the Name of all the Officers of the Roman Army,  
 DLVI. That, provided the Senate consents to it, we ought to grant Philip a Peace, if he  
 C. CORNELIUS will accept of the Conditions already offered him. If the Ætolians are against it,  
 CETHEGUS, let them get other Allies, and Defenders! Phæneas, another Head of the Æto-  
 Q. MINUCIUS lians, then spoke, and said, Shall then our Labours and Battels be useless? As  
 RUFUS, CON- long as Philip reigns, he will always plunge us again into the same Slavery. At  
 fide. which Words Flamininus rose from his Seat, and in a Passion said, You are mis-  
 taken, Phæneas. Have you forgotten that I promised to put it out of the Power of  
 Macedon, to make any further Attempts on your Liberty? And then, the Council  
 breaking up, the Assembly was dismissed.

THE next Day, the King of Macedon appeared at the Congress, with an Air of  
 Submission, suitable to his present Circumstances; and without any Preamble de-  
 clared, That he accepted the Articles he had hitherto rejected, and referred all other  
 Matters to the Arbitration of the Roman Senate. When he had said this, all  
 looked on one another, and made no reply, till Phæneas the Ætolian took the  
 Liberty to ask him this Question. Will you then restore to us the Cities of Larissa <sup>113</sup>,  
 Pharsalos, Thebes in Phthiotis, and Echina? I do restore them to you, replied Philip.  
 At which Words Flamininus was shocked at the Pretensions of the Ætolian, to  
 the City of Thebes, and replied, It belongs to the Romans. I was the Man who  
 appeared before Thebes with my Troops, and the Thebans at first refused to surren-  
 der to me. But now you see the City is given up. It is therefore become subject to  
 the Dominion of the Romans. Nevertheless Phæneas insisted, That Thebes belonged  
 to Ætolia. Besides, said he, by our Treaty with you, all the conquered Places ought  
 to belong to us. But Phæneas's Reasoning was not just. Ætolia herself had can-  
 celled this old Treaty. It had been disannulled by the Peace, the Ætolians had  
 since made with Philip, unknown to the Romans; and this the Pro-Consul urged  
 against the Ætolian's Pretension. Nay, said he, if the Treaty did still subsist, you  
 could have no Right but to Places conquered by force of Arms. Whereas Thebes,  
 and all the other Cities of Thessaly, have voluntarily surrendered themselves up to  
 the Romans. Thus the Dispute grew warm; but at length the Assembly deter-  
 mined in favour of Flamininus. And by these false Steps, the Ætolians then  
 laid the Foundation for that furious Storm, which we shall hereafter see gather,  
 and fall upon them.

Livy B. 32.  
 c. 13.

NOTHING now remained for the Congress to do, but to determine the Fate of  
 Philip: and the Assembly granted him a Truce for four Months, to negotiate a  
 Peace at Rome; but took Securities of him. Flamininus demanded his Son Deme-  
 trius, and some other Lords of his Court, for Hostages; and required him likewise  
 to pay two hundred Talents <sup>114</sup>, upon this Condition, that both the Money and  
 Hostages should be restored him, if the Peace did not take Place. The Ma-  
 cedonian complied, sent away his Ambassadors, and retired into his own Do-  
 minions.

§. XXIX. IN Italy, the War with the Gauls and <sup>115</sup> Ligures, kept the People in  
 suspense. It being in the Neighbourhood of Rome, and carried on by the Con-  
 suls; the People were more concerned about it, than about that of Macedon:  
 Though the latter was of more Importance. The two Collegues had set out early  
 in the Spring to act separately; Minucius, in Liguria; and Cethegus <sup>116</sup>, in Insubria.

<sup>112</sup> It is uncertain, whether Livy here speaks  
 of those Gauls, who made a new Settlement in  
 a part of Asia Minor, which they called Galatia.  
 It is certain indeed, that some Gauls had, four-  
 score Years before, spread Terror and Desola-  
 tion in all the Countries of Macedon and Greece,  
 not sparing the famous Temple of Delphi, which  
 they robbed. But nevertheless, the Latin Histo-  
 rian might have in his view another Gallic Na-  
 tion, which was nearer to the Greeks. They had  
 settled, according to Justin, about the Conflux of  
 the Danube and the Save. Strabo says, they lived  
 about Sirmium, between the Danube and Mace-  
 don; and Justin tells us, that these New-comers  
 took the Name of Scordisci. They bordered on  
 the Triballi.

<sup>113</sup> Pharsalos, so well known, on account of

the famous Victory there, which determined the  
 Empire of the World, stood in Thessaly, as we  
 have observed above. It is now called Farsa. We  
 have spoken of the three following Cities already.

<sup>114</sup> These two hundred Talents, amount to six  
 hundred thousand Livres, according to our former  
 Computations.

<sup>115</sup> Old Insubria contained The Cremasco, Part of  
 the Duchy of Milan, and of The Cremonese.

<sup>116</sup> See our Account of the Origin of the Boi  
 Insubres, and Canomani, and their Removal into  
 Italy, Vol. 2. The former settled in the Duchy  
 of Parma, Modena, and Reggio. They had all  
 added to their Conquests, The Principality of Co-  
 regio, part of The Mantuan on this side the P  
 Frignano, the Duchy of Mirandola, and part of  
 The Bolognese, and Ferrarese.



The Enemy had altered their Measures. They believed the two *Consular* Armies would unite; and therefore the <sup>117</sup> *Boii* and *Insubres* joined together, with some Troops of the *Cenomani*, who were not authorized to assist them, by the Senate of their Nation. The <sup>118</sup> *Gauls* were surprised to hear that the *Romans* were entered into their Country, by different Ways. At the sight of *Minucius*, who marched along by the *Tyrrhenian* Sea <sup>119</sup>, *Clastidium* and <sup>120</sup> *Litubium*, two Cities of *Liguria*, surrendered at Discretion. The <sup>121</sup> *Celelates* and *Cerdiciates* followed their Example. All the Nations in the Country, except the <sup>122</sup> *Ilvates*, who belonged to the *Boii*, submitted to the *Roman* Yoke. In short, *Minucius* subdued fifteen Cities, which were said to contain twenty thousand Men, before he entered into the Country of the *Boii*; and when he came there, found no Army to oppose him. The *Boii* had passed the *Po*, and joined their Forces to those of the *Insubres* and *Cenomani*. Their Design was to make their utmost Efforts against the Troops of the Republick, which they thought assembled together in one Place. The *Boii* were extremely surprised to hear, that their Fields lay at the Mercy of one of the *Consuls*; and demanded of the Confederates, that the whole *Gallic* Army should march to protect them. But the *Insubres* opposed it. They were more nearly concerned to continue in their own Territories, to guard them from the Enemy. The *Gallic* Armies were therefore divided. That of the *Boii* returned into their own Country; and that of the *Insubres* with the *Cenomani*, encamped on the Banks of the *Mincius* <sup>123</sup>.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVI.

C. CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
Q. MINUCIUS  
RUFUS, Con-  
suls.

Livy, B 32.  
c. 29.

Livy, *ibid.*

§. XXX. IN the mean time, *Cethegus* drew near the *Insubrian* Army; and when he was but five Miles distant from it, he formed a Scheme to draw off the *Cenomani* from the *Insubres*. He sent into the Country of the *Cenomani*, and particularly to *Brixia* <sup>124</sup> their Capital, to know what had drawn these faithful Allies into the Revolt of the *Cisalpine Gauls*. The Deputies told them, they were informed, that the *Cenomani* had hired themselves to the *Insubres* of their own Heads, without any Orders from the Publick; and demanded of the Magistrates of the Country, that they would either recall their Troops, or order them to join the *Romans*. This was an hard Demand, and it seemed difficult to be put in execution. Nevertheless their Chiefs promised, that their Troops should not fight against the *Romans*; but if it was possible, assist them during the Battel. But the Negotiation was prolonged, and these Promises were given, without the Knowledge of the *Insubres*, who suspected the Fidelity of the *Cenomani*. This appeared, by their manner of drawing up their Army. They refused to post the *Cenomani* in either of the Wings; and only used them as a *Corps de reserve*, which bore no part in

<sup>117</sup> The *Cenomani* seized a great part of *The Veronese*, part of *The Mantuan* beyond the *Po*, the Remainder of *The Cremonese*, and a Part of *The Bressan*.

<sup>118</sup> *Livy* here speaks of those *Ligures*, who dwelt between the *Apennines* and the *Po*. As for those who had seized the Coasts of *Genoa*, they obeyed the *Romans*.

<sup>119</sup> We have observed, *Vol. 3.* that *Clastidium* was a City of *Cisalpine Gaul*; and *Livy* confirms, *B. 32. c. 21.* what we have said, on the Authority of *Plutarch*. Nevertheless, he seems here to displace this City, and make it a City of *Liguria*. *Op-pida Clastidium & Litubium, utraque Ligurum.* So sensible a Variation therefore made *Ligonius* think, that instead of *Clastidium*, we ought to read *Caristum*, which was the Name of a City formerly situated in the Territory of the *Statiellates*, a Canton of *Liguria*. But as we ought to be very cautious how we admit of Corrections, it is better to save *Livy's* Text by a favourable Interpretation. *Clastidium* was indeed upon the Borders both of *Insubria* and *Liguria*. It might therefore, by no uncommon Revolution, have fallen into the Hands of the *Ligures*, after it had been subject sometimes to the *Romans*, and sometimes to the *Cisalpine Gauls*. See *Vol. 3.* *Clastidium* is now known by the Name of *Chiastexo*.

<sup>120</sup> *Litubium*, an ancient inland City of *Liguria*,

is now only a Town or Village, pretty near *Der-tona*, in the Dutchy of *Milan*. It is now called *Retorbio*, *Ritorbio*, or *Ritarbio*.

<sup>121</sup> The *Celelates* and *Cerdiciates*, are in a manner absolutely unknown to us. The ancient Geographers say nothing of them. These Natives were probably so called from the Cities of *Celcla*, and *Cerdicia*. The great Difficulty is to find out their Situation. Some think the former stood in *The Streight*, where *Cella* now is, between *Aste* and *Alba*, to the left of the River *Tanaro*, towards the Confines of *Piedmont* and *Montferrat*. As for *Cerdicia*, it is impossible to assign its Situation with any Certainty.

<sup>122</sup> We know as little of the *Ilvates*, as of the People mentioned in the last Note. *Cluver* supposes, that *Livy* by them means the *Veliates*, who took their Name from an ancient City called *Velia*, which is thought to have stood on the Banks of the little River *Versa*.

<sup>123</sup> The River *Mincius*, now the *Menzo*, or *Mencio*, rises in the *Alpes*. After it has run into the Lake *Di Garda*, it waters the Territory of *Capua*, and discharges itself into the *Po*. Some give it the Name of *Sarca* above the Lake.

<sup>124</sup> *Brixia* was the same City which the *Italians* now call *Brescia*, or *Bressa*. It had at different times the Titles of a *Roman Colony*, and a *Municipium*.



Year of the Action. Nevertheless, these Traitors had too great a Share in it, to the great  
 R O M E Misfortune of the *Insubres*.

DLVI.  
 C. CORNELIUS  
 CETHEGUS,  
 Q. MINUCIUS  
 RUFUS, Con-  
 suls.

THE Consul *Cethegus* was very ready to give Battel. His Business was, entirely to subdue once for all, these *Gauls*, who had been so often overcome, and yet still rebelled. But before he entered upon Action, he had recourse to the Gods. He made a Vow to erect a Temple to *Juno* <sup>125</sup> *Sospita*, if under her Protection, he came off Conqueror. And then, Religion doubled the Courage of the *Romans*. They gave the Attack with such Fury, that the *Gauls*, though commanded by the brave *Hamilcar*, could not withstand the first Impetuosity of the *Legionaries*. Besides, the *Cenomani*, like Cowards and Traitors, fell on the *Insubrian* Battalions behind, and made a cruel Slaughter of them. In short, the *Gauls* had thirty five thousand Men killed in this single Battel. The *Romans* took five thousand seven hundred Prisoners of War, and among the rest *Hamilcar*, the General of the Rebel Armies, and Author of the Revolt. A hundred and thirty Standards, and two hundred Chariots, made after the *Gallic* Fashion, were part of the Spoils which were taken from the Conquered. And then the Cities, which had been drawn into the Revolt, surrendered to the Conqueror. Such was the famous Battel which weakened the *Gauls*, without pacifying them; and humbled, but did not subdue them.

As for *Minucius*, he had not the Opportunity and Happiness to overcome the *Gauls*, in a pitched Battel. They had kept the Field, till the *Insubres* were defeated; but this now dispersed them. So that *Minucius* had nothing to do, but to lay waste their Fields, and burn their Corn and Towns. From the Country of the *Boii* he marched to *Liguria*, and there destroyed every thing with Fire and Sword. Then he turned his Arms against the *Ilvates*, whom he had solicited to surrender; and after the Rout of the *Insubres*, they submitted.

§. XXXI. THE News of all these Successes was carried to *Rome*, and first communicated to the *Prætor Sergius*, who did the Office of Governor in the City. He was a Man of extraordinary Valour; though we have not had an Opportunity of mentioning his Exploits elsewhere. In the second Campaign he made, as a private *Legionary*, he lost his right Hand. But he is said to have had the Skill to have made himself a false one with iron Springs, so well contrived, that he could use his Sword with it. In another Campaign he was wounded in the Leg, so that he could not stand upright; but nevertheless, did not quit the Service. He then served in the Horse; and though he had only his left Hand, he gave great Strokes with it, and distinguished himself in four Battels. He was twice taken Prisoner by *Hannibal*, had been in Fetters twenty Months, and both times got off his Irons, and escaped. After he was made a *Legionary Tribune*, he delivered *Cremona*, and defended <sup>126</sup> *Placentia*. And though he was still but a Subaltern, he took several Camps from the *Gauls* in the last War. By these illustrious <sup>127</sup> Actions *Sergius* at last arrived at the <sup>128</sup> *Prætorship*, though thus maimed and deformed; and the generous *Roman* deserved a Posterity more worthy of him. He was great Grandfather to the seditious *Cataline*, whose Conspiracy, and tragical End, we shall

<sup>125</sup> We have spoken of the Worship the *Romans* paid to *Juno*, under the Title of *Sospita*, already. See Vol. 3.

<sup>126</sup> This City is now called *Placenza*, and belongs to the Dutchy of *Parma*. We have spoken of it already.

<sup>127</sup> According to *Pliny* and *Solinus*, this brave *Roman* had received twenty three Wounds in two Campaigns; and he had two Horses killed under him. But his Valour shewed itself to the best Advantage, in the unfortunate Battels of the *Tessin*, *Trebia*, and Lake *Thrasimenus*. He had the Glory to save the Lives of several of his fellow-Citizens in those Actions, and thereby to merit so many Civic Crowns. The fatal Battel of *Canne* was in some sort a Day of a Triumph to this great Man. He alone of all the *Roman* Army received a Crown, as the Reward of his Bravery. The two Authors

we have just quoted, cite, in proof of these heroic Actions, the Harangue *Sergius* spoke, when he was preparing to preside at some expiatory Sacrifices, or other religious Ceremonies. It belonged to the *Prætor of Rome*, to notify these Solemnities to the People, and to preside in them. But the Laws granted this Right, only to those who were sound in Body and Mind. Whereas *Sergius*, by reason of his Wounds, was judged disqualified for this religious Office. The *Pontifices* forbade him to discharge it. And this Opposition from the *Pontifical* College, gave rise to the Speech, in which this Hero probably put the People in mind of his former Exploits, in order thereby to preserve a Privilege, of which his Valour had deprived him.

<sup>128</sup> It is not to be doubted, but that the *Prætor* for this Year, was the same *Marcus Sergius*, whom *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, com-  
 mend

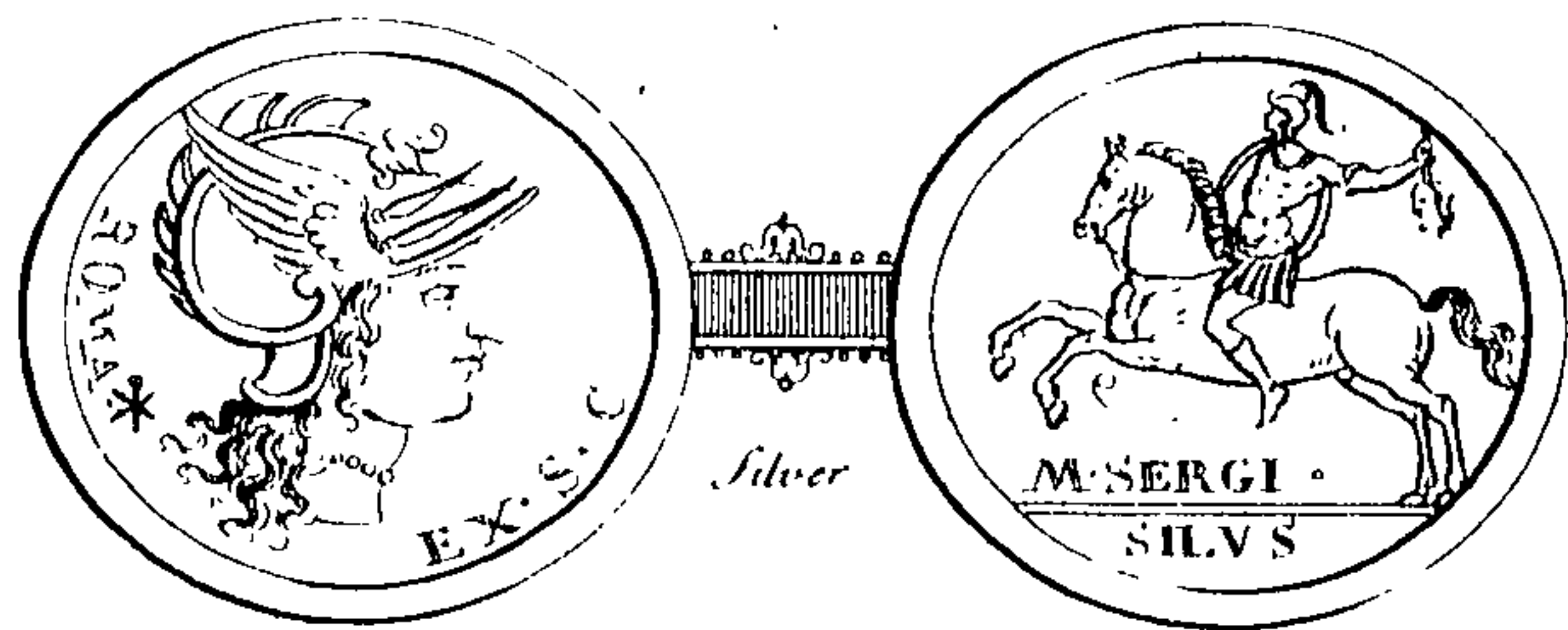


shall describe in the Course of this History. Such was the illustrious *Prætor*, to whom the *Consuls* sent an Account of their Victories over the *Gauls*. The *Prætor* read his Letters first in the Senate, and then to the People; and both Tribunals ordered publick Prayers to be made, in all the Temples in *Rome*, for four Days.

Year of  
ROMAN  
DLVI.  
C. CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
Q. MINUCIUS  
RUFUS, Con-  
suls.

§. XXXII. At the same time, News was brought from *Spain*, which was not so advantageous. *Rome* had lately erected two *Prætorships* there, one in *Hispania*, the other in *Further Spain*: And upon the erecting of this new Government, the *Spaniards* made an Insurrection. They were now more sensible of their Subjection than ever; and were enraged to find themselves reduced to the State of *Roman Provinces*. They therefore took Arms, to shake off the new Yoke, and they were very successful in their Revolt. In *Hispania Citerior*, the *Prætor Sempronius* fought the Rebels; lost both the Battel and his Life together; and his Army was dispersed. In *Hispania Ulterior*, two petty Kings<sup>129</sup> of the Country, took up Arms, and seized several<sup>130</sup> Cities. *Cardo*<sup>131</sup>, and *Lardo*, submitted to them, and all the Sea-Coast seemed disposed to join against the *Romans*. This News, which *Helvius*<sup>132</sup> *Blasio* sent from his Province, was read in full Senate by *Sergius*, *Prætor of Rome*. The *Conscript Fathers* ordered, that after the next Elections, the *Spanish Prætors* should make a Report of the Commotions in their *Provinces*, and that then proper Measures should be taken to put a Stop to them. Thus the Republick saw a new Revolt made in *Spain*. And indeed, the *Spaniards* never sat easy under the *Roman Yoke*. They were continually labouring to shake it off; even till *Augustus* came to the Empire.

§. XXXIII. HOWEVER, *Cisalpine Gaul* seemed to be subdued; and the Campaign was almost over. It was time for the *Consuls* to lead back their Troops to the City, and they drew near it, but did not enter it. They lodged in the Suburbs, till the People should grant them a Triumph. As they had made War in the same Province, though separately, they demanded a Triumph together: And in order to consider of their Demand, the Senate assembled in the Temple of *Bellona*. There had already been Instances of *Consuls*, who after a joint Victory, had triumphed together, and entered *Rome* in the same Chariots, or sometimes in different ones, and on different Days; and the two Collegues now expected the same Honour, and made it one common Request. But they met with Opposition.



mend. No one of the Name had been *Prætor* before him, except *Cneius Plancus*. And afterwards, the *Roman Annals* mention no other *Sergius*, which was promoted to this Office. The Antiquaries are of Opinion, that the Medal above was struck by his own Son, *Marcus Sergius Silus*, Lieutenant to *Paulus Æmilius*, in the War between the *Romans* and *Perseus*. The Intention of the Coiner seems to have been to transmit to Posterity the Glory of the Hero, whose Name the Medal bears. He is there represented on Horseback, holding both a Man's Head, and a Sword in his left Hand; for want of his right, which he had lost in the Service of the Republick. This probably alludes to some heroic Action, which is not mentioned in History. Add to this, that the *Sergian* Family produced several great Men. *Virgil* deduces it from *Sergestus*, one of *Æneas's* Companions.

*Sergestusque Domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen.* *Æn.* 5. And upon this Authority we rank it among the *Patrician Families*.

<sup>129</sup> One of these two petty Kings was named *Colcas*, and the other *Luscinius*, according to *Livy*. But *Polybius* gives the first the Name of *Colychus*. *Livy* speaks of him, B. 28; and says expressly, that he had twenty eight Cities under his Dominion.

<sup>130</sup> These Cities were seventeen in Number, according to the same Historian.

<sup>131</sup> If we may judge so by the Resemblance of the Names, this City of *Cordo* stood in the Place, where there is now a City of the same Name, in *Catalonia*. As for *Bardo*, we don't know its Situation. But it seems to have been near *Cordo*.

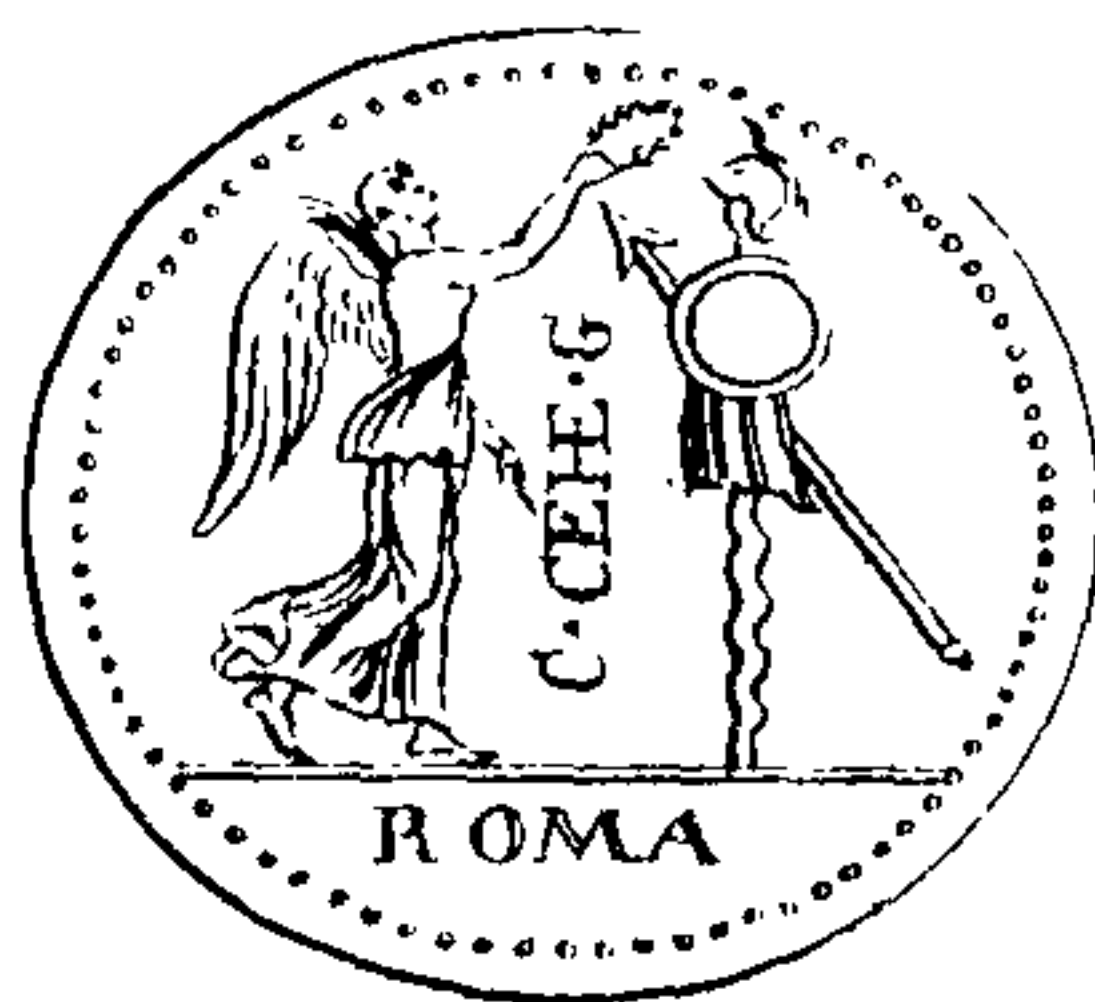
<sup>132</sup> *Appian* changes the Name of *Helvius*, into that of *Helvidius*. But this is a manifest Mistake, which ought to be charged on the Copyists.



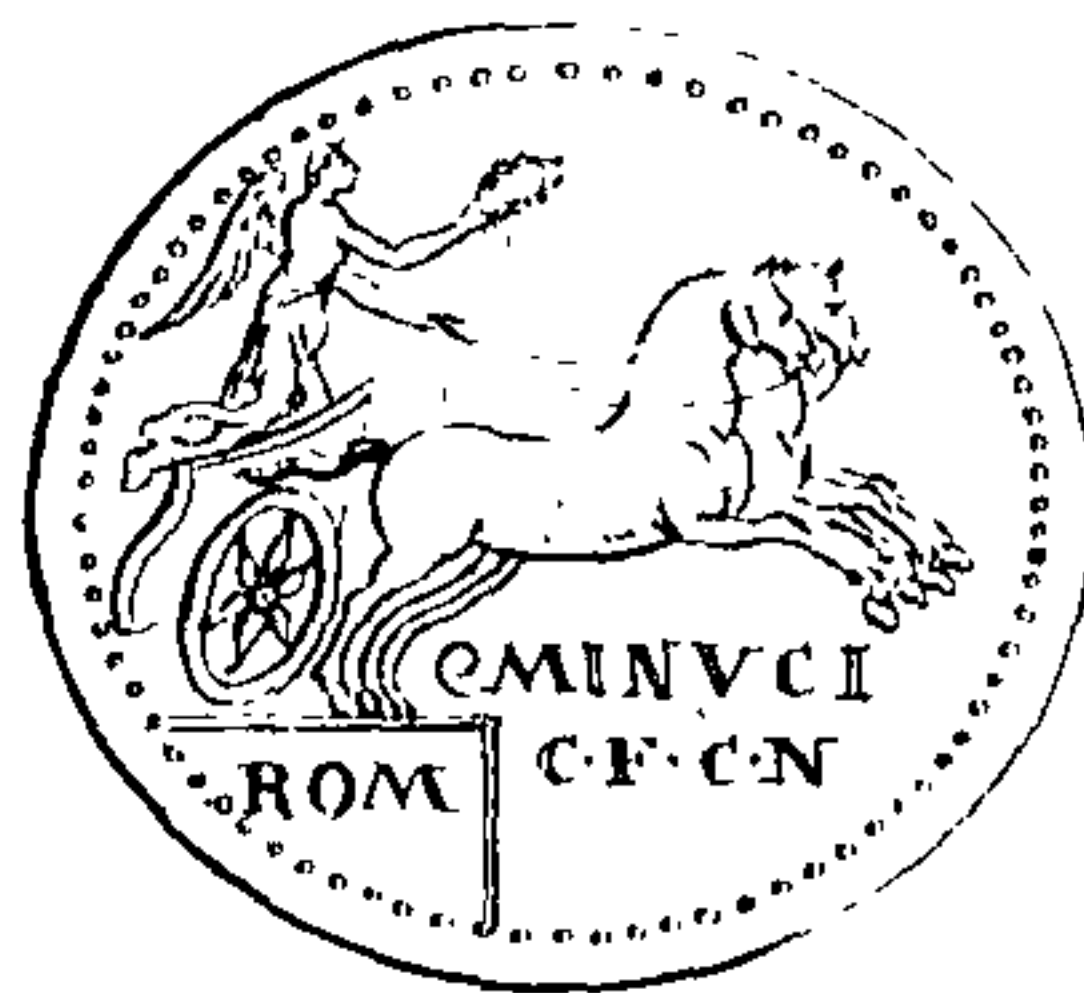
Year of Two Tribunes <sup>133</sup> of the People represented to the Senate, that it was proper  
 R O M E that the two Collegues should give their Reasons for their Request separately,  
 DLVI. since they were not equally entituled to the Favour asked. *Ought the same Ho-*  
 C. CORNELIUS *nours*, said they, *to be bestowed on two Men, whose Exploits are so different?*  
 CETHEGUS, *Causes so widely different, ought not to be blended together in one.* And this Op-  
 Q. MINUCIUS  
 RUFUS, Con- position of the two Tribunes being very just, it took Place.  
 fuls.

THE *Conscrip*t Fathers ordered each of the *Consuls*, to give in his own Reasons for himself; and made no Difficulty of granting *Cethegus* the Triumph <sup>134</sup> he had deserved. The Victory he had gained, the thirty five thousand *Gauls* he had killed on the Spot, and his Deliverance of the *Cremonese* and *Placentians* from Oppression, all spoke in his Favour. So that he entered *Rome* with the usual Pomp. Before his Chariot, went first the *Gauls*, whom he had made Prisoners, and among them a great many *Insubres* of Distinction; Then the Standards he had taken; after them Chariots, made after the *Gallic* Fashion, loaded with Spoils. And last of all, if we may credit some Authors, followed *Hamilcar* in Chains, just before the Chariot of the triumphant Victor. This was a noble Sight! But what most attracted the Eyes of the People, was the great Number of *Cremonese* and *Placentians*, who followed *Cethegus*, with *Pilei* <sup>135</sup> on their Heads, to shew that they had been rescued out of Slavery, by the Arms of the Conqueror. The *Gauls* were not a rich People, and therefore the Sum <sup>136</sup> of Money taken from them, was not great: But the Glory of the Conqueror was not the less on that Account. He had given the *Cisalpine Gauls* a mighty Overthrow.

As for *Minucius*, it is easy to judge of his Rage, at the Preference given to his Collegue by the Senate, and their refusing him a Triumph; and he found means to give himself one, without their Orders. He was authorized by former Precedents to triumph on *The Hill of Alba*, and he did so. Indeed, his Procession was not so stately as that of *Cethegus*. He made it at his own Expence. But after all, the Spoils of *Insubria*, which were carried before him, were not <sup>137</sup> inferior to those which had graced his Collegue's Triumph. And lastly, *Minucius* gave his Troops the same Bounty, as *Cethegus* had given his. The ancient Medals <sup>138</sup> have equally preserved the Memory of both these Triumphs,



Silver



<sup>133</sup> The Name of the first of these Tribunes, was *Caius Atinius Labeo*; and *Livy* calls the other *Caius Urfanius*.

<sup>134</sup> *Livy* says, ten Days were spent in Disputes between the *Consuls* and *Tribunes*, before the Affair was determined.

<sup>135</sup> See what we have said of the *Pileus*, the Symbol of Liberty, in the preceding Volumes.

<sup>136</sup> According to *Livy*, the Sum amounted to no more than two hundred thirty seven thousand five hundred *Aſſes* of Brass, and seventy nine thousand pieces of Silver, each of which was worth one of those *Roman Denarii*, which were called *Bigati*, because the Stamp upon them was a Chariot drawn by two Horses. The *Aſſes* then weighed but one Ounce. So that reckoning each as worth a *Sol French*, the whole did not exceed the Value of thirteen thousand *Livres*. As for the *Denarii*, when it is once known, that each was worth ten *Sols*, it is easy to compute the whole. The Historian adds,

that out of the Produce of the Spoils taken from the Enemy, the Victor, according to Custom, gave to every common Soldier seventy *Aſſes*; to every Trooper twice, and to every *Centurion* three times, that Sum.

<sup>137</sup> *Minucius* had carried in his Triumph two hundred and fifty four thousand *Aſſes* of Brass, and fifty three thousand Silver *Denarii*, besides the Bounties he gave his Soldiers, after the Example of his Collegue.

<sup>138</sup> We here give the Reader the Reverses of the two Medals, each of which bears the Name of the triumphant Victor. On the first we see a winged Victory crowning a Trophy. On the other a winged Victory driving a Chariot, drawn by two Horses. Nevertheless, we dare not vouch for their being authentick; notwithstanding that *Vinandus Pighini* has quoted them, upon *Goltzius's* Authority; and *Monsieur Vaillant* has, after him, put them among his *Consular Medals*.



of *Cethegus* and *Minucius* : And it is already evident enough, that *Flamininus*, the Conqueror of the King of *Macedon*, had deserved the same Honour. But he continued yet in *Greece*, and the Republick had a more magnificent Triumph in reserve for him, when he should return <sup>139</sup>.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVI.  
C.CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
Q. MINUCIUS  
RUFUS, Con-  
suls.

<sup>139</sup> In this Year 556. a Project was formed, at the Motion of *Gaius Atilius*, one of *The Tribunes of the People*, for settling five new Colonies on the Sea-Coast of *South-Italy*. The five Cities pitched upon were those of *Literna*, *Puteoli*, *Vulturnum*, *Salernum*, and *Buxentum*. Three hundred Families were to be transplanted into each of these Cities. The Republick then gave the Title of *Triumviri*

for three Years, to *Marcus Servilius Geminus*, *Quintus Minucius Thermus*, and *Titus Sempronius Longus*, who were to have the Care of conducting these several Colonies, to the Places assigned them by the Senate. Nevertheless, this Design was not put in execution, till the second Consulship of *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, which was in the Year of *Rome* 559.





T H E

## Roman History.

## B O O K XXXIX.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVI.

C. CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
Q. MINUCIUS  
RUFUS, Con-  
suls.

THE *Roman* Republick had now spread the Terror of her Arms far beyond *Italy*, to the South, and East. But after all, her Dominions there were not so much enlarged as her Power. The *Romans* seem to have despised making Conquests in *Africa*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*. They at first contented themselves with vanquishing these Nations, without bringing them into Subjection; they filled them with the Terror of the *Roman* Name, without reducing them to *Provinces*. No sooner did any State presume to Lord it over others, or enlarge itself; no sooner did any King set up for a Conqueror; but *Rome* immediately undertook the Defence of the Oppressed, and stopped the Progress of the Usurpers. Thus *Carthage* had long usurped the Empire of the Seas, and had been long labouring to join *Sicily* and *Spain* to her Dominions. Thus *Philip*, actuated by the same Ambition as his Predecessors, had undertaken to subject *Greece*, and a part of *Asia*, to *Macedon*. Thus *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, not content with the vast Regions he inherited from his Fathers, was now making Preparation to seize *Egypt*, pass into *Europe*, and erect a Kingdom in *Thrace* for one of his Sons. But the *Romans* soon interposed. They destroyed the Projects of *Carthage*, thwarted the ambitious Schemes of *Philip*, and the Designs of *Antiochus*. They took *Spain*, and *Sicily* from the *Carthaginians*; delivered *Greece* from the Chains of the *Macedonian*; and rescued *Egypt* and *Thrace* from the wicked Attempts of *Antiochus*; without any other Benefit from all this, but that of confining the Glory of Conquering to themselves. We shall soon see *Philip* confined to his own Kingdom of *Macedon*. But the Monarch, who will now most engage our Attention, will be the proud *Antiochus*, who gave himself the Title of *The Great*, and would have been justly entitled to it all his Days, if *Rome* had not at last humbled his Pride, and disconcerted his Projects. It must be granted, that the Superiority the *Romans* gained in the *Levant*, was partly owing to that Valour, which had never degenerated from the time of *Romulus*. But after all, the civil Virtues, and the Policy of the *Roman* Generals, contributed as much to their Success, as their Arms. They were not now to deal with uncivilized People. The most refined Nations in the World, owned the greater Penetration of the *Roman* Senate. *Athens*, *Lacedæmon*, and at last all *Greece* were sensible, that they were inferior to *Flaminius*, in point of Wisdom. Both in their own particular Assemblies, and in their General Diets, the *Roman* always gained the Superiority over the *Greeks*, by the Force of his Reasoning. *Flaminius* brought them to whatever he pleased. In short, if *Rome* did not make them her Subjects, which she might have done, she had at least the Honour of overcoming them, even in the Arts of Persuasion. The Truth of these Reflections will fully appear, in the following Parts of our Story, to which we now return.

§. I. AFTER the Battel of the *Cynocephala*, and the Promise *Philip* had given, to accept whatever Terms of Peace the Senate should offer him, he waited peaceably in *Macedon*, for the return of the Ambassadors he had sent to *Rome*. His Allies had also been as roughly treated as himself; and the *Acarnani*, who were the only *Greeks*

<sup>1</sup> Before the Battel of *Cynocephala*, *Lucius* endeavoured to bring over the *Acarnani* to the *Quinctius Flaminius*, the *Pro-Consul's* Brother, had *Romans*. They alone, of all the *Greeks*, had constantly



Greeks, that had constantly adhered to him, had lately submitted to the *Romans*. *L. Quinctius*, the Brother of *Flaminius*, had just taken from them *Leucas*, the Capital of *Acar-nania*; Year of R O M E DLVI.

C. CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
Q. MINUCIUS  
RUFUS, Con-  
suls.

stantly adhered to the King of *Macedon*. They had always valued themselves upon their inviolable Fidelity, in the Observation of their Treaties. Moreover, the implacable Hatred they bore to the *Aetolians*, had been the chief Cause of their Zeal for the Interests of *Philip*. Nevertheless, *Lucius* did his utmost to deprive that Prince of this his only Support. With this View, he engaged the chief Men of the Nation to meet him, in the Island of *Corcyra*. Several of them came, and the Result of this Meeting was the appointing another, to terminate the grand Affair of the Reconciliation. The Place appointed for this meeting was *Leucas*. The greatest part of the most considerable Men of the Nation left it, and came thither; but those who came according to their Promise, could not agree among themselves. After many Disputes, the Magistrates, and most considerable Men among the *Acar-nanians*, drew up a Scheme for a Confederacy with the *Romans*. They who were most obstinate in *Philip's* Interest, left the Place with Indignation, and protested with Vehemence against the Project for an Union. The Noise of this soon spread Abroad, and the Friends of the King of *Macedon* raised an Alarm in all Parts of the City. The People joined with them, and filled all the City with their Clamours. In this general Commotion, *Philip* sent *Echelemus* and *Androcles*, Men much esteemed by their Countrymen, to *Leucas*. There they declaimed with Vehemence against the wicked Proceedings of those slavish People, who without any Regard to the Faith of Treaties, were betraying the Interest of their Country, in order to surrender it up to the Mercy of an imperious Republick. The People, already prepossessed in their Favour, readily backed the Remonstrances of the two Deputies, who, by their Interest, hindered the Decree from passing; and *Archelaus* and *Bianor*, the supposed Authors of it, were universally condemned and hated. They were unanimously declared Enemies to their Country, and guilty of the blackest Treachery. Then the People proceeded to depose the *Prætor Zenxidas*, for having been the first who put the Affair in Agitation. It would have been highly prudent in the three Magistrates, to have withdrawn from the Fury of an enraged Multitude. They would have had a safe Retreat in the Island of *Corcyra*, where the Protection of the *Romans* would have secured them against the Storm. This their Friends thought to be their only Refuge, in the miserable Extremity to which they were reduced. But they flattering themselves with the Hopes of Pardon, chose rather to deliver themselves up to the Will of the People. And the Event justified their Rashness. Being resolved to perish, or avert the Wrath of their Judges, they ventured to appear in the Assembly which was then sitting. All trembled with Rage at seeing them, and an hollow Murmur soon followed at their Appearance; but Compassion soon succeeded these first Emotions of Surprise and Indignation. To ruin three illustrious Magistrates, who a few Days before were Judges of *Acar-nania*, was an affecting Stroke to all the Members of the Diet. As highly criminal as they appeared in the Eyes of their Accusers, the rest could not but lament and pity their Misfortunes; and they gave them leave to speak. Then they first, with a mournful Tone, and in Terms suitable to their present Condition, seemed to claim the Indulgence of the Assembly. But when they came to the Articles, upon which they had been condemned, they exalted their Voices, with an Air of Confidence and Steadiness, with which Innocence alone inspires the most timorous. They had even the Assurance

to complain of the Injustice, or rather Inhumanity of those, who had conspired their Ruin. And this Discourse, so artfully managed, succeeded beyond their Expectations. It made so strong an Impression on all present, that they unanimously resolved to disannul the Sentence pronounced against *Archelaus*, *Bianor*, and *Zenxidas*. They were all immediately reinstated in their former Honours. But at the same time all agreed together to serve the King of *Macedon*, and loudly exclaimed against the secret Treaty made with the *Romans*, without their Privy. Thus ended the Assembly of *Leucas*; which was the Capital of *Acar-nania*. The Deputies of all Orders used to meet there, to consult together about the common Interests of the Nation.

*Lucius* being informed of this sudden Change, from that time, took proper Measures to besiege *Leucas*. He immediately sailed from *Corcyra*, and landed at *Heræus*, a Port near the City, which he designed to besiege. From thence he brought all the Machines necessary for besieging it in Form; and by his Orders, the *Romans* began their Approaches, and by the Help of their *Gabions* and *Mantelets*, pretended to advance towards the Foot of the Wall, as it were to give a general Assault. *Lucius's* Design in this, was only to intimidate the Inhabitants. He fancied, that when they saw this Apparatus for War, they would the more readily comply with his Desires. But he was disappointed. The *Leucadians* made a good Appearance, and prepared to resist the Attacks of the Besiegers with Courage. And then the General immediately raised his Batteries, resolving to take the Place by Storm.

2 *Acar-nania* lay between *Ætolia* and *Epirus*, with the Sea to the West of it. *Leucadia* was one of its chief Cantons. It was then a Peninsula, which was joined to the Western Parts of *Acar-nania*, by a Neck of Land, of about five hundred Paces long, and a hundred and twenty broad. In After-times, this *Isthmus* was dug through, and a large Ditch, or rather Canal made, into which the Sea ran, and made *Leucadia* an Island. At the time of *Lucius's* Expedition, the City of *Leucas*, which stood in the *Isthmus*, had an Hill behind it, to the East. The lower Quarter of this Capital reached along a little Plain, the extreme Parts of which were washed by the Sea; and on the Side which was most defenceless, it was not difficult for the *Romans* to besiege it both by Sea and Land. They found it easier to carry on their Works, and make their Attacks there. Besides that the Waters round this Place were low, and still, which did not hinder the Approaches of the Workmen; the Land was easy to be removed, and consequently more convenient for Sapping, and raising Platforms.

*Lucius* made the best use of these Advantages, battered the Fortifications of the City with so much Vigour, and played his Rams so well, that the greatest part of the Wall fell down, or at least there were great Breaches in it. But nevertheless, the heroic Valour of the Besieged, and their surprising Activity in repairing the Breaches, and ruining the Works of the Besiegers, began to stagger the Constancy of the *Roman* Troops. So that the Siege would doubtless have been protracted to a great Length, had it not been for the Assistance of some *Italian* Exiles, who were well acquainted with the Place. These, by a signal Act of Treachery, found Means to bring a great Number of the *Roman* Soldiers privately into the Citadel.

At the sight of the Enemy, who were running about in their City, the Inhabitants drew themselves up in order of Battel, in the Market-Place of *Leucas*. And whilst they were defending themselves, and







assembled an Army of six thousand five hundred Men, <sup>5</sup> surprised the *Dardani* in Disorder, and drove them out of his Dominions. After this, he came to *Thessalonica*. A poor Advantage, after so many Calamities! However, his Ambassadors were favourably received at *Rome*. The Republick had chosen new *Consuls*, immediately after their Arrival. *L. 7* *Furius Purpureo*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*, were promoted to that Dignity, by the *Centuries*, in *The Field of Mars* <sup>8</sup>.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVII.

L. FURIUS  
PURPUREO,  
M. CLAUDIUS  
MARCELLUS,  
Consuls.

*ROME* was then threatened from several Quarters. The Revolts in *Spain* gave her Reason to fear a long and dangerous War. The *Gauls* in *Italy* were yet in Motion. Their Fury was not yet quelled, notwithstanding the Numbers of their Countrymen which had been slain the last Year. The *Ætolians* seemed inclined to renounce their Alliance with the Republick, and made it their whole Business to raise up Enemies against her. But above all, *Antiochus* appeared most formidable to the *Romans*, on account of his Conquests in *Asia*, his Pretensions in *Europe*, his Ardour to invade *Egypt*, and his great Desire to try his Strength with *Rome*. Besides, *Antiochus*, after having, the last Campaign, seized *Cælo-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judæa*, had now sent his two Sons, *Ardues* and *Mithridates*, before him to *Sardis*, with his Land-Forces; and with Orders, to wait for him there <sup>10</sup>.

App. in Syria-  
cis.

Whilst

ing directly to *Stratonice*, of which they might certainly have made themselves Masters, without striking a Stroke. They had no more Enemies to fear, and the City was very ill provided with Troops, since *Dinocrates* had drawn out the Garrison from it. But not knowing how to make a good use of their Victory, they let slip the best Opportunity of extending their Conquests thro' all *Caria*. Being content with having reduced the Castles and Towns in *Pe-ræa*, they gave the *Macedonian* General time to revictual that Place, and enter it himself, with the Remains of his Army, to put it into a Posture of Defence. And then all the Efforts that *Pausistratus's* Troops afterwards made to force *Stratonice* to surrender, were fruitless, thro' their own Fault. They afterwards wanted all the Power of *Antiochus* to put themselves in Possession of a Place of that Importance.

*Asia* some Colonies of *Pæonians*; and the latter, after he had subdued the Province, executed his Prince's Commands. *Nicolas of Damascus* has also told us much the same Story, with this Difference, that he places it in the Reign of *Alyates*, the Father of *Cræsus*, King of *Lydia*.

<sup>6</sup> *Thessalonica*, one of the chief Cities in *Macedon*, has given its Name to the neighbouring Gulph, formerly called *The Thermaic Gulph*; now, *The Gulph of Salonichi*. Some think that *Cassiter* restored it, and that he gave it the Name of his Wife *Thessalonica*, the Sister of *Alexander the Great*, and Daughter of *Philip of Macedon*. This City stood between the Cities *Echedorus* and *Chabris*. *Stephen of Bysantium* pretends, that it was in the first Ages called *Alia*. *Strabo* does not distinguish it from *Therma*; tho' *Pliny* makes them two different Cities.

<sup>7</sup> *The Greek Tables* give *Lucius Furius*, the Consul, the Surname of *Porphyrius*; a Greek Term, which answers to the Latin, *Purpureo*.

<sup>8</sup> The Close of the Year 556, was remarkable for the stately Games, which the *Curule Ædiles*, *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, surnamed *Nasica*, and *Cneius Manlius Vulso*, celebrated, for three Days together, in the *Circus*, and the Theatre. This Show, says the Historian, surpassed every thing of the Kind, that had yet been seen in *Rome*. The *Romans* shewed, by their Shouts, the Joy they had received, by the late News of the Successes of the Republick. The *Plebeian Ædiles* also, distinguished themselves by the Games with which they entertained the People. This Solemnity lasted seven Days. Moreover, these latter signalized themselves by an Act of Religion. With the pecuniary Fines which they had levied, they erected three Statues of Brass; one to *Ceres*, another to *Bacchus*, and the third to *Proserpine*. And lastly, by an extraordinary Indulgence, the Inhabitants of *Cosa* were allowed a new Colony of a thousand Persons, to re-people their Territory, which was laid desolate in the late Wars, and to cultivate their Lands. But out of the Number of these Colonists, were excepted all those who had born Arms against the Republick, since the Consulate of *Marcus Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Publius Sempronius Tuditanus*, which was in the Year 549.

<sup>9</sup> See what we have said of *Cælo-Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, above. We shall have Occasion to speak of *Judæa* hereafter.

<sup>10</sup> *Sardis* was formerly one of the most considerable Cities in *Lydia*. *Cræsus* made it his Capital, and had fixed his Residence there, when it was subdued by *Cyrus*. It stood on the Declivity of Mount *Tmolus*, near the Head of the River *Pactolus*, which was

was

<sup>5</sup> *Philip* gained this Advantage near *Stobi*, an ancient City which, according to *Livy*, belonged to *Pœonia*, a Province of *Macedon*. It is now called *Staragino*. We find it named on several Medals which are in *Monsieur Vaillant's* Collection. This City stood on the Banks of a River which ran into the *Axis*. *Ptolomy* places it in *Pelagonia*; but this Situation may easily be reconciled with what the Historian says of it. *Pelagonia* was in *Pœonia*, a vast Country, which reached a great way on both Sides the *Axis*, from *Illyricum*, to the Borders of *Thrace*, from South-East to North-East. But we must take Care not to confound the *Pelagonia* *Ptolomy* mentions here, on account of *Stobi*, with another little Country near *Thessaly*. We have elsewhere distinguished the latter by the Name of *Tripolis*, because it contained three Cities. The former lay more Northward. The *Pœonians* came originally from *Thrace*. These People, who boasted of having been descended from an *Athenian* Colony, were subdued by *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander*, about the second Year of his Reign. They had the Character of being a robust and laborious People. Upon this, *Herodotus* tells a remarkable Story, which made *Darius* desirous of adding *Pœonia* to his Dominions. One Day, as this Prince was going to *Sardis*, a City of *Lydia*, he saw a Woman who spun, carried a Vessel of Water on her Head, and led a Horse, all at the same time. This new Sight raised the Curiosity of *Darius*; and he enquired of what Country the Woman was. He was told she was a Native of *Pœonia*; and the favourable Notion he formed of a Nation among whom the weaker Sex were so active and laborious, gave him a Likening to the *Pœonians*. He ordered *Megabysus*, his General in *Thrace*, to send over into *A-*



Year of  
R O M E  
DLVII.  
L. FURIUS  
PURPUREO,  
M. CLAUDIUS  
MARCELLUS,  
Consuls.

Whilst he himself, in the mean time, was set out from <sup>11</sup> *Antioch*, at the Head of a Fleet large enough to strike Terror into all the Coasts of the *Mediterranean*. It consisted of an hundred large Ships of War, and two hundred <sup>12</sup> other Vessels, of all Sizes. The King of *Syria*'s Design was, first to conquer the Cities of <sup>13</sup> *Cilicia* and *Caria*, two Regions which were, in part at least, subject to the King of *Egypt*; and then, to come in Person to the Assistance of *Philip*, his old Ally, and the Enemy of the *Romans* <sup>14</sup>.

§. II. THIS was the News *Rome* had received from the East, when *Philip*'s Ambassadors <sup>15</sup> came thither, to sue for Peace. With them came also the Messengers *Flamininus* sent from *Greece*. This General himself continued there, either to

was formerly so famous for the gold Sand it produced, if we credit the Tradition of the Ancients. Many Rivulets watered the Fields about this City, and made them very fruitful. *Strabo* tells us, B. 13. that in the Empire of *Tiberius* the greatest Part of the Buildings in *Sardis* were thrown down by Earthquakes; and That that Emperor rebuilt it, when it was almost in Ruins. It now retains nothing of its ancient Grandeur. It is only a poor Village, which to this Day retains the Name of *Sardia*.

<sup>11</sup> *Antioch*, the Capital of *Syria*, and surnamed *The Great*, to distinguish it from other Cities of the same Name, was then one of the most considerable Cities in the East. *Strabo* says, it consisted of four principal Quarters; and was therefore called *Tetrapolis*. The first was built by Order of *Seleucus Nicator*, or *Nicator*, in Memory of his Father *Antiochus*; and therefore called by his Name. This Prince, in order to people his new City, transplanted thither the Inhabitants of *Antigonia*, another City of *Syria*, which *Antigonus* the Son of *Philip*, and one of the Generals of *Alexander the Great*, had built in that Neighbourhood. The second Quarter was the Work of the Citizens themselves. The third was added by *Seleucus Callinicus*. And lastly, the fourth by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, or *The Illustrious*. *Antioch* stood on the Banks of the River *Orontes*, which ran thro' the Suburbs called *Daphne*. There are now nothing but Ruins left of this City, which has been, in a manner, utterly destroyed by Earthquakes.

<sup>12</sup> Among these two hundred Boats, there were several of those Ships which the Historians call *Cercurii*. The Invention of them is ascribed to the People of *Cyprus*. They seem to have been Ships of Burden, which were rowed. At least, *Plautus* and *Athenæus* give us Reason to think so. They were most in use among the *Asiatics*.

<sup>13</sup> *Cilicia* is a Province of *Asia Minor*, which is bounded, to the South, by *The Mediterranean*; to the North, by a Part of *Cappadocia* and *Armenia*, as far as to Mount *Taurus*; to the West, by *Pamphilia*; and to the East, by Mount *Amanus*, or *Monte Negro*. The *Cilicians* were reputed to be great Robbers. Cunning and artful Tricks in robbing, were Matter of Honour among them. They gloried in Thieving and Piracy. *Cilicia* is now a Part of the Country called *Caramania*.

<sup>14</sup> *Livy* tells us, that the *Rhodians* then gave signal Proofs of their Attachment to the Republick, and their Zeal for promoting the Interests of *Greece*, against the Enterprizes of *Antiochus*. This Prince was then at *Nepheleis*, a famous City and Promontory in *Cilicia*. Near it, *Cimon*, the *Athenian* General, after he had vanquished the *Persians*, both by Sea and Land, in one Day, formerly forced their King *Artaxerxes*, to submit to the Laws imposed upon him by the Republick of *Athens*, and accept of shameful Terms of Peace.

The King of *Syria*, at the Head of a numerous Army, had spread Terror in the Provinces of *Asia Minor*. Nevertheless, this formidable Power did not surprize the *Rhodians*. Being resolved to support all the Burden of the War themselves, and to oppose the Progress of the Conqueror, they sent an Embassy to him; with Orders to require him not to

extend his Conquests farther, and to withdraw his Troops out of *Cilicia*. To which they were to add, That the *Rhodians* were not moved to take up Arms against him, out of Hatred or Malice to him; but desired only to hinder his joining his Arms with those of *Philip*, and interrupting the Progress of the *Romans*, in restoring *Greece* its former Liberty.

*Antiochus* was then besieging *Coracesium*, a maritime City built on a Rock, and situated on the Frontiers of *Cilicia* and *Pamphylia*. He had already subdued *Zephyrium*, *Soles*, *Aphrodisias*, a City dedicated to *Venus*, and *Coryca*. From thence, after he had crossed the Promontory *Anemurium*, he had taken his Rout towards *Selinus*, which had undergone the same Fate. Upon the bare Report of his Name, the Cities in the Country had opened their Gates to him, and submitted, without Resistance. Nay, the People prevented the Conqueror, and submitted before he came to them. *Coracesium* was the only City that durst stand a Siege, against all the Forces of *Antiochus*.

And in sight of this City the Ambassadors came to him. When they were brought into his Tent, they acquainted him with their Business; and the proud Monarch, who was used to give Law to others, trembled with Rage. But he had Command enough over his Passions, not to express any great Resentment. He only answered, That he desired not to quarrel with the *Rhodians*, or the *Romans*, but designed always to keep up a good Intelligence with both Nations; That he would take care to order his Ambassadors to renew the ancient Treaties his Ancestors had made with *Rhodes*; and That he had always been very desirous to keep up a constant Unanimity and Friendship with the *Roman Republick*. And in Proof of this Union, he gave them an Account of the Embassy he had lately sent to *Rome*, and the great Honours which were bestowed on his Ambassadors, by the Senate.

Then *Antiochus* sent Ambassadors to *Rhodes*, who upon their Arrival there, heard the News of the entire Defeat of *Philip*, at *Cynocephala*. This News emboldened the *Romans*; and most of them were for putting out a Fleet to Sea, to engage *Antiochus*. But they chose rather to secure the Liberty of the Cities in Alliance with the King of *Egypt*, which were not yet subdued by *Antiochus*. The *Rhodian*, by all Sorts of good Offices, and by the Supplies of Men and Provisions which they sent them, preserved the Cities of *Caunus*, *Myndus*, *Halicarnassus*, and the Island of *Samos*, from the Invasion of the *Syrians*.

<sup>15</sup> According to *Livy*, *Philip*'s Ambassadors were lodged without the City, in the publick Building, which the *Roman* Historians call *Villa Publica*. It stood on the Borders of *The Field of Mars*. These Lodgings were generally appropriated to the Ambassadors from Nations or Princes with whom the Republick was actually at War. And this we have observed to be a Piece of Policy in the *Romans*. They thought it dangerous to bring into the City Men whom they suspected, and whose Interest was to disturb the Tranquillity of the City. *Livy* adds, that the Expences of these Ambassadors were borne by the Publick.



carry on the War, if the Senate refused to grant a Peace; or to regulate the Affairs of his Province, after Tranquillity should be established in it. *Scipio* had hitherto been the *Pro-Consul's* Pattern; and he continued to imitate him, to the last. *Flamininus* now solicited a Peace for *Macedon*, as *Scipio* had done for *Carthage*; and upon the same Motives. Both were afraid that one of the new *Consuls* would come and rob him of the Glory of finishing the Affair in hand: and *Flamininus* was now for leaving the Republick at Liberty to pursue the War with *Antiochus*, without Distraction; as *Scipio* had turned his Arms against *Philip*, immediately after he had procured a Peace for *Carthage*. The Design of both Conquerors was to prevent *Rome's* having two foreign Wars upon her Hands, at the same time; and the Senate approved of this sound Policy. The *Macedonian* Deputies, and those of *Flamininus*, were brought into the House; and made the same Request. *Philip*<sup>16</sup> sued for a Peace; and *Flamininus* represented, That it was for the Advantage of the State to grant him one. So that the *Conscrip't Fathers* would not have hesitated about the Affair, if one of the new *Consuls* had not shewn a very great Desire to go and finish the War in *Macedon*. He represented to the Senate, That the Peace to which they inclined, in favour of *Philip*, was a fallacious one. As soon, said he, as *Rome* shall have withdrawn her Troops from Greece, the perfidious *Macedonian* will take the Field again. You must dethrone, and utterly ruin him, if you will keep him quiet.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVII.

L. FURIUS  
PURPUREO,  
M. CLAUDIUS  
MARCELLUS,  
Consuls.

ALL Appearances favoured this Opinion of *Marcellus*. The *Ætolians* thought as he did; and had no Hopes of seeing *Greece* enjoy her Liberty, till *Philip* was entirely suppressed. And *Marcellus* had very like to have prevailed. At least, his Motion divided the Senators; and their Uncertainty authorized *Marcus* and *Attilius*, two *Tribunes of the People*, to bring the Affair before the Tribunal of the People. The latter were the Arbitrators of Peace or War; and *Philip's* Request was therefore submitted to the Suffrages of the *Comitia*. The *Tribunes* reported it, and shewed, That it was expedient to accept the Offers of the *Macedonian*. And the *Tribes* were all unanimous. Not one of the thirty five voted for War. This Assembly, which was in the *Capitol*, had a clearer Insight into the present Affair, than even the Senate, and consulted the true Interest of their Country. They had fewer Distrusts, and therefore acted more wisely. We shall soon see *Philip* sit very quiet, after his Humiliation, and long continue to have a Respect for the *Romans*, when settled in the peaceful Possession of his Dominions.

§. III. AFTER this, *Rome* distributed her Troops among the different Generals, who were to command them, in different Provinces. As for the Provinces, the new *Consuls* and *Prætors* drew Lots for them. *Marcellus*, to his great Mortification, was forced to continue in *Italy*, with his Collegue *Furius*, to make War there with the *Gauls*. Of the six *Prætors*, *Minucius Thermus*, and *Fabius Buteo*, were appointed to go to *Spain*; and were ordered not to tarry long at *Rome*, but immediately to go on board the Squadron which was to convoy them to their respective Provinces. They had an equal Share of Troops. Each carried his *Legion* into *Spain*, with four thousand Allies, and three hundred Horse. This was a necessary Reinforcement at this time. The War they were now going to carry on, was not with the *Carthaginians*, hated by the *Spaniards*, who wanted to be delivered out of their Hands. The Scene was changed. The War was to be with the *Spaniards* themselves, who were jealous of their Liberty; and *Rome* had Reason to be under great Apprehensions of so fierce a Nation, who only sought to recover their Freedom. Both *Spains* were equally interested in the Case; and there was little Hope of dividing them. Nevertheless, the immense Sums that were brought into the publick Treasury from thence, animated *Rome* to continue the War; and she spared no Pains to keep the *Spaniards* in Subjection.

Soon after the *Spanish Prætors* were gone, the *Consuls*<sup>17</sup> left *Rome*. About Spring,

<sup>16</sup> It was easy to see, by the Speech of the King of *Macedon* to the Senate, that he was sincerely desirous of a Peace. The Ambassadors declared, says *Livy*, in their Master's Name, That he was ready to submit to any Terms that *Rome* should think fit to impose upon him.

<sup>17</sup> The first Care of the *Consuls*, before they set out, was to offer expiatory Sacrifices to the Gods,

to avert the Misfortunes with which some extraordinary Events seemed to threaten the Republick. The Death of a *Roman*, named *Julius Sequestis*, had renewed the superstitious Regard the *Romans* shewed to these Practices. Both he and his Horse had lately been killed by Lightning, on the Road to *Sabinia*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLVII.  
L. FURIUS  
PURPUREO,  
M. CLAUDIUS  
MARCELLUS,  
Consuls.

all the Generals went to their respective Armies, and made War with Success. And now, we shall follow them into the different Countries where the *Romans* signalized themselves; and return from all Parts to *Rome*, as to the Center of Action, or the *Primum Mobile* of all these Exploits <sup>18</sup>.

*FLAMININUS* had been continued *Pro-Consul* in *Greece*; and by a new Decree he was declared General in this vast Country, till such time as the Treaty should be concluded. Indeed, ten Commissioners were sent to him from *Rome*, to finish the Affair with the *Macedonian*, and settle the State of *Greece*. This was then an established Custom. To go no higher, ten Plenipotentiaries had been sent into *Africa*; and *Scipio*, with their Advice, had finished the Treaty of Peace, the Conditions of which he had dictated. The ten Commissioners for *Greece* embarked therefore with *Philip's* Ambassadors, and pursued their Voyage with them.

§. IV. In the mean time, the *Pro-Consul* had spent Part of the Winter at *Athens*, engaged in numberless Affairs. *Flamininus* here shewed himself to be a great a Statesman, as he had before shewn himself a Warrior. It is no easy Matter to determine whether he understood Arms or Politicks best. He was, perhaps, inferior to *Scipio* in all other things; but equalled, if not surpassed him, in Address, and the Art of governing Mens Passions. He was now to guard against all the Artifices of the *Greeks*, to calm their Distrusts, appease their mutual Jealousies, stifle their Revolts, conquer their Capriciousness, and fix their Levity. If the ancient *Greeks*, of whom the Historians boast so much, were like those *Flamininus* had to deal with, it must be allowed that the Historians have given us very flattering Representations of them. When *Rome* came to have to do with the latter, she found that they had more Artifice than Valour; were rather Babblers, than truly eloquent; and had more Vanity and Ostentation, than solid Virtue: And therefore it is said of *Philopæmenes*, who lived then, that he was the last of the *Greek* Men of *Greece*.

THE first Occurrence, which shewed *Flamininus* the Temper of the *Greeks*, after he had conquered *Philip*, was the Ingratitude of the *Bæotians*. They had deserted the *Macedonians*, and gone over to the *Romans*, a little after the Battel of *Cynocephalæ*. When they saw the King so much weakened, and the *Roman* General so powerful, they offered a Petition to the Conqueror, which seemed reasonable. A great Number of *Bæotians* had formerly served in the *Macedonian* Army; and the *Pro-Consul* was desired to demand these Soldiers of the King, that they might retire, and enjoy their Repose in their own Country. *Flamininus* readily granted this Request; and obtained what he desired of *Philip*.

THE King of *Macedon* was then waiting for the Return of his Ambassadors, with the Ratification of the Peace which he so ardently desired: and the *Bæotian* Troops were sent back into their own Country, and with them the famous *Brachyllas*, who had been banished for having appeared too zealous for *Philip*. So that *Bæotia* was wholly indebted to the *Pro-Consul* for the Return of her Troops. Nevertheless, she thanked the King of *Macedon* only, for this Favour. Nor was this all. In the first Election the *Bæotians* made of an Head of their Nation, they preferred *Brachyllas*, a sworn Enemy to *Rome*, to *Zeuxippus* and *Pisistratus*, who had openly declared for her. Nay, they ventured to make this injudicious Choice, even in sight of the *Roman* Camp.

It is easy to judge how much *Flamininus* was concerned at their taking so bad Steps. The *Bæotians* affected to affront the *Romans*, on all Occasions. They granted their Honours, and all Marks of Distinction, to none but the Enemies of *Rome*. And *Zeuxippus* and *Pisistratus* joined their Resentments to those of the

<sup>18</sup> In the Beginning of this Consular Year, according to *Livy*, the *Pro-Consul* of *Hither Spain*, *Cneius Cornelius Lentulus*, who had been succeeded by *Sempronius Tuditanus*, made his Entrance into *Rome*. He had, by his Expeditions in that Country, merited the Honour of an *Ovation*; which was decreed him by the Senate. Of the Spoils which he had taken from the Enemy, this General had carried before him one thousand five hundred and fifteen Pounds Weight of Gold, twenty thousand Pounds Weight of Silver, in Bars; and in Money,

thirty four thousand five hundred and fifty *Denarii*. As for *Lucius Stertinius*, he did not pretend to claim the same Honour; but he brought from *Further Spain* fifty thousand Pounds Weight of Silver, which he carried to the publick Treasury. The rest of the Booty he employed in building two arched Galleries. The first was in *The Ox-Market*, near a Temple of *Fortune*, and a Temple dedicated to the Goddess *Matuta*. The second was in *The Great Circus*. These two Buildings were adorned with gilded Statues, at proper Distances.



**Pro-Consul.** These two *Bæotian* Lords foresaw that their Ruin would be certain, as soon as the *Romans* should withdraw their Troops from *Greece*. *Brachyllas* would infallibly vent his Rage upon them. It was therefore necessary to be beforehand with this domestick Enemy, and destroy him before *Flamininus* departed. And all the Partisans of *Rome* concurred in this Design. They represented to the **Pro-Consul**, That neither their Lives nor Estates were safe, as long as *Brachyllas* was alive. *Flamininus* saw thro' the Design of his Friends; and suffered them to carry it on, without contributing to it himself. He referred it to the *Prætor Alexamenes*, to put their Design in Execution; and *Alexamenes* employed *Zeuxippus*, *Pisistratus*, three *Ætolians*, and three *Italians*, to assassinate that Enemy to their Country, and to *Rome*. So that the Death of *Brachyllas* was resolved on. The Opportunity the Conspirators took to compass it, was during his Residence at *Thebes*, when he was returning from an Entertainment, with several of the Company, who were conducting him to his House. They then attacked him, all on a sudden, and immediately dispatched him. The Men of Pleasure who surrounded *Brachyllas*, were the only Persons at first accused of the Murder; but *Zeuxippus* was suspected of having laid the Plot. He appeared in the Assembly of the People, undertook the Defence of the Accused, and shewed that it was not at all probable that Debauchees should have Courage enough to attempt the Life of the Head of their Nation. However, the Confidence of *Zeuxippus* in appearing in publick, made some of the *Thebans* believe, that he was not guilty. But others judged better, took Umbrage at this audacious Step, and persisted in imputing the Death of *Brachyllas* to *Zeuxippus* and *Pisistratus* only. Nevertheless, they who were in his Company were tortured, tho' innocent; and they accused *Zeuxippus* and *Pisistratus*, purely upon the publick Suspicions, without being able to bring any Proof of their Accusation. And now, see the strange Effects of Remorse! *Zeuxippus*, who knew himself guilty, thought himself lost, and fled to a Town called <sup>19</sup> *Tanagra*, for Refuge. *Pisistratus* continued in *Thebes*, and despised the Accusation of Men who knew nothing of the Secret; but he was fearful of the Depositions of a Slave, which *Zeuxippus* had in his Service. This Man had been an Agent and Accomplice in the whole Affair. *Pisistratus* therefore wrote to *Zeuxippus*, who was retired to *Tanagra* with only this Servant, to kill him. *Such a Wretch*, said he, *is a much fitter Person to be employed in a bad Action, than to keep it a Secret*. The Messenger had Orders to deliver the Letter to no Body but *Zeuxippus*; but he gave it to the Slave, whom he thought faithful and affectionate to his Master: And the Slave thought himself concerned to open it. Upon reading it, he found it contained a Sentence of Death against himself; and therefore instantly left his Master, and came to *Thebes*. There he informed against *Pisistratus*, and discovered the whole Mystery of the Assassination. *Pisistratus* was executed for it; but all the Odium of the Murder of *Brachyllas* fell on the *Romans*. *Bæotia* was clamorous; and the *Ætolians* took Advantage of these Reports, to prejudice the People against *Flamininus*.

§. V. IN the mean time, *Zeuxippus* retired to *Athens*, where he was out of the Reach of his Judges; and the *Bæotians* had then taken up Arms, if they had had any Heads to lead them. At least, they revenged the Murder on as many *Romans* as fell into their Hands. Every *Roman* that was found in a private Place, either in the Towns, or Fields, was killed. Snares were laid for them in all Places. The Victuallers and Suttlers in the *Roman* Army could no longer cross the Country of the *Bæotians* in Safety. The latter found a double Advantage in killing them; they satisfied their Revenge, and got a Booty by stripping them. Till at length, *Flamininus* was weary of seeing his *Romans* so often insulted in a Country in Alliance with him; and he sent Officers with his Troops, to get Information of the Authors of all these Murders and Robberies.

He understood that the Lake of *Copais* <sup>20</sup> was full of the Bodies of his *Romans*; who had been thrown in there with Stones about their Necks, to prevent the Discovery

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVII.

L. FURIUS  
PURPUREO,  
M. CLAUDIUS  
MARCELLUS,  
Consuls.

<sup>19</sup> *Tanagra*, a City of *Bæotia*, stood near the Mouth of the River *Asopus*. *Homer* calls it *Cræa*. It had, in ancient Times, the Name of *Pamandria*, according to *Stephen of Byantium*. *Strabo* says it was in being in his time. Some ancient Authors

call it *Gephyra*; and *Castaldus* gives it the Name of *Anatoria*.

<sup>20</sup> The Lake *Copias* took its Name from a City which the ancient Geographers call *Copæ*. It is the same Lake that *Pausanias* calls *The Lake of Cephissus*.  
*Strabo*



Year of Discovery of their Deaths. He likewise was informed, That the Cities of <sup>21</sup> *Coronæa*, and <sup>22</sup> *Acræphia*, had been most active in these wicked Attempts upon the Romans. The *Pro-Consul* therefore ordered the Murderers to be delivered up to him; and having lost five hundred Men, he demanded of the *Bæotians* five hundred *Talents*, <sup>23</sup> by way of Reparation. But they would obey none of his Orders. And then he found Means to revenge himself, without provoking the *Greeks* his Allies. He laid before them the Reasons for his Resentment; and they could not but think it just.

R O M E  
DLVII.  
L. FURIUS  
PURPUREO,  
M. CLAUDIUS  
MARCELLUS,  
Consuls.

AFTER these Precautions, which the *Pro-Consul* thought necessary, lest he should sower the Minds of the People he came to appease, he sent Troops to lay waste the Fields of *Acræphia*, and to lay Siege to *Coronæa*. And then the *Bæotians*, who would not acknowledge their Fault till they began to suffer for it, sought for People to intercede with *Flamininus*. Some Deputies from *Achaia* and *Athens*, came very opportunely to the Roman Camp, to appease the General, who could not punish the Guilty but with Regret. *Flamininus* suffered the *Achæans* to bring the *Bæotians* into his Presence; and only insisted on the Punishment of the Assassins, and remitted four hundred and seventy of the *Talents* the Nation ought to have paid. He forgave what was past, and ordered the Siege of *Coronæa* to be raised. Thus, by a Mixture of Mildness and Severity, the *Pro Consul* appeased the Minds of that Greek Nation, which always passed for the most stupid. But perhaps the Roman General would not have pursued such moderate Measures, if the Arms of *Antiochus* had not begun to be formidable. It was dangerous to drive Nations, already exasperated, to Despair. They would perhaps have declared for the King of *Syria*, and hastened this Conqueror's coming into *Europe*.

§.VI. AT length, the Ambassadors of *Philip*, the Messengers of *Flamininus*, and the ten Plenipotentiaries of the Republick, arrived in *Greece* together; and brought Joy and Tranquillity with them. They brought the Peace, which was so much desired by the wisest Part of the *Greeks*, so favourable to *Philip*, and so much for the Interest of the Romans. *Flamininus* was then residing at *Elatia*, a City of *Phocis*; where he was perhaps busy in calming the Minds of the *Bæotians*. The Roman Ship seems to have put in, at the Port of *Anticyra*; at least, the *Pro Consul* hastened thither. He there received the ten Senators which *Rome* sent him for his Council, and which were to represent the whole Roman Republick, in *Greece*. Among these Plenipotentiaries, were two Men of great Distinction. One of them was that *Sulpicius*, the other that *Villius*, who in their *Consulship* had made War with *Philip*, and were well acquainted with the Affairs of *Greece* and *Macedon*. And it is not improbable that one of the ten was a *Tribune of the People*. The Historians don't say this; but it is probable that the same Forms were observed in the Peace with *Macedon*, as had been observed, when the Treaty of Peace with *Carthage* was ratified in *Africa*. From *Anticyra*, *Flamininus* brought the Council of ten Senators to *Corinth*, and there they sat to do Business. They there re-considered the Articles which the Senate had drawn up at *Rome*, and the Revival of which *The Fathers* had left to *Flamininus*, and the ten Plenipotentiaries. These Articles, as far as we are able to collect them from different Authors, are as follow.

*Polyb. in Exc.*  
*Legat. c. 9.*  
*Liv. B. 33.*  
*c. 30.*

1. All the Cities of *Greece*, both in *Europe*, and *Asia*, shall enjoy perfect Liberty; and be governed only by themselves. 2. *Philip* shall evacuate all the Places he stands possessed of, which belong to the Greek Nation, and shall draw all his Garrisons out of them, before the Celebration of The Isthmian <sup>24</sup> Games. 3. *Philip* shall surrender into the Hands of the Romans, the Cities of *Euromus*, *Padasia* <sup>25</sup>,

*Strabo* says it was three hundred and seventy one *Stadia*; that is, about twenty four Leagues, in Compass. But it is now much less. It receives most of its Water from the River *Cephissus*. Upon the Credit of a vulgar Tradition, it was believed, that *Hercules* had made this Lake, by turning the *Cephissus* into the Plain of *Orchomenus*, from whence it runs into the *Euripus*. The Invention of Oaks was ascribed to the People in this Neighbourhood. Hence the Term *Copæ*, from the Greek Word *κώπη*.

<sup>21</sup> *Coronæa*, a City of *Bæotia*, was famous for the Victory *Agésilas* gained there, over the *Thebans* and *Athenians*. It stood on an Hill, and overlooked the Lake *Copias*. It is to this Day called *Coronè*,

according to *Pinetus*. It is now only a Village.

<sup>22</sup> The City of *Acræphia* stood between the Springs of the *Asopus*, and the *Ismenus*; and belonged to *Bæotia*.

<sup>23</sup> Five hundred *Talents*, at the Rate of a thousand *French Crowns*, per *Talent*, amount to the Sum of one Million, five hundred thousand *Livres*.

<sup>24</sup> See what we have said of the Origin and Celebration of *The Isthmian Games*. Vol. 3.

<sup>25</sup> The City of *Padasia* belonged to *Caria*. *Hermer* mentions another City of this Name, situated near Mount *Ida*; and a third which belonged to *Messénia*. *Strabo* speaks of this last, B. 8.



Bargylia, Jaffos, <sup>26</sup> Thassos, <sup>27</sup> Myrina, <sup>28</sup> Abydos, and Perinthus: *And all these Cities shall be free, and under Subjection to no Body.* 4. *As to the Restitution of Cium* <sup>29</sup>, the Pro-Consul shall notify the Intentions of the Senate to King Prusias. 5. Philip shall restore the Romans all the Prisoners he has taken from them, and all their Deserters. 6. He shall deliver up all his Ships that have Decks, except five, and one Hexaremis, which is too heavy to be of any Use at Sea. 7. He shall never have above five thousand Men in Pay; never use one Elephant; or make War out of Macedon; without the Consent of the Romans. 8. He shall pay the Republick a thousand Talents; one half presently, and the other half in ten equal Payments, in ten Years. 9. He shall not make War with Eumenes, the King of Pergamus, and the Son of Attalus. 10. Upon these Conditions, Philip shall continue in peaceable Possession of Macedon, and shall enjoy the ancient Throne of his Forefathers.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVII.  
I. FURIUS  
PURPUREO,  
M. CLAUDIUS  
MARCELLUS,  
Consuls.

THESE Articles were soon communicated to all the States of Greece; and most of them rejoiced to see them, and were sensible that they were indebted to the Romans for their Deliverance. The *Ætolians* alone were discontented. At first, they expressed their Uneasiness in secret Whispers; but at length, it broke out openly. *Why*, said they, *do the Romans name some Cities only, in this Scheme for a Peace, and omit others? Why have they mentioned only those Greek Allies which are in Asia? Why do they affect to say nothing more of the Greek Allies in Europe, than that, in general, they shall have their Liberty? This is a captious kind of Pacification. It is a Snare that they are laying for us. It is not for nothing, that the Senate of Rome have suppressed the Names of Corinth, Chalcis, Oreos, Eretria, and Demetrias. Rome would appropriate them to herself. And if so, where is the Liberty promised us? We shall change our Masters indeed, but not our Condition.*

It must be owned, that the Suspicions of the *Ætolians* were not ill founded. The Intention of the Senate, in leaving the Names of certain Cities out of their List, was to leave it in the Breast of the Council of ten, to keep, or surrender, *Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias*. These were the three Keys of Greece, which the Romans were well pleased to have in their Possession. But *Flamininus* thought the Senate were too selfish in their Views. His Politicks were sounder than those of *The Conscript Fathers*, who only judged of the Affairs of Greece at a Distance. It was both for the Honour and Safety of Rome, not to leave the great Work of setting the Greeks at Liberty, imperfect. *Antiochus* was to be feared. He was ready to come into Europe, upon the least Glimpse of Hope which the Malecontents of Greece should give him. The Pro-Consul therefore represented to the Council, that they ought not to hesitate a Moment, about restoring the Greeks perfect Liberty. *It is for the Glory of the Romans*, said he, *to give up a little Interest, and gain the Hearts of the People. This is more than settling a transient Dominion here. Let it not be said, that Rome sent so many Armies into Greece, only to enslave her. No; we shall never be able to put a Stop to the Complaints of the Ætolians, and the Discontents of the Greeks, till it shall appear that we reserve nothing to our selves, but the Honour of having procured the Liberty of their Countries, and settled them in Peace.*

THIS Discourse of *Flamininus* was of great Weight: Nevertheless, some of the Plenipotentiaries were for keeping Possession of *Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias*, at least for a time. They voted for putting strong Garrisons in them, thereby to

<sup>26</sup> *Thassos*, now *Thasso*, is an Island in the *Ægean Sea*, near the Coast of *Thrace*, at a little Distance from the Mouth of the *Nessus*. It is one of those Islands which the Ancients called *Sporades*.

<sup>27</sup> *Myrina* was a City of *Æolis*, in *Asia Minor*, at a little Distance from *The Gulph of Smyrna*. Some, now give it the Name of *Marhani*; others, that of *Gircona*; *Davysti* that of *Sebastopoli*. *Pliny* tells us, *B. 5.* that, in his time, the Inhabitants called it by the latter Name. *Myrina quæ Sebastopolim se vocat.*

<sup>28</sup> We have already spoken of the Cities of *Abydos, Perinthus, Euromus, Bargylia, and Jaffos*.

<sup>29</sup> *Cium*, *Cios*, or *Cius*, whose Inhabitants *Livy*

calls *Ciani*, stood on the Banks of a River of the same Name, near the Confines of *Phrygia* and *Bythinia*.

<sup>30</sup> A thousand Talents, at the Rate of a thousand French Crowns per Talent, make three Millions of Livres. According to *Valerius Antias*, as quoted by *Livy*, the Roman Republick demanded of the King of *Macedon*, four thousand Pounds Weight of Silver per annum, for ten Years, by way of Tribute. To which he adds, That this Prince was also forced to pay thirty four thousand two hundred Pounds Weight of Silver, twenty thousand Pounds Weight of which was to be paid to *Flamininus* upon the Spot.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLVII.  
L. FURIUS  
PURPUREO,  
M. CLAUDIUS  
MARCELLUS,  
Consuls.

provide both against the Invasions of the Natives, and of King *Antiochus*. But at last, the Opinion of *Flamininus* prevailed. The Council decreed, That all the Greek Cities, not one excepted, should enjoy a perfect Liberty. By this means, the *Achaïans* were put in Possession of *Corinth*. Nevertheless, it was ordered that the <sup>31</sup> Citadel of this important City should be put into the Hands of the *Romans*, for some time. And as to *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*, the Council likewise reserved to themselves the Care of them, as long as they should be under any Apprehensions of *Antiochus's* coming into *Europe*. In all other Cases, all the Greek Nations in *Europe* and *Asia*, were going, at length, to be set at perfect Liberty, by the Decree of this Council of Ten. Nothing remained, but to proclaim a Determination, which would raise so many Nations to the highest Pitch of Happiness, and this was done on the following Occasion.

§. VII. IN *The Isthmus of Corinth*, some Games were annually celebrated, which were called *Isthmian*, from that Place. *Theseus* had formerly instituted them, in Honour to *Neptune*. The most skilful *Athletæ* in *Greece* came thither, to dispute the Prize, in Running, Leaping, Boxing, Wrestling, and throwing the Dart. This was generally one of the most numerous Assemblies of the *Greeks*. It was easy to come to *Corinth*, on both the Seas which were separated by the <sup>32</sup> *Isthmus*. And now all the Nations of *Greece* flocked thither, partly on account of the Shows, and partly in Expectation of hearing the new Decree which was to be published there. This Decree of the Council of Ten was not yet divulged; and the assembled *Greeks* talked of nothing but the future Fate of *Greece*. Some foreboded good things. Others durst not declare their Sentiments. And others gave an ill Turn to the Policy of the *Romans*. In short, every one reasoned according to his own Humour or Conjectures. At length, the appointed Day came for beginning the Games. The *Pro-Consul* took his Place, and the ten Senators of the Council with him. Silence was proclaimed by Sound of Trumpet; and the Herald advanced into the Middle of the *Arena*, as it were to pronounce the usual Form of Words. But, to their great Surprise, the *Greeks* heard him proclaim these Words. *The Senate and People of Rome, and Quinctius Flamininus, Pro-Consul for the Republick, after having overcome Philip, and quieted Macedon, declare the Corinthians, the Phocæans, the Locri, all the Eubœans in the Island, the Magnesians, the Thessalians, the Perroebi, the Achæans, and the Phthiotes, free from all kind of Servitude. All these Nations shall live in an independent State, and be governed only by their own Laws.* In this vast Assembly, all could not equally hear the Voice of the Herald; and the Noise and Confusion was immediately very great. Those at the greatest Distance left their Places, and asked those who were nearer, what they had heard. And at length, there was an unanimous Outcry, from all Corners of the *Stadium*, demanding that the Herald should repeat the Decree a second time. Then the Trumpet sounded again; and never was Attention greater! The Herald, with a stronger, and more distinct Voice than before, proclaimed Liberty to all the *Greeks*, without Exception; and not a Word of the Decree which *Flamininus* had drawn up, at the Head of the Council, was then lost. Scarce was it all read, before the Auditors gave such Shouts for Joy, as one Author could not describe, without an Exaggeration which will be thought fabulous. *The Air, says he, was so agitated with the Acclamations of so numerous a Body of People, that some Crows which were accidentally flying over the Assembly, fell down in the Arena.* But be that as it will, it is certain the People expressed their Satisfaction after the *Greek* Manner; that is, with such a Profusion of Joy, as is not to be described. Some were struck dumb, for Want of Words to express their Sentiments. Others stood motionless, as Statues. Some could scarce believe their own Ears; and still doubted of what they had heard. And lastly, the greatest Number crowded round *Flamininus*, called him the Deliverer of *Greece*, and pressed to kiss his Hand. The Crowd was so great, and they threw so many Crowns and Garlands upon him, that they had like to have stifled him. But he was young, being scarce in his thirty third Year of his Age, and the Pleasure of seeing so much Honour paid him, carried him

Plut. Life of  
Flamininus.

<sup>31</sup> The Citadel of *Corinth* was built on the Summit of a Mountain, which overlooked the City. Hence the Ancients gave it the Name of *Acro-Corinthus*.

<sup>32</sup> The *Isthmus* of *Corinth* lies between the *Ionian* Sea, to the West; and the *Ægean* Sea, to the East.



through. At length, the Games began ; but no Body minded them. The People could look at nothing but the Protector and Avenger of the publick Liberty. They greatly admired the Disinterestedness of the Romans in general, and the Conduct of the Pro-Consul in particular. To undertake a War in a foreign Country, at an immense Expence, with no other View but purely to set at Liberty an oppressed Nation, is, said they, the highest Pitch of Magnanimity. To subdue a powerful King, without being once worsted or vanquished, and to gain as many Victories as a Man fights Battels, are the highest Efforts of Valour. And lastly, to desire no other Fruits from one's Labours and Expences, than to procure the Happiness of others, is the Perfection of Moderation. What other Nation in the World is Mistress of so many and so great Virtues ! And indeed, there was nothing very extravagant in these Encomiums of the Greeks. But after all, Rome found her Account in these Acts of Generosity. Her Zeal for Greece was not so pure and disinterested as was pretended. If her Finances were not improved, or her Dominions enlarged, by them ; her Power was infinitely increased. The Romans settled themselves such a Dominion in the Hearts of the Greeks, as might be called a sweet Tyranny. Their Confidence in the Romans was so great, upon this Experience of their Probity, that all the States of Greece, the Kings and the Republicks, sought their Protection with Emulation ; and these Protectors gave Law to the Monarchs and other Heads of all the Greeks, as well in Asia, as in Europe.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVII.

L. FURIUS  
PURPUREO,  
M. CLAUDIUS  
MARCELLUS,  
Consuls.

Plut. Life of  
Flamin.

§. VIII. AFTER this, in order to compleat his Work, Flamininus ordered the Decree he had pronounced in favour of the Greeks, to be executed in its full Extent. In the first Place, he brought the Ambassadors of Antiochus into the Council of Ten ; to give them Notice, to summons their Master to evacuate all the Places he held in Asia, which belonged to the Greeks, or to Ptolomy King of Egypt. They also forewarned him to take Care how he came into Europe. Then the Pro-Consul gave Audience to all the Deputies of the Nations, which had come in Crowds, to seek the Protection of Rome ; and began with the <sup>33</sup> Orestians. They had been, till this time, subject to King Philip ; and their Province belonged to Macedon. But they had been the first who had declared for Rome ; and the Conqueror freed them from the Dominion of their King, and gave them Leave to live according to their own Laws. Flamininus also gave the Perræbi, Dolopes, and Magnesians, their Liberty. The Thessalians were not only settled in an absolute Freedom ; but the Pro-Consul also gave them all that Part of Phthiotis, which had been subject to the Achæans, except Thebes and Pharsalia. As to the latter, Regard was had to the Complaints of the Ætolians. They pretended that Pharsalia and Leucas of Right belonged to them, by virtue of the ancient Treaty they had made with the Romans. And the Council referred their Claims to the Senate of Rome. Only this the Council granted them, That Phthiotis and Locris should for the future be Parts of the Ætolian Body, as they had formerly been. Corinth, Triphylia, and Heræa <sup>34</sup>, were restored to the Achæans. The Dominions of the Athenians were enlarged, by the Addition of four Islands, <sup>35</sup> Paros, Imbros, Delos, and Scyros. The Council inclined to give up Oreos and Eretria, in Property, to King Eumenes ; but Flamininus opposed it. The Affair was therefore brought before the Senate of Rome ; and it was there adjudged, That the two Cities should be free ; and That Carystus should also be independent. The Territories of Pleuratus were enlarged, with <sup>36</sup> Lychnis and Parthos, Countries which had formerly belonged to King Philip. And as for King Amynder, he was put in Possession of all the Places the Macedonian had usurped from him. By this <sup>37</sup> Enumeration of these Restitutions, the Reader may judge how far Philip had extended his Conquests, in all the Parts of Greece, both in Europe and Asia.

AFTER

<sup>33</sup> We have already spoken of the Orestians, the Inhabitants of Orestis, a Country of Epirus. Its Capital was called Argi, or Argos ; which was distinguished from other Cities of that Name, by the Term Oresticum. Orestes seems therefore to have been the Founder of it.

<sup>34</sup> The City of Heræa here spoken of stood in Peloponnesus ; we have mentioned it already.

<sup>35</sup> We have already described the Islands of Paros, Delos, and Scyros. Imbros was one of the Spo-

radas. It is now called Lembro. Pliny says it is twenty seven Miles in Circumference ; but the Moderns say only twenty. It is at a little Distance from The Thracian Chersonesus ; and is divided from Thessaly, only by a small Arm of the Sea.

<sup>36</sup> Lychnis and Parthos are sufficiently known, by what has been already said of them.

<sup>37</sup> According to Valerius of Antium, Attalus, or rather his Son and Successor, Eumenes, had for his Share the Island of Ægina, and the Elephants which Philip



Year of  
R O M E  
DLVII.  
L. FURIUS  
PURPUREO,  
M. CLAUDIUS  
MARCELLUS,  
Consuls.

AFTER these equitable Regulations, in favour of the *Greeks*, the Council of Ten was dissolved; but the Offices of each Member of it were not wholly at an End. Each took his District in the *Levant*, and went thither, to put the Orders of his Republick in Execution there. *P. Lentulus* went to *Bargylia* by Sea, and cleared *Caria* of the Foreigners who had seized it. *L. Stertinius* went into the Island of *Lemnos*, and delivered <sup>38</sup> *Hephestia* out of the Hands of her Usurpers. From thence he came down to *Thassos*, sent away the foreign Garrisons from thence, entered *Thrace*, and restored the invaded Cities their Liberties. *Cn. Cornelius* came to *Philip*, who was then in *Thessaly*, in *The Valley of Tempe*. He found this Prince ready to submit to the Will of the Republick, complimented him on that Occasion, and finished his Conversation with a Piece of Advice which he gave him, and which the King turned to his Advantage. *My Lord*, said he, *you have done enough to appease the Anger of the Senate and People of Rome. But one thing is still wanting, which, if I may venture to say it, is this. Lose no time in demanding the Friendship of Rome, and an Alliance with her. If you delay, it will be thought that your Delays proceed from an Intention to join Antiochus, who is ready for Action.* *Philip* was too wise not to follow Advice which he judged salutary; he promised to send an Embassy to *Rome*; and kept his Word. He was ranked among the Allies of the *Roman* People; and some Historians say, that his Son *Demetrius*, whom he had given as an Hostage, was then restored him. But this is not true, as will appear by the Sequel of this History. However, *Philip* displayed his Fidelity more and more, for a great while, and increased his Reputation for Prudence. On the other hand, *Rome* did him Justice, and rewarded his prudent Proceedings with fresh Favours. But *Cornelius* did not find the *Ætolians* as tractable as *Philip*. From *Tempe*, the Plenipotentiary went to *Thermopylae*, where there was held an Assembly of the *Greeks*, who met there at certain stated Times. This Diet was called *Pylaicum*; and there *Cornelius* found some of the Heads of the *Ætolians*, who had spoken against the Peace *Rome* had granted *Philip*. They frequently complained of it; and at length went so far as to say, That they were very differently treated after the Peace, from what they had been before. *Nevertheless*, added they, *could Rome have conquered without us? Would she ever have thought of transporting Troops into Macedon?* These Words exasperated the prudent *Cornelius*; but he kept within Bounds. *If you have any Complaints to make*, said he to them, *address your selves to the Senate of Rome.* Thus he ridded himself of these Mutineers; but their Discontents still subsisted; and we shall hereafter see them produce fatal Effects.

§. IX. THEIR Recourse was to *Antiochus*. This Conqueror already threatened *Europe*, and was drawn near to it. He had spent the Winter at <sup>39</sup> *Ephesus*, with a Land Army, and a formidable Fleet. The ambitious Prince had already employed himself, during his Leisure, in subduing many free Cities in *Asia Minor*. *Smyrna* <sup>40</sup>, and *Lampsacus* <sup>41</sup>, had set up for Independence; and the King of *Syria* was afraid their Example would be contagious. He had therefore ordered them both to be besieged, to compel them by Force to acknowledge his Dominion. And he had also made use of Artifice. He had given them Hopes that he would preserve their Freedom, provided they would surrender to him, and acknowledge that they were indebted to his Bounty for their Privileges. Nevertheless, *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus* still maintained their Independence; and the *Syrian* left *Asia* in

*Philip* had been forced to deliver up, by the Articles of the Treaty of Peace concluded between the *Romans* and him. The *Rhodians* were put in Possession of *Stratonice*, and the other Cities of *Caria*, which *Philip* had joined to his Dominions.

<sup>38</sup> *Hephestia* was a considerable City in the Island of *Lemnos*. We have spoken of it Vol. 3.

<sup>39</sup> *Ephesus*, formerly so famous for the stately Temple of *Diana*, which was one of the seven Wonders of the World, was as it were the Capital of all *Ionia*. It is said to have been built by the *Amazons*, near the Mouth of the River *Caystus*, which discharges itself into the *Ægean* Sea.

<sup>40</sup> *Smyrna* was thought to have been built by an *Amazon*, who gave her own Name to this City,

and the neighbouring Gulph. It is yet one of the most considerable, most populous, and most wealthy, Cities in *Ionia*. This City, and several others, contended for the Glory of having been the Place of *Homer's* Nativity.

<sup>41</sup> *Lampsacus*, anciently called *Pithynsa*, according to *Strabo*, was a maritime City of *Asia Minor*. It is to this Day called *Lampsico*. It stands on the South Shore of the Sea of *Marmora*, almost over against *Gallipoli*, towards the East. These two Cities are divided by a narrow Sea, which is but eight Miles over. The infamous *Priapus*, who presided over Gardens, and whom the Ancients made to be the Son of *Bacchus* and *Venus*, was the tutelary God of *Lampsacus*.



the Spring, in order to pass into *Europe*. But before we bring him into this new Scene of Affairs, it is necessary that we should give some Account of him.

*ANTIOCHUS* was one of the Princes called *Seleucidae*, who in Succession either from Father to Son, or from Brother to Brother, reigned long in *Syria*. The first of this Family whom Fortune raised to a Throne, was the Son of one *Antiochus*, an Officer in those *Macedonian Phalanxes* which *Alexander the Great* had carried to the Conquest of *Persia*. The Name of this Son of *Antiochus*, was *Seleucus*; who after the Death of *Alexander's* Children, from being barely a *Satrapa* at *Babylon*, became Monarch of all *Media*; and took the Name of *King*. Nor would even this satisfy him. He trod in *Alexander's* Steps, extended his Conquests to the *Indies*, and took the Surname of *Nicator*, or *The Victorious*. This Head of the *Seleucidae* had two Sons, both named *Antiochus*. The first took the Surname of *Soter*. Flattery gave the second that of *God*. *Soter*, in his Father's Life-time, reigned in the Inland-Country of the Kingdom of *Seleucus*, whose unparalleled Tenderness for him was such, that he gave him his own Wife *Stratonice*. So that, the Son-in-law married his Mother-in-law, with whom he was desperately in Love; and *Syria* was then governed by two Sovereigns, the Father and the Son. The former contented himself with reigning over the Countries bordering upon the *Euphrates*, after he had given his eldest Son Possession of the rest of his Dominions. Nevertheless, *Seleucus Nicator* did not renounce War, towards the End of his Days. He entered *Phrygia*, defeated *Lysimachus* there, and deprived him of his Dominions. *Lysimachus*, from being one of *Alexander's* Life-guards, had become King of *Thrace*, and of some other Nations in *Asia*. At length, *Nicator* died. His Son *Soter* succeeded him; and became Master of all *Syria*. *Stratonice*, whom he loved to Distraction, brought him only one Daughter. So that *Antiochus*, the Brother of *Soter*, succeeded him; and this *God* (for so he suffered himself to be called) experienced, on the Throne, that he was mortal. *Laodice* his Wife poisoned him; and transmitted the Crown to his Son *Seleucus*, surnamed *Callinicus*, who had at least two Sons. The eldest of them bore the Surname of *Ceraunus*; and the youngest was our *Antiochus*. He succeeded his Brother in the Throne; the latter having died young, and childless: And this sixth King of the Race of the *Seleucidae*, reckoning *Seleucus Nicator* to be the first, will now engage our Attention.

If *Philip* at first appeared formidable to the *Romans*, *Antiochus* must have filled them with stronger Apprehensions from him. By the Extent of his Dominions, his Riches, the Rapidity of his Conquests, and his boundless Views, he had merited the Name of *The Great*. He inherited the Valour of *Nicator* his Great Grandfather; and the soft Delights of *Asia* had neither enervated his Strength, nor his Courage. Being originally a *Macedonian*, he remembered the Exploits of *Alexander the Great*, and proposed to equal them. Being reduced, after the Death of his Brother, to the Kingdom of *Babylon* only, he had re-conquered *Media*, and the Country of the *Parthians*, which had revolted from his Predecessors. And this was too little to satisfy his Ambition. During the Minority of *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, *Antiochus* had usurped from him *Cælo-Syria*, a considerable Part of *Cilicia*, and *Judea*, and *Samaria*. From thence, he had extended his Arms quite to the Coasts of the *Hellespont*. Then he entered upon <sup>42</sup> *Ionia*, and *Æolis* <sup>43</sup>, on no better Pretensions, than that they were Part of the Dominions of *Asia*, which he undertook to make entirely his own. With a View to pursuing this vast Design, he had at first made an Alliance with *Philip*. But either the Defeat of the *Macedonian* was too sudden for *Antiochus* to send him timely Assistance; or the *Syrian* had the aggrandizing himself more at Heart, than the Interest of his Friend. He still had a Design to get Possession of *Egypt*, at least by Intrigue and Treachery. He had one Daughter named *Cleopatra*, a Prodigy of Beauty and Virtue; and he resolved to betroth her to the King of *Egypt*, who was yet too young to marry her. The Design of the perfidious *Syrian* was to instruct his Daughter how to get rid of her Husband, and deliver up *Egypt* to her Father. But we shall hereafter

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVII.

L. FURIUS  
PURPUREO,  
M. CLAUDIUS  
MARCELLUS,  
Consuls.  
App. i Syria-  
cis, & ali.

<sup>42</sup> The Name of *Ionia* was formerly given to that maritime Country of *Asia Minor*, which was bounded, to the North, by *Æolis*; and to the South by *Caria*.

<sup>43</sup> Old *Æolis* contained that Country which reached all along the Coasts of the *Ægean* Sea, from *Troas* to *Ionia*.



Year of see the young Queen inviolably attached to her Duty; join with *Ptolomy* against  
 R O M E *Antiochus*; and prefer conjugal Affection to the Ties of Birth and Blood.

DLVII.

L. FURIUS  
 PURPUREO,  
 M. CLAUDIUS  
 MARCELLUS,  
 Consuls.

§. X. SUCH was the Prince who despised the *Roman* Forces; and whom they expected to have soon their Enemy. He affected to contradict their Orders, and despise their Menaces. The proud Republick had forbidden him to come into *Europe*. But he came and entered *Thrace*. His Pretence for it was, to take Possession of the old Inheritance of his Ancestors. We have already observed, that *Seleucus Nicator* had vanquished in *Phrygia*, *Lyfimachus* King of *Thrace*; and this *Antiochus* thought a sufficient Title, to justify his claiming *Thrace*, as his Great-Grandfather's Conquest. *Lyfimachia* had been founded in *The Thracian Chersonesus*, by this *Lyfimachus* whom *Nicator* had vanquished, and slain in Battel; and since that time, this City had been taken and demolished by the *Thracians*. *Antiochus the Great*, therefore had a Design to rebuild *Lyfimachia*, and make it the Capital of a great Kingdom, which he intended for a Portion for one of his Sons. He was warm with these Projects, when he left *Ephesus*, early in the Spring; brought his Troops by Land into the *Chersonesus*, by the way of *Madytos*, which was forced to submit to his superior Strength; and took his Rout towards *Lyfimachia*, where his Fleet arrived before him. Here the King of *Syria* made it his first Business to rebuild and repeople this great City. It was, by its Situation, the most advantageous Post he could have seized in *Europe*; and he undertook to make it a convenient Port for Ships, and a Magazine of Arms and Provisions for the Armies he intended to employ in the Recovery of *Thrace*. He therefore carried on the Restitution of *Lyfimachia* with Vigour. He assembled together its old Inhabitants, who were scattered abroad in several Places; rescued from Slavery those who had been made Captives; brought new Citizens thither from the neighbouring Countries; gave them Privileges; and furnished them with Cattle, and Instruments of Husbandry. And lastly, he employed them, and part, both of his Land and Sea-Forces, in rebuilding the Walls, and Houses of the City.

It is easy to believe, that the *Romans* could ill brook the Arrival of the *Syrian*; and therefore the Plenipotentiaries, who had dispersed themselves, hastened to *Lyfimachia*, from several Places, to divert *Antiochus* from his Design. *Lentulus* came thither from *Bargylia*, *Villius* and *Terentius* from *Thassos*, and *Cornelius* from 44 *Selymbria*; and all joined in dissuading *Antiochus* from settling in *Europe*. The *Syrian* received the *Romans* graciously, and entertained them in an hospitable and polite Manner. But afterwards their Minds were sowed against one another. Indeed, the *Romans* behaved themselves towards the Monarch, with those imperious Airs, which they assumed where-ever they came. They told him, that his Conduct, since his coming into *Europe*, was displeasing to the Republick; demanded the Restitution of those Cities and Provinces to *Ptolomy*, which he had taken from him, during his Minority; and above all, insisted on his giving up those Places, which he had usurped from *Philip*, and which the *Romans*, his Conquerors, had a Right to dispose of. *What!* said the Plenipotentiaries, *shall Rome have been at all the Expence of the War with the Macedonian, and Antiochus reap all the Advantages of it? We might perhaps have connived at your Conquests in Asia. But shall we suffer those you are come to make in Europe? Is not this Step a Declaration of War with the Roman Senate and People? You might indeed still deny it, if you were come into Italy itself.* Then *Antiochus*, in his turn, put on an haughty Air, and said: *I have long since observed, that Rome is very watchful of my Steps, and very regardless of her own. Know then, that you have as little to do, to examine what I do in Asia, as I have to controul you in any of your Undertakings in Italy. You complain of my Proceedings with regard to the King of Egypt. He is my Friend, and will soon become my Son-in-law. And we will settle our Differences between ourselves. As to the Thracian Cities, which I have taken from King Philip, know, that the Chersonesus was never a part of his Dominions. My great Grandfather Nicator, formerly conquered it from Lyfimachus, whom he overcame in Phrygia. Indeed Ptolomy and Philip divided Thrace between them. My Predecessor was then busy elsewhere. But that does not alter the Nature of*

*Livy, ibid.*

44 *Selymbria* is still in being, and is called *Seliorea*. It stands on the Coasts of *The Propontis*, or Sea of *Marmora*, South of *Constantinople*.



*their Usurpation; and I am now come justly to recover what they unjustly invaded. The Thracians have demolished Lyfimachia, a City belonging to me, and I am come to rebuild it. I will make it the Capital of a Kingdom, which is my Right, and which I design for my Son Syphax.* Many Days were spent in disputing about the Pretensions of the *Syrian*. But it must be owned, that according to the Laws settled among the *Satrapæ*, who survived *Alexander the Great*, and divided his Conquests, *Antiochus* had a just Claim. The strongest took from the weakest the Share he had usurped upon the Division of *Alexander's* Empire. And by this Rule *Thrace*, which *Lyfimachus* had kept for himself, belonged to *Nicator* his Conqueror, and consequently to *Antiochus* his Great-Grandson. Nevertheless, this Dispute would have lasted a great while, if the *Syrian* had not been obliged to leave *Lyfimachia* for another Enterprize, which was even of more Consequence to him than this. A Report was spread, that the King of *Egypt* was dead. Whether *Antiochus* had laid the Plot to deprive him of his Life, we dare not affirm; but there was room enough to suspect it.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVII.  
L. FURUS  
PURPURIO,  
M. C. AUDIUS  
M. A. ELLUS,  
Consuls.

§. XI. *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, had in his Service an *Ætolian* named *Scopas*. This Man had the Reputation of a good Soldier, and commanded a large Body of Mercenaries for the *Egyptians*. He had formerly endeavoured to defend *Cælo-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judæa*, against *Antiochus*; but being vanquished near the Springs of the River *Jordan*, and obliged to abandon <sup>45</sup> *Sidon*, he was come into *Egypt*. And having been, as is probable, corrupted by the Promises of the King of *Syria*, the *Ætolian* formed a Plot against the Life of the King of *Egypt*. He assembled his Friends together at his own House, held seditious Councils with them, and disposed the Troops he commanded to second his Designs. The Resolution taken was to kill *Ptolomy*, and deliver up his Dominions to *Antiochus*. But the Plots of *Scopas* were not carried on with Secrecy enough. *Aristomenes*, a faithful Subject, and at the Head of the King's Councils, cited the Traitor to appear. Nevertheless, he refused to give any Account of his Conduct, till Violence was going to be offered to him in his own House. Then he appeared before the King, and ordered his Friends to follow him. He was convicted of Disobedience and Treason; and was thrown into a Dungeon, and condemned to perpetual Imprisonment.

*ANTIOCHUS* had depended on *Scopas's* Revolt, and the Assassination of *Ptolomy*. And this made him so much in haste to leave *Lyfimachia*, break off his Conferences with the *Romans*, and draw near to *Egypt*. He kept along the Coasts of *Asia*; and made his Fleet put in at <sup>46</sup> *Patara*, in <sup>47</sup> *Lycia*. There he received Intelligence, that *Ptolomy* was living, and that *Scopas* had lost his Life. And then Heaven punished the perfidious *Antiochus* himself, for his Intrigues against *Ptolomy*, to whom he had very lately given his Daughter. The *Syrian's* Fleet suffered Shipwreck near the Mouth of the River <sup>48</sup> *Sarus*, which discharges itself into the *Cilician* Sea. After a considerable Loss of his Ships, Marines, and Friends, the King, who with Difficulty escaped out of the Tempest, fled for Refuge to <sup>49</sup> *Seleucia*, and from thence returned to *Antioch*, the Capital of his Dominions, and spent the Winter there. Nevertheless, *Antiochus* did not drop his Design of recovering *Thrace*. He had left his Son *Seleucus* at *Lyfimachia*, with a Land-Army, to finish the building of the City, and defend it. As for the Plenipotentiaries, who had just finished the Peace in *Macedon*, they had nothing to do, but to return to *Rome*, where they found the Affairs of *Italy* in a good Condition; but were informed that the Revolt in *Spain* was continued with more Warmth than ever.

<sup>45</sup> *Sidon*, a maritime City, now known by the name of *Seide*, was formerly one of the finest, and most opulent, Cities in *Phœnicia*.

<sup>46</sup> The City of *Patara* stood on an Eminence, at the Mouth of the *Xanthus*. It was famous for the Oracles which *Apollo* formerly uttered there.

<sup>47</sup> *Lycia* is a Province of *Asia Minor*, bounded to the West, by *Caria*; and to the East by *Pamphylia*.

<sup>48</sup> The River *Sarus* rises near *Comana*; and after it has run through part of *Cilicia*, falls into The

*Gulph of Adjazza*, which the Ancients call *Ifficus Sinus*.

<sup>49</sup> There were formerly several Cities called *Seleucia*, which had been built by *Seleucus Nicator*. That here spoken of stood in *Cilicia*, twelve Miles from the Sea, on the Banks of the River *Calicanus*. The Ancients, to distinguish it from the other Cities of the same Name, call it *Seleucia Trachiotis*. This Appellation agreed very well with the mountainous Country in which it stood.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLVII.  
L. FURIUS  
PURPUREO,  
M. CLAUDIUS  
MARCELLUS,  
Consuls.  
Liv. B. 33.  
c. 36.

§. XII. As to *Italy*, the two *Consuls*, *Furius* and *Marcellus*, had set out early in the Spring, to continue the War with the *Gallic* Rebels. *Marcellus* had entered into the Country of the *Boii*. He had marched his Army with Precipitation, and had posted himself on an Eminence, in order to encamp there. But whilst he was busy in throwing up his Entrenchments, *Corolamus*, the King of the *Boii*, fell so briskly on the *Romans*, that he gained a considerable Advantage over them. The *Gallic* Army was numerous; and their Troops incomparable at close fighting. The Attack was so vigorous, that three thousand *Romans* were killed in it, and among them some Officers of Distinction. Nevertheless, the *Consul* settled himself there, and continued several Days in his Camp, which was several times attacked. The Resistance of the *Romans* put the *Gauls* out of all Patience; and their natural Levity was such, that they disbanded themselves. Every one returned to his own Town; and no other *Boian* Army appeared in the Field, all the rest of the Year. *Marcellus* therefore led his *Legions* towards *Coma*, passed the *Po*, and appeared in sight of the *Insubres*, who had entrenched themselves under this City. But whilst the *Romans* were upon their March, the *Gauls* fell upon them, with all the Ardour that Victory inspires. The light-armed Soldiers of the *Consul* were repulsed, and put into Disorder by the *Insubres*. The *Roman* first sent a Battalion of *Marsi*, with all his *Latin* Cavalry, to oppose them; and this advanced-Guard bravely sustained the first and second Attack of the Enemy. And the *Gauls* still continuing to make new Efforts, *Marcellus* then advanced his *Legions* against them. In the beginning of the Battel, they only defended themselves. It was necessary to abate the first Impetuosity of the *Gauls*. But afterwards, the *Legionaries* fell with such Fury on the *Insubres*, that they broke into them, and put them in Disorder. They all fled, and much of their Blood was spilt. One ancient Author affirms, That forty thousand *Gauls* were killed upon the Spot, and fifty seven of their Standards taken. But be that as it will, their Camp was certainly taken, and plundered; and on the Field of Battel were found a great Number of Gold-Col-lars, a part of the common Dress of the *Gauls*. *Coma* was taken after a few Days Siege, and twenty eight Places in the Country surrendered to the Con-queror.

Valerius Ant.  
apud Livy.

§. XIII. THE *Consul Furius* had not yet entered upon Action. He had taken his Rout towards *Umbria*, and was now drawn near to a little Place called <sup>50</sup> *Mutilum*. There he was apprehensive, that he should be attacked by new Armies of united *Insubres* and *Boii*; and therefore immediately turned back, and for the future, marched only over open Plains, for fear of falling into Ambuscades. And at length, after marching far about, he joined his Colleague, and the two *Consular* Armies, ravaged the whole Country of the *Boii* together. The City of *Felsina* <sup>51</sup>, and almost all the Castles in the Country, submitted to the *Romans*. The *Boian* Youth retired into unpassable Forests, and saved their small remains of Liberty. In the mean time, the *Consular* Armies entered *Liguria*. The young *Boii* followed them to the Banks of the *Po*, still crossing their Forests; and even the River did not stop them in their March. They crossed it in Boats, and still kept along by the side of the *Consular* Troops, waiting for an Opportunity to fall upon them unawares. And after they had laid the Neighbourhood waste, these Youth thought they had a favourable Opportunity to attack a Body of *Romans*, who were at a little Distance from the main Army. The Onset was brisk, and the Fight more bloody, than a pitched Battel would have been. And then the *Romans* shewed what powerful Effects Anger and Revenge have on sowered Minds. They remembered the Shock they had received in the beginning of the Campaign; and their Rage made them fierce and cruel. They seemed to fight more for the sake of shedding Blood, than of acquiring Glory. They gave no Quarter. So that of all this Body of *Boian* Infantry, there was not one left to carry the News of the Defeat into his own Country. After this the *Consuls* had no more Enemies

<sup>50</sup> Blondus places the Castle of *Mutilum* at the Foot of the *Apennines*, between *Fuenza* and *Forbi*, in the Place where *Modigliana* now stands. But Cluver rather thinks, that this Fort stood where *Medolo*, or *Medola* now does. The latter is a City, at a little Distance from *Modena*, and The Valley of *Sarsina*, or *Sarsana*.

<sup>51</sup> The Name of *Felsina* was anciently given to a City of *Bologna*. It has always been, and is to this Day, one of the most famous Cities in *Italy*. It was at different times a *Colony*, and a *Municipium*.



to engage with ; their Victory made the *Gauls* hide themselves. *Rome* was extremely rejoiced at all these Successes, and ordered Prayers for three Days. Then <sup>52</sup> *Marcellus* immediately returned to the City ; and obtained a Triumph there, for having overcome the *Boii*, and *Insubres*. He entered *Rome* with the usual Pomp, on *The* <sup>53</sup> *fourth of the Nones of March*. His Collegue hoped likewise to obtain a Triumph, at least without the Title of Conqueror of the *Boii*. But it is probable, that the *Roman* Senate and People rejected his Petition ; since we don't find his Name in *The Triumphal Tables*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVII.

L. FURIUS  
PURPUREO,  
M. CLAUDIUS  
MARCELLUS,  
Consuls.  
Fast. Capit.

§. XIV. AFTER this, the Republick was employed only in punishing some Slaves who had revolted in *Hetruria*, or in publishing some Edicts. The *Pontifices* and *Augurs* had till this time been exempted from publick Taxes. But now they were required to pay a Tax towards the Expences of the War. They appealed to *The* <sup>54</sup> *Tribunes of the People* ; but these refused to bring their Petition before the Tribunal of the People. Those Priests were also discharged from a part of their sacerdotal Office. They were tired out with the great Number of Sacrifices, which they were obliged to attend, and especially with the Sacred Feasts, the Care of which was left to them. *Rome* therefore eased them of this Burden. She erected a new <sup>55</sup> Sacerdotal College, under the Name of *Epulones*, whose whole Office was to be confined <sup>56</sup> to the Care of the religious Feasts. At first the Number of these *Epulones* was but three, all chosen out of *Plebeian* Families. But it is probable, that afterwards the *Patricians* sought to be admitted into this Body, which became <sup>57</sup> more numerous. The three first were *C. Licinius Lucullus* ; *T. Romuleius* <sup>58</sup>, then a *Tribune of the People*, who had got the Law past ; and *Porcius* <sup>59</sup> *Lacas*, who had born the Office of *Tribune of the People*, two Years before, to the Satisfaction of the Commons. This last, and not the renowned *Porcius*, afterwards known by the Name of *Cato the Censor*, was the Man, who got the famous *Porcian* Law passed, which was so favourable to the *Roman Citizens*. Formerly, *Poplicola* had not laid any Penalty on those severe Magistrates, who should cause a *Roman Citizen* to be whipped with Rods. But *Porcius Lacas* <sup>60</sup>, secured the *Shoulders of the People* <sup>60</sup>, to speak the Language of one of the Ancients ; and caused the Edict to be passed, which forbid the *Lictors* to whip a *Roman Citizen* with Rods, under very severe Penalties. The Great *Cato* indeed afterwards used

Cicero de O-  
rat. B. 3.

Sex. Pomp.  
Fast.

<sup>52</sup> A great Number of Standards were taken from the Enemy, three hundred and twenty thousand *Asses* of Brass, and two hundred and thirty four thousand Silver *Denarii* were carried in Chariots, made after the *Gallic* Fashion, and added to the Splendor of the Triumph. The rest of the Booty was divided among the Soldiers who shared the Victory. Every Foot Soldier had eight hundred *Asses* of Brass, that is, about forty *Franks*, at the Rate of one *Sol per As* ; and every Horseman, and *Centurion*, three times that Sum.

<sup>53</sup> *The fourth of the Nones of March*, answered to our fourth Day of *March*.

<sup>54</sup> Whatever *Grutherius* may say to the contrary, in his Work of the *Pontifical* Rights, it is certain the *Epulones* were from that time one of the four Great Colleges established to support the Worship of the Gods. We have a Proof of it, in an old Inscription, which gives the Emperor *Nero* the Titles of *Pontifex Maximus*, *Augur*, *Quindecimvir Sybillinus*, and *Septemvir Epulo*. It is not at all probable, that the Emperors, who assumed all the Distinctions annexed to the Priesthood, would have adopted this last Title, if it had been an inferior one. And *Nero*, who was more jealous of Pre-eminence than any other, would not have failed to have made himself one of the College of *Aruspices*, if, as *Gruther* pretends, it had been superior to that of the *Epulones*. Besides, *Dio*, B. 43. seems to give the Preference to the four Colleges alluded to in the Inscription.

<sup>55</sup> It was their Business to fix and publish the Days appointed for the Solemnities, and to receive the Legacies, which pious Pagans left to defray the Expences of the Feasts which were made in honour

to the Gods : And they had a Power to confiscate the Heir's Estate, if he did not perform the Will of the Donor.

<sup>56</sup> There is Reason to believe, that these Priests were fixed to the Number of seven, in *Cornelius Sylla's* time, or thereabouts. At least, the Ancients always call them *Triumviri Epulones*, till that time. And afterwards they never call them any thing but *Septemviri Epulones*.

<sup>57</sup> In all the Copies we read *T. Romuleius*. Nevertheless *Gronovius*, in a very despotick manner, displaces this *Tribune of the People*, and puts one *Publius Manlius* in his room. He builds this Correction on a Passage in *Livy*, where it is said, that *Quintus Fulvius* was made *Triumvir Epulo*, in the room of *Publius Manlius*. But this is a weak Proof, and implies nothing against *T. Romuleius*, who might have preceded *Manlius*, as *Manlius* did *Fulvius*.

<sup>58</sup> The *Porcian* Family was *Plebeian*, and came originally from *Tusculum*. At least this City was the native Country of *Porcius Cato*. The *Licinius's*, the *Laca's*, and the *Cato's*, were three Branches that descended from that Stock.

<sup>59</sup> The Consul *Marcus Valerius*, one of the Descendants of *Poplicola*, had renewed this Law, as *Livy* observes, in the Year of *Rome* 454. *Marcus Valerius*, Consul de PROVOCATIONE legem tulit diligentius sancitam. But from that time, the Authority of the Magistrates had probably prevailed, contrary to this Law, which *Porcius* revived in favour of the *Citizens*.

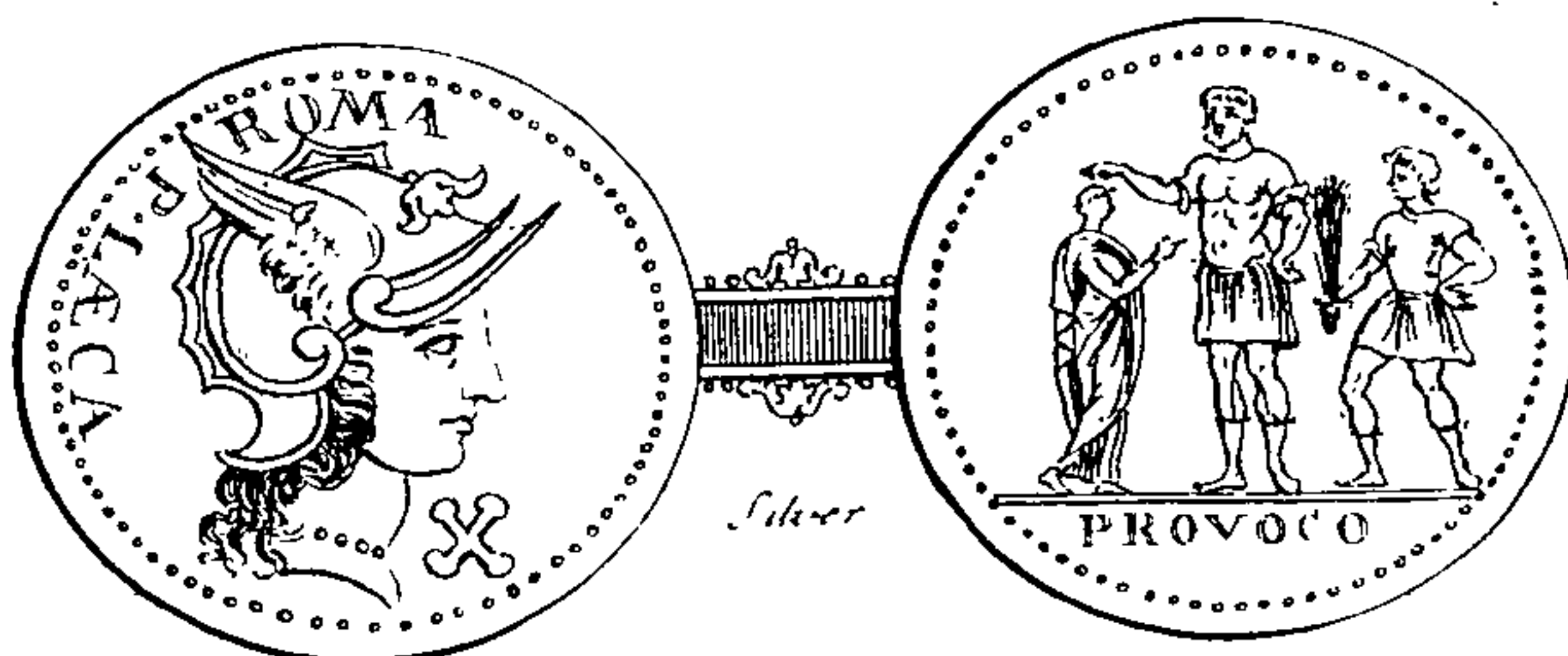
<sup>60</sup> This Privilege granted to the People did not extend to the Armies, where the Generals had an absolute Power over Life and Death, as we have elsewhere observed.



Year of his Credit, to countenance and give a Sanction to the *Porcian* Law. But the *ROME* <sup>61</sup> Medals shew, that *Rome* was indebted to *Læcas* for this great Benefit. And the *DLVIII.* *Roman* People from this time shewed their Gratitude to the *Porcii*, in the ensuing Elections <sup>62</sup>.

L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS, M.  
PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

§. XV. THE Consul <sup>63</sup> *Marcellus*, immediately after his Triumph, assembled the *Comitia by Centuries*, which promoted *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *M. Porcius*, surnamed *Cato*, to the Consulship. *Porcius Læcas*, and five <sup>64</sup> others, were chosen *Prætors*. Then the Affairs of *Spain* appearing to be of more Consequence than usual, the Senate first applied themselves to them. That whole Kingdom was in a Flame. The little Sovereigns there made it their Business to raise Insurrections among their People, to set themselves at Liberty. *We made use of the Romans*, said they, *to drive out the Carthaginians. But our Deliverers are become our Tyrants.* *Rome* therefore resolved to send one of the *Consuls* thither, with a *Consular Army*; and to keep the other in *Italy*, to finish the War with the *Gauls*. They drew Lots; and *Spain* fell to *Cato*; *Italy*, to *Valerius*. And whilst Preparations were making for <sup>65</sup> *Cato's* Departure, and twenty Gallies were equipping to transport



<sup>61</sup> In order to perpetuate the Memory of this Benefaction, a Medal was struck, on one side of which was a *Lictor*, armed with his *Fasces*, and on the other, *A Roman Citizen*, appealing from him to the Magistrate. To this the Word *PROVOCO* on the Medal alludes. It plainly refers to the Law which *Livy* calls *Legem de PROVOCATIONE*.

<sup>62</sup> This Year 557 was remarkable, according to *Livy*, for the prodigious Quantity of Corn, which the *Sicilians* sent to *Rome* from *Sicily*. There was so great a Plenty of it, that *The Curule Aediles*, *Caius Flaminius*, and *Marcus Fulvius Nobilior*, sold Wheat for two *Asses*, that is, about two *Sols* and six *Deniers French*, per *Modium*, or Bushel. This the Islanders did in Gratitude to *Flaminius*. His Father had been *Prætor* of *Sicily*; and during his Administration, the People, who had been wasted with long Wars, began to recover themselves, and reap the Fruits of a solid Peace. They were indebted to his Care, and the Mildness of his Government, for the Fruitfulness of their Fields, caused by the Re-establishment of Agriculture. The *Sicilians* therefore thought it their Duty to acknowledge to the Son, the Services his Father had done them. But *Flaminius* took no other Advantage of their Gratitude, but to gain the Favour of the *Roman* People. And he had the Generosity to suffer his Colleague *Fulvius*, to share the Honours of it with him. These two Magistrates signalized themselves likewise by celebrating *The Roman Games*, for three Days together, with great Pomp. And this Show was followed by that of *The Plebeian Games*. The latter lasted two Days; in which Feasts were given to the People by *Caius Domitius Aenobarbus*, and *Caius Scribonius, Maximus Curio*, the present *Plebeian Aediles*. Out of the Fines levied upon several Persons, who were condemned at the Tribunal of the People, for Damages done by their Cattel, they erected a Temple to *Faunus*, in the Island in the *Tyber*.

<sup>63</sup> *Marcellus*, after his Consulship, was honoured with the *Pontificate*. He succeeded *Titus Sempro-*

*nus Tuditanus*, who died in *Spain*, before his *Prætorship* expired. *Lucius Valerius* was also made *Pontifex* in the room of *Marcus Cornelius Cethegus*. *Quintus Fabius Maximus the Augur*, was dead before he came to *Man's* Estate. But his Place was not filled up till the next Year; and then it was given to *Appius Claudius Pulcher*.

<sup>64</sup> Besides *Porcius Læcas*, to whose Lot it fell to go to *Pisa* to watch the Motions of the *Ligures*, the Republic chose the following *Prætors*, *Fabius Luscinius*, *Caius Atinius Labeo*, *Cneius Manlius Vulso*, *Appius Claudius Nero*, and *Publius Manlius*. The first was made *Prætor Urbanus* at *Rome*; the second *Prætor Peregrinus*; the third had *Sicily* for his Province; the fourth, *Further Spain*; and the last *Hither Spain*, where he was to act in Conjunction with that Consul, who went into *Spain*. As for *Titus Quinctius Flaminius*, he was continued *Pro-Consul* in *Greece*. His Presence was more necessary there now than ever. It was necessary that a Man of Ability and Penetration should reside there, to unravel the Conduct, of *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, the *Ætolians*, and *Nabis* Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*. The *Romans* had suspected them for some time. The Republic left *Quinctius* two Legions, and promised him fresh Succours, if he should want them. The Legion *Quintus Fabius* had commanded the last Year, was kept for *Claudius Nero*; who had Leave given him, at the same time, to raise two thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse more. *Publius Manlius* had also the same Liberty, and the Command of the Legion, which *Minucius* had commanded in *Hither Spain*. The Senate thought two thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, sufficient for *Porcius* to keep the *Gauls* and *Ligures* in *Ave-* And lastly, they took care of the Affairs of *Sardinia*. The Government of that Province was confirmed to *Sempronius Longus*.

<sup>65</sup> Before the *Consuls* set out for their Provinces, the *Pontifices* summoned them to discharge the Vow the *Prætor*, *Aulus Cornelius Mammula*, had made twenty Years before, by the Advice of the Senate, after



port his Army, which consisted of two *Legions*, five thousand Auxiliaries, and five hundred Horse; the *Roman Ladies* took a Step, which was new in the Republick. About eighteen Years before, in the Year of *Rome* 540, and in the Consulship of *Q. Fabius*, and *T. Sempronius*, a *Tribune of the People*, named *Oppius*, had got a Law passed, which restrained the Luxury of Women. It was then very seasonable, and well suited to the Wants of the State. *Hannibal* was ravaging *Italy*, and the publick Treasury was exhausted. It was therefore decreed, *That the richest of the Roman Ladies should not use above half an Ounce of Gold, in Jewels; That they should no longer wear Habits of several Colours; and That they should not make use of Chariots, either at Rome, or in the neighbouring Towns, or to any Place within a Mile's distance, unless to assist at some publick Sacrifice.* But this Regulation, to which the Ladies had with great Reluctance conformed themselves, in a time of publick Calamity, was by them thought intolerable, when the Republick abounded with Riches. They then grew impatient to see themselves deprived of Ornaments suited to their Sex, and agreeable to their Desires; and made a great stir to get the *Oppian Law* disannulled. Indeed, it must be owned, they chose a very improper time to gain this Point. *Cato* was then Consul. The Austerity of Life he affected, gave the *Roman Ladies* no great Reason to believe he would be a very warm Advocate for re-establishing Luxury. But their Passions got the better of their Prudence. They presented their Petition to two *Tribunes of the People*, whom they thought certainly in their Interest; namely, to *M. Fundanius*, and *L. Valerius*. These *Tribunes* brought this Petition before the *Comitia*; but it met with Opposition among the *Tribunes* themselves. Two of them, who had less Complaisance for the Ladies, were both of the *Junian Family*, and both bore the Name of *Brutus*, opposed their Request, and spoke in favour of the *Oppian Law*. Never was an Assembly more divided in Opinion. The *Capitol*, where it was held, was full of People crying out for, and against, the Law. Even the Women ran thither, contrary to Custom. Neither the Order of their Husbands, nor the Rules of Decency, nor the publick Authority, could keep them at Home, or prevent their lining the Streets, which led from the *Capitol*, to the *Voting-place*. They solicited the Men as they passed, and represented to them the Equity of their Request. *The Republick*, said they, *is arrived at the highest Pitch of Grandeur and Wealth. Private Families are also immensely rich. Shall we then be the only Persons, who shall not share the publick Plenty? Shall we be denied the Liberty of increasing the Magnificence of Rome, by wearing rich Clothes?* The Affair was several Days under Consideration, and the Women in the City grew more and more numerous, all the while the Assemblies were held. They came thither from all the neighbouring Colonies and Towns; and never were Votes more earnestly canvassed for. They offered their Petitions, even to the *Consuls* and *Prætors*. But *Cato* was inexorable. He spoke for the Law, and against the Women, with all that Soweriness and Severity, which he assumed out of Affectation, and to make his Fortune. *Romans*, said he to the Assembly, *if any of you had kept your Wives within the Bounds of Modesty, we should not have seen here this Croud of Sollicitresses, who thus torment us. The Liberty you have given them at Home, is now very notorious. They are become insolent in their own Families, and now they shew their Pride even in our Streets. They are insupportable by themselves, and much more so, when thus assembled. I have hitherto thought it a fabulous Report of the Island of Lemnos, that the Women there cut their Husbands's Throats, in order to get the Government into their own Hands. But I am now convinced, that they are capable of exercising the same Barbarity in any other Country, if they are suffered to assemble, and form Cabals. Never were more pernicious Precedents, than the Liberty you give your Wives in your own Houses, and the Disturbances they make in publick. It is the Province of their Husbands to keep them submissive at Home; and of the Magistrates, to put a Stop to their tumultuous assembling in our Streets. This terrible Disorder is no doubt to be ascribed to you, Fundanius and Valerius. Yet*

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVIII.  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS, M.  
PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

Livy, B. 34.  
c. 2.

after the fatal Battel of *The Lake Trasimene*, in the Year of *Rome* 556. By this Vow, the *Romans* obliged themselves to sacrifice to the Gods, all the Animals which were born, between *The Calends of March*, and the first of *May*. This was what the

Ancients called *Ver Sacrum*. See our Discourse on this Subject, Vol. 3. The new *Consuls* discharged this Obligation with the utmost Care.

66 *Hypsipyle* is said to have been the only Person who saved the Life of her Father, *Thoas*.



Year of it is a Question, whether the Reproach of it falls most on you, or the Consuls. In  
 R O M E deed I blushed to find, that I could not come to the Comitium, without passing through  
 DLVIII. a Croud of Women; and I was strongly inclined to have addressed myself to them thus.  
 L. VALERIUS Whence comes this Novelty? Ought Women to come out of their Houses, and speak  
 FLACCUS, M. to others besides their Husbands? Could not every one sollicite her own Husband at  
 PORCIUS Home? Do you think your Charms will have more Power over others, than over  
 CATO, Con- those to whom Hymen has joined you? Nay, ought you to intermeddle in publick  
 suls. Affairs, even in your own Houses? But out of Modesty, and a Regard for so  
 many Women assembled together, I abstained from speaking to them in that manner.  
 And as for you, Fundanius, and Valerius, was it your Intention to raise a Sedition  
 like those in former times? Did you design, that our Wives should leave the City,  
 separate themselves from us, and retire to The Sacred Mountain? Our Fathers  
 wisely ordered, that they should not concern themselves even with domestick Affairs,  
 without the Consent of their Husbands, Fathers, or Brothers. But you carry your  
 Complaisance very far. In a little while, we shall see them take their Places in the  
 Comitia, determine Affairs of State, and aspire at the Government of the Repub-  
 lick. Does not their present Conduct authorize my Fears? Does it belong to them to  
 intercede for the Preservation or Abolition of our Laws? They are a kind of Ani-  
 mals that ought to be chained down. If you give Women the least Liberty, they  
 presently become insatiable. Have our Ancestors, with all their Care to restrain the  
 Sex, been able to prevent their Audaciousness? And you would now put them upon  
 a Level with us. In a short time, we shall see them Mistresses of our Lives and  
 Fortunes. But, say their Advocates, they desire nothing new. All they ask, is to  
 be reinstated in their ancient Rights, before the Oppian Law. Nothing new!  
 What? Is it not something new, to force us to abolish a Law we have once enacted?  
 There is no Law, that is not contrary to the Passions of some Persons or other.  
 When Laws are made, Regard is only had to the general Good: And if all Laws  
 are to be abolished, that are not agreeable to the Inclinations of all Persons, none  
 will be left in force. The private Inconveniencies that may arise from them, are  
 overlooked by Lawgivers, who consider only the publick Welfare. But what is this  
 Law against which the Sex exclaims so much? Does it relate to delivering their  
 Fathers, their Brothers, or their Husbands, out of Hannibal's Chains? Does it re-  
 late to the Reception to be given to the Goddess of Pessinus<sup>67</sup>, at her Arrival in  
 our Ports? What then is the Point to be gained by this Commotion among the Wo-  
 men? Nothing but this; that they may have leave to dress themselves in Purple,  
 adorn their Fingers and Heads with Gold, and ride in Chariots through the Streets  
 in Pomp, as if they were triumphing over the Law. As then you have often seen  
 me inveigh against publick Disorders, I cannot but do the same now. Avarice and  
 Profuseness have ever been the Subjects of my Censures. The taking of Syracuse  
 gave rise to these two Plagues in the Republick. To this Day, many People are  
 very fond of the rich Furniture that is brought from Corinth, and Greece. We begin  
 to despise too much the earthen Vessels, we used in our Sacrifices, and the earthen,  
 or wooden Gods which he worshiped. If these Gods are propitious to us, what does  
 it signify, whether they are made by the Potter, Sculptor, or Goldsmith? Pyrrhus for-  
 merly ordered Cyncas to gain the Affections of the Roman Ladies by Presents; but  
 they were not then to be wrought upon by them. The Reason of which was, that  
 Luxury was not then introduced among us. If Cyncas were to return now, and go  
 from House to House with Gold and jewels in his Hands, he should find Women  
 enough even in our Streets, very ready to accept his Offers. And that for this  
 Reason; because they are grown immoderately fond of Finery. Alas! How many  
 Disorders would be remedied by an Uniformity of Dress! It would put a Stop to all  
 Emulation among Women. The Indigence of Persons of Condition would be con-  
 cealed. The poorest would not be tempted to aim at an Equality with the richest.  
 And Concord would reign between Husbands and Wives. How unfortunate is the  
 Man, whose Wife is passionately fond of Dress! If he indulges her in it, he increases  
 his Expences; if he refuses it, he endangers his Honour. In that Case, she will  
 seek Abroad, for what she cannot obtain at Home. Nor let it be presumed, that if

<sup>67</sup> See what we have said of the manner in which when she was brought from Pessinus into Italy, the Roman Ladies received this Goddess Cybele, Vol. 3.



the Oppian Law is abrogated, our Women will be as moderate in their Expences, as they were before it was made. The Times are changed. The Love of Luxury is increased with the Riches of the Republick. And a Stop ought to be put to this Disorder, in time; lest we should hereafter be forced to correct it by severe Punishments! Leave the Law therefore in full Force. That will prevent the Rise of numberless Disorders, and preserve Peace in Families.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVIII.  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS, M.  
PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

CATO's Opinion was backed by the two Tribunes, who spoke against the Petition; and then Valerius, who undertook to be the Advocate for the Roman Ladies, spoke thus. If only private Persons had opposed the Abolition of the Oppian Law, I should have held my Peace. But the Authority of so venerable a Magistrate as Cato, may have made Impressions on your Minds, which it is proper to efface. And I cannot but observe, that he has insisted more on the pretended Irregularities of our Wives, than the Necessity of continuing the Oppian Law; whereby he has plainly shewn us his true Character. We see more Austerity than Solidity, in what he has said. And indeed, Cato is a good-natured Man, though so very severe an Orator. To what Excess has he carried his Apprehensions! He has branded the reasonable Sollicitations of our Wives, with Plots, Seditions, and Separations, like those of our Forefathers on the Mons Sacer. An Exaggeration which drops of itself, upon our protesting here, that we are the only Persons concerned in the Abolition of the Law. What is there then extraordinary, in our Wives appearing in publick, to sollicite their own Cause? Cato <sup>68</sup>, who is so well versed in our History, must know, that the Women have often gone out of their Houses, and thereby done the Republick great Service. In the time of Romulus, they appeared between two Armies, and appeased them. When Coriolanus threatened Rome with a Siege, our Women went to his Camp, and prevented it. The Gauls took Rome, and besieged the Capitol; and we redeemed it with the Gold our Women most freely brought us. In the last War, the publick Treasury was exhausted, and the Money of the Widows was our Resource. We wanted a foreign Goddess to protect us, and the Ladies walked in Companies, as far as to the Port of Ostia, and conducted the Statue of Cybele to the City. There is nothing new in these female Assemblies. Who then can wonder that they should do that for themselves, which they did, without Reproach, for the publick Good? Ought Judges to be so difficult of Access, as to refuse Persons of Distinction an Audience, which is not denied even to Slaves? According to the Consul, indeed, we ought not to abrogate any Law; and the Oppian Law in particular, should never be altered. But this is a double Paradox, which it is easy to answer. Cato has not made Difference enough between the fundamental Laws of the State, and the temporary Laws, which are only made to serve a present Purpose. The former are immutable. The latter die with the Necessity upon which they are built. Some are confined to times of Peace, and are of no force in time of War. Others are necessary only in War, and useless in times of Peace. Such is that of which Oppius was the Author. This was not one of those primordial Laws, which we received from our first Kings, and which have been in being ever since the Foundation of Rome. This was not one of those Decemviral Laws, which our Fathers put into The Twelve Tables. It is a new Law, not of twenty Years standing. And upon what Motive was it made? Was it passed on account of the Irregularity of the Roman Women, or their Love of Luxury? No. If that had been the Case, we should have Reason to fear, that a Disorder, restrained by a necessary Law, would revive, and infest the Republick again, upon the Abolition of that Law. Thanks to the Gods! The Poverty of the State was the only Reason for passing the Oppian Law. And therefore its present Opulence ought to be esteemed a just Reason for abolishing it. In Oppius's time, all Orders of Men shewed their Zeal, by lending the publick Money; and they have been all repayed. The Women were likewise forced by a Law to part with their Jewels. And shall they then be the only Persons, who shall have suffered by the Misery of

Livy B. 34.  
c. 5.

Livy, *ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> Cornelius Nepos tells us, that Cato spent his old Age in writing historical Books, which he called ORIGINES. Senex historias scribere instituit, quarum sunt libri septem, &c. If so, it may well seem surprising, that Valerius should quote Cato's Works against himself. Tuas adversus te Origines revolvam. This Magistrate was then in the Strength of his Age. And consequently, the History here menti-

oned was not then in being. Hence some have supposed, that Livy, without considering the Difference of the times, has put a Discourse of his own making in the Mouth of Valerius. At least there is Reason to believe, that the Historian has not faithfully represented the Tribune's Harangue, as it stood in the Annals of the Pontifices. See what we have said of Cato's Works, Vol. 3.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLVIII.

L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS, M.  
PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

Livy, B. 34.  
c. 7.

*the Times, without hope of Relief? Were their Ornaments taken from them, never to be returned them? Shall their Husbands shine in purple, and shew their different Offices and Dignities by their different Habits? Shall Children? Shall the Magistrates of our Municipal Cities, wear the Prætexta, finely laced? Shall the Dead wear it to the funeral Pile, and be burnt in it? Nay, shall even our Horses be harnessed in Purple; and our Women only be forbidden to wear it? And shall they not be suffered to wear any Gold in their <sup>69</sup> Head-dresses? Will it sink the Value of that Metal to see it on their Heads or Fingers? Will it not be a Fund of Riches, which they will keep against any pressing Wants of the Publick? It is indeed urged, that the mutual Jealousies which Luxury raises among Women, ought to be prevented. But what can be a stronger Motive to Jealousy, and Rage, than for our Ladies, to see the Women of the neighbouring Cities dressed in what Colours they please, and riding through the Streets at their Ease in Chariots, whilst they are forced to follow them on Foot? The weaker their Sex is, the less able are they to bear this Difference with Temper. Surely, they ought to have some Distinctions or other given them. All Marks of Honour are for the Men. Fasces, Lictors, Curule Chairs, Triumphs, and in short, all Marks of Grandeur are confined to us. Is it not therefore just, that the Women should have some Distinctions? They place their Glory in Finery, which I will allow to be as trifling as you please; but still it suits their Taste. A rich Dress is to them, what a Triumph is to one of our Heroes. A trifling Ambition, which it were inhuman not to gratify! And after all, what is the great Misfortune which will follow, if we satisfy their Desires, by disannulling the Oppian Law? Shall we not still have it in our Power, to regulate their Expences in our Families, correct their Excesses, and restrain their Luxury? The Law <sup>70</sup> which puts Women absolutely under the Government of their Husbands, Fathers, and Brothers, will still subsist. Besides, their Love of Ornaments often makes them more submissive, than the Authority of Laws can do. Let us not then add a new kind of Slavery to that which we have brought them into already. Let us rather treat them as Wives than Slaves. Indulge their Weakness a little, thereby to merit their Affection. The more absolutely our Power over them is, the more tenderly ought you to treat them. Purchase then the Peace of your Families, by a little Condescension to their Infirmitie.*

THIS Debate lasted all the Day; so that the Question was not put, till the next. And then the Women were more earnest than ever. They beset the Houses of the two Brutus's, who were the only Tribunes of the People that opposed the disannulling the Law; and at length, upon their importunate Sollicitations, the Tribunes desisted. Then the Comitia were at full Liberty to determine as they pleased. The Oppian Law was abrogated; and Cato was the only Man, who continued to be of his Opinion. But he did not tarry long in Rome, after the Opposition he had met with in the Comitia.

§. XVI. A nobler Career presented itself to the rigid Consul than a War with Women. He set out for Spain with a Consular Army, and with the Prætor Manlius, who was appointed to assist him in his new Expedition. Cato was a great and able General, in the Field, as well as a grave Magistrate, in the Senate, and the Assemblies of the People. We shall now see him shine at the Head of the Roman Legions, reduce the Spaniards, and triumph.

THE Consul <sup>71</sup> embarked at the Port of <sup>72</sup> Luna, in Hetruria, upon the Mouth

<sup>69</sup> We shall have Occasion to speak of the Luxury of the Roman Ladies, and their several Ornaments, in the History of the latter Ages of the Republick.

<sup>70</sup> The Romans in this imitated the Attic Laws, which adjudged the Greek Women to be always Minors. The most mature Age did not free a Roman Lady from this severe Subjection. Her Happiness wholly depended, either on the Condescension of a Father, the Tenderness of an Husband, or the Good-nature of a Guardian.

<sup>71</sup> The Consul's Presence was necessary in Spain. The Number of the Rebels there increased daily. Nevertheless, Letters had lately been received from Quintus Minucius, the Prætor of Hither Spain; in which he gave the Senate an Account of the Victory he had lately gained over Budarus and Besa-

sides, two of the most considerable Chiefs of the revolted Nations. The first had been taken Prisoner; and twelve thousand Spaniards killed in the Battel. The rest of the Enemy's Forces had fled, and dispersed themselves about the Fields. This important Action was fought near Turba, a City in Quintus Minucius's Province, and consequently in Hither Spain. But it is impossible to fix the Situation of Turba. The Geographers have not said enough of it, to give us room to form reasonable Conjectures concerning it. Unless it be said to be the same Place as Turbula; which, according to Ptolomy, was in the Country of the Bastitani. These People were thought to have inhabited a little District in Arragon. But this we will examine hereafter.

<sup>72</sup> The City and Port of Luna were near a Promontory



Mouth of the 73 *Macra*. There he assembled all the little Vessels on the Coast, ordered them to go before him, and promised the Conductors of them, that he would soon follow, with his Fleet of twenty Ships of War. At the time appointed, he came up with them; and all together sailed for 74 *Rhoda*, now a City of *Catalonia*, known by the Name of *Roses*. From thence they proceeded to *Emporiae*, where all the Land-Forces were landed. *Emporiae* was then as it were divided into two Cities, which were separated by a common Wall. The first part, which reached farthest into the Sea, belonged to the same 75 *Phocæans*, who had formerly founded *Marseilles*. The other, which reached farthest up into the Country, was in the Hands of the revolted *Spaniards*. The *Phocæans* had entered into an Alliance with *Rome*. Nevertheless, these Foreigners, and the Natives of the Country, lived in a good Understanding. By an exact Discipline, Peace was preserved between Inhabitants of such different Characters. They mutually stood in need of each other. The *Spaniards* were most powerful in their native Country; but the *Phocæans*, who were the most skilful Traders, furnished the *Spaniards* with Merchandizes, and undertook to vent their Commodities. The Consul landed in that part of 76 *Emporiae*, which was inhabited by the *Phocæans*; resided there for some time; and informed himself of the Affairs of *Spain*. He there exercised his Troops, and employed his short Leisure to Advantage. Nevertheless, he ordered the Purveyors of his Army to return to *Rome*. My Troops, said he to them, *will be able to furnish themselves with Provisions, whilst they are making War*. Accordingly *Cato* marched out of *Emporiae*, ordered the *Spanish* Fields to be laid waste, and burnt all that he could not carry away. The Corn was then locked up in Granaries. The Consular Army encamped near *Emporiae*, and lived at the Enemy's Expence. And whilst it rested in this fruitful Country, *Helvius* arrived at the Pro-Consul's Camp.

AFTER he had been *Prætor* in *Hispania Citerior*, he had been continued there, with the Title of *Pro-Prætor*, and was now about embarking for *Italy*. All the Roads were infested with *Spanish* Robbers; and he had therefore received of *Appius Claudius*, his Successor in the *Prætorship*, a Guard of six thousand Men, which were to conduct him to the *Roman* Fleet. In his March, a Body of twenty thousand *Celtiberians* fell on his little Army, near *Illiturgis*. But *Helvius* made so brave a Resistance, that he defeated the Enemy, put them to flight, took *Illiturgis*, and made a great Slaughter of its Inhabitants. *Cato* gave this brave *Roman* a Reception worthy of his Courage; and which was but the Prelude to the Honours that awaited him at *Rome*. *Helvius* 77 had an *Ovation* there. And he would have had a Triumph, had he fought under his own *Auspices*. But he was only a Subaltern, when he had fought the *Celtiberians*; and according to the *Roman* Superstition, the Victory was to be ascribed to the Head of the Province. Nevertheless, some Rules were overlooked in regard to his Valour, and the 78 considerable Sums he had brought from *Spain*, for the publick Treasury. But more was

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVIII.

L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS, M.  
PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

App. in Ileri-  
cis.

Livy, B. 34-  
c. 8.

Valerius An-  
tias apud Li-  
vium.

montory of the same Name, at the Mouth of the *Macra*. It was the first City in *Ætruria*, bordering upon *Liguria*. *Cluver* places it where *Lerice* now stands. But *Blondus*, and after him *Holstenius*, thinks that the Situation of *Luna* agrees better with that of *Sarsana*: And the modern Name of *Luneglio*, which the Moderns give to the neighbouring Country, seems to confirm the Conjecture of the two latter.

73 The River *Macra*, still in a manner retains its old Name, in that of *Magra*, its present one. It divided *Ætruria* from *Liguria*.

74 *Cato* being ready to embark at the Port of *Luna*, fixed the Rendezvous of his Troops at the Port of *Venus Pirenae*, now called the Port de *Vendres*, in the County of *Roussillon*. So that *Cato* coasted along *Liguria*, and The Gulph of *Lions*; and landed with his naval Armament at the Place appointed. From thence he came to *Roses*, a City on the Confines of *Catalonia*, and The *Lampourdan*. The *Spanish* Garrison posted in the Citadel, experienced the Valour of the *Romans*, and were forced to fly.

75 See what we have said of the Foundation of *Marseilles*, and of the City of *Emporiae*, Vol. 2. and 3.

76 The Quarter of *Emporiae*, which was possessed by the *Phocæans*, was next the Sea, and consequently most convenient for Commerce. Its Walls were about four hundred Paces in Circumference. That part of the City, which was inhabited by the *Spaniards*, was further off from the Sea. Its Walls were about three thousand geometrical Paces in Circumference, according to *Livy*.

77 *Helvius* being detained in *Spain*, by a long Fit of Sickness, did not return to *Rome* till two Years after his Office expired. So that he did not receive the Honour of an *Ovation*, till two Months before a Triumph was decreed for his Successor *Quintus Minucius*.

78 These Sums amounted to four thousand two hundred and thirty two Pounds weight of Silver in Bars, and seventeen thousand and twenty three silver *Denarii* in *Specie*, besides twenty thousand four hundred and thirty eight Pounds weight of Silver, taken out of the Mines of *Huesca* in *Arragon*. As for *Quintus*



Year of was done for *Q. Minucius*, who was also returned from *Spain*, after having fig-  
**R O M E** nalized himself there in his *Prætorship*. *Rome* granted him a Triumph, for having  
 DLVIII. defeated an Army of Rebels commanded by two Generals, one of which, named  
 L. VALERIUS *Budorus*, he had taken, and put the other to flight; after he had slain twelve thou-  
 FLACCUS, M. sand of their *Spaniards*. And it is affirmed, that *Minucius's* 79 Triumph has been  
 PORCIUS transmitted to Posterity, by a Medal.  
 CATO, Con-  
 suls.

§. XVII. THESE Advantages, which the *Romans* began to gain over the Rebels, gave the Republick great Hopes, and fired the *Consul* with Emulation. *Cato*, whilst in the Neighbourhood of *Emporiae*, often sent out his Troops in Parties, and by Degrees formed them to War. They were new Levies. And whilst he was waiting for the Season for taking the Field, Ambassadors came to his Camp from *Bilistages* King of the *Ilergetes*. This Nation was well affected to the *Romans*, and the Rebels threatened them, with the severest Treatment, if they did not join in the Revolt. At the Head of the Deputation was the King's Son; and this young Prince demanded only a Detachment of five thousand *Romans*, to secure his Father's Dominions. *Cato* was perplexed at this Demand. His Inclination led him to succour a faithful People, whose Danger was wholly owing to their great Zeal for the Republick. But on the other hand, it was dangerous for himself to divide his Troops, and weaken his Army. So that the wise *Consul* was not in haste to give his Answer. He took the whole Night to consider of it; and his good Sense suggested to him an Expedient, which all the Ancients mention, as one of the best devised Stratagems, that was ever invented. He told the Ambassadors, that though he wanted his Troops himself, he would sacrifice his own Safety to the Interests of their Master. Accordingly, he immediately gave Orders for sending away the Succours, baking some Bread, and equipping some Gallies. He sent two of the Deputies to carry the News to the King of the *Ilergetes*, and kept the young Prince with him. The Rumour soon spread far, that part of the *Roman* Army were ready to depart. *Bilistages* conceived great Hopes from it, and his Enemies were seized with Terror. They hastily left the Country of the *Ilergetes*, which they threatened with a general Desolation. And on the other hand, *Cato* embarked his Detachment, and they set sail. But they returned to the Port from whence they set out, under Pretence that they had been driven back by contrary Winds. And by this alone the *Consul* gained his Point. The Enemy dispersed themselves, *Bilistages* was delivered from his Fears, and *Cato* kept in his Camp that part of his Army, which he thought necessary for the Expeditions he had in view.

§. XVIII. THE War the *Consul* was going to begin was no trifling Affair. The *Spaniards* had never been more formidable. They were ever thought a warlike People, and they had now learnt to fight, and encamp, in form. Their long Wars first with the *Carthaginians*, and then with the *Romans*, had taught them the military Art. Their natural Courage, their Constancy in enduring Fatigues, and their Contempt for Life in perillous Cases, made them formidable. Besides, the Army the *Consul* had brought from *Rome*, almost wholly consisted of raw young Soldiers, little inured to military Duty. But indeed, *Cato* was just such a General as they wanted to discipline them. Which he did by his own Example; by great Diligence in instructing them; severe Orders; and by finding out proper Expedients to quicken their Courage. The General was an exemplary Pattern to his Soldiers, of Vigilance, Sobriety, and Assiduity in Labour. His Dress was always plain; and he made no Scruple of exposing himself to the Inclemency of the Weather in bad Seasons. His Provisions were the same the common Soldiers had, and he drank no other Wine, than what was given them. When he was to pitch a Camp, he took a Spade in his Hand, and removed the Earth himself. He was of a sweet affable Behaviour; and inexorable only to those, who had contravened his Orders. By this Management, the *Consul* soon put his Troops on the Foot he desired. And at length

*Quintus Minucius*, he brought from his Province thirty four thousand eight hundred Pounds weight of Silver in Bars, seventy eight thousand silver *Denarii* in Specie; besides seventy eight thousand Pounds weight of Silver, which the Mines of *Huesca* produced every Year.

79 *Goltzius* is the only Author who has given us the Figure of this Medal; and the Silence of the Ancients concerning it, give us Reason to question the Authentickness of it.



the time came, when he thought it proper to march them against the Enemy, and try the Fate of a general Action. Nevertheless, he did not so much endeavour to rouse his young Soldiery, by Principles of Fear, as by those of Honour. In the first Place, *Cato* sent away his Fleet to *Marseilles*, and thereby gave his Soldiers to understand, that having no Resource left, they must not now build their Hopes on any thing but their Valour. Then he assembled all his Officers, even to the *Centurions*, and addressed himself to them in this manner.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVIII.

L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS, M.  
PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

App. in Ile-  
ricis.  
Livy B. 34.  
c. 13.

*THE Expeditions in which I have hitherto employed you, have not indeed been very honourable ones. You have only laid Fields waste, and pillaged Granaries. But the time is now come for drawing nearer to the Enemy. The Plunders of a Farm shall no longer be the Reward of your Labours. The more plentiful Booty of Cities taken by Assault, shall be your Recompence. And in order to this, you must beat the Enemy, and gain pitched Battels. Before the Scipio's came to make War here, in order to drive out the Carthaginians, we were in Possession of the best part of the Country on this side the Ebro. Since that time, we have brought the Countries beyond that River, into Subjection to Rome, and have governed them by Prætors. Now these conquered Nations revolt. But there are three Roman Armies here, to bring them again under the Yoke, which they have shaken off. Two of our Prætors shall act separately with their Troops. And do you, who follow the Standards of a Consul, labour for your own Glory, and for mine. This very Night I will lead you to the Enemy's Camp. Prepare for your March, and for a Battel.*

Livy, *ibid*

IN the middle of the Night, *Cato*, after he had consulted the *Auspices* as usual, marched away, took a Compass, and came and posted himself beyond the Enemy's Camp, on an Eminence. The *Consul* chose this Post, though a dangerous one. From thence he detached three of his *Manipuli*, to insult the Enemy, even at the Foot of their Trenches. As for himself, at break of Day, he drew up his Troops in Battalia. The *Spaniards* were much surpris'd to see the *Romans* posted beyond their Camp. It must be granted, that *Cato* understood Stratagems of War, much better than the Heads of the Nation with whom he was contending. The *Spaniards* hoped to gain Success by Valour only, and an obstinate Resolution never to retreat. They ran to Arms, and were in a great Commotion; and at that instant the *Consul* chose to give Battel. He sent Orders to the three *Manipuli*, he had sent to the Gate of the *Spanish* Camp, to retire precipitately, as if seized with a sudden Fright; and this feigned Flight had its Effect. Some *Spanish* Troops sallied out briskly to attack the Fugitives in the Rear; and in an instant, all the Plain, between the *Roman* Army and the Enemy's Camp, was full of *Spaniards*. Then *Cato* ran from Rank to Rank, and said, *Our only hope, fellow-Soldiers, is in your Intrepidity. The Enemy's Army and Camp are between our Entrenchments and us. We must therefore conquer the one, and plunder the other, before we can come to our Tents.* At these Words, the *Consul* ordered the Attack to be begun, whilst the *Spaniards* were yet forming. In the first Place he ordered his two Bodies of Horse in the two Wings, to give the Onset. The Cavalry in the right Wing were vigorously repulsed; and by retreating, they already began to disorder the light-armed Infantry. The *Consul* saw that, and sent two *Manipuli* with Orders to shew themselves in the Flank of the Enemy, to the left, without making any Motion. This *Cato* did before the main Body of his Infantry came to engage; and by that Means the Body of Cavalry, which was repulsed, began to recover themselves. They rallied, though with Difficulty; as well as the light-armed Infantry which the General himself led back to the Battel. In this first Attack the *Romans* had had some Disadvantage. Their Darts and Courage had both failed all at once, in their right. But in the left, and in the Center, the *Consular* Troops broke through the *Spaniards*. The latter now fought with dread, at the sight of the two *Manipuli*, which they saw near their Flanks, and ready to fall upon them. And the Success of the Battel<sup>80</sup>, which was hitherto pretty equal, was much changed,

<sup>80</sup> According to *Appian*, whilst the two Parties were warmly disputing the Victory, the *Consul* went up to an Eminence, the better to judge of the present State and Success of the Battel. He carried thither with him the three Battalions, of which his *Corps-de-reserve* consisted; and from thence per-

ceived, that his Men in the Center had great Difficulty to sustain the Attacks of the Enemy. Instantly therefore he flew thither with a fresh Reinforcement, and so raised the Courage of his Troops by his Example, that they at last gained the Victory.



Year of when they were forced to come to a close Fight, Sword in Hand. No more Darts  
 R O M E were thrown, which are often cast at Random, and often lost. Valour, and Ad-  
 DLVIII. dress, alone determined the Victory. After a long Fight, the *Consul* saw that his  
 L. VALERIUS first Line was fatigued; and he therefore ordered the second to advance, and they  
 FLACCUS, M. came on with double Vigour. These fresh Troops, whose Swords were not blunt-  
 PORCIUS ed, formed themselves into sharp Angles, and broke quite through the Enemy's  
 CATO, Con- Battalions. Then the Rout of the *Spaniards* was certain. They retired, and im-  
 suls. mediately fled. The Plain was full of Fugitives, and all returned towards their  
 Camp. Nevertheless, the second *Legion* had not yet engaged. The *Consul* had  
 reserved it for any Occasion; and he now led it to the Attack of the Camp,  
 which his other Troops had begun. He made it advance very fast, but in so good  
 order, that as soon as any Soldier got out of his Rank, the General him-  
 self struck him, or ordered his Officer to punish him. At length, the *Consul* and  
 his *Legion* appeared within reach of the *Spanish* Trenches. His Presence was ne-  
 cessary there. The *Romans*, overwhelmed with the Darts the Enemy threw at  
 them from above, began to give way. But at sight of the Reinforcement they  
 took Courage again. The *Consul* observed the Disposition of the Camp, and took  
 Notice, that at the Gate which was to his left, the Trenches were more weakly  
 guarded than elsewhere. He therefore ordered the *Hastati* and *Principes* of his  
 second *Legion* to advance thither; and their Attack was so vigorous, that the  
*Spaniards* could not withstand it. The *Romans* entered the Camp, and put all to  
 the Sword who resisted them. Then there was an universal Disorder among the  
 Enemy. Every one fled towards the Gates of the Camp, which were so narrow,  
 that they were soon stopped up, by the great Number of *Spaniards* who strove to  
 get out at them. As for the *Romans*, some fell on the Fugitives, and made a ter-  
 rible Slaughter of them; others fell to plundering. According to one Author,  
 who is used to magnify too much the Advantages of the *Romans*, the *Spaniards* lost  
 forty thousand Men, this Day. But *Cato*, who was not sparing of his Commen-  
 dations, only said, *That a great Number of the Enemy were killed*. However, the  
*Consul* signalized his Conduct in this Battel, by three Acts, which shewed his great Abi-  
 lity in War. 1. He chose to fight in a Plain at a great Distance from his own  
 Camp, and thereby put his Soldiers under a Necessity of conquering, if they would  
 return to it. 2. He detached two of his *Manipuli*, only to shew themselves by the  
 Enemy's Flanks, and thereby keep them in Awe. And 3<sup>dly</sup>, He reserved a whole  
*Legion* for any Emergency, and led it very seasonably to take the Enemy's Camp.

Livy B. 34.  
c. 15.

Val. Antias  
apud Livy.

Appian in the-  
ricis.  
Plut. Life of  
Cato.

AND this Victory of the *Consul* was not unfruitful. That part of the City of  
*Emporiæ*, which belonged to the *Spaniards*, surrendered to the Conquerors. The  
 neighbouring Countries were either confirmed in their Attachment to the *Roman*  
 Interest, or delivered up to be plundered. The *Consul* decamped, and took the  
 Road to *Tarragona*; and whilst he was on the Way, a great Number of Deputies  
 came from the neighbouring Cities to submit to him. *Romans*, which the Re-  
 bels had put in Irons, were brought to him from all Parts. He accepted these  
 Submissions<sup>81</sup>, but guarded against new Revolts. He pardoned none, till they  
 had first given him Hostages. And it was probably at this time, that *Cato* made  
 use of an Artifice, which put it out of the Power of many rebellious Cities to  
 take up Arms again. As the Dread of his Name made him respected in many Pro-  
 vinces beyond the *Ebro*, he wrote the same Day private Letters to the Commanders  
 of several fortified Towns, to demolish their Fortifications. This he ordered to  
 be done in all haste, and promised Favour to none, but according to the Readiness  
 of their Obedience. Every Governor thought the Order sent only to himself, and  
 the Inhabitants immediately beat down their Walls and Towers. So that all the

81 A Report was spread at the same time, that *Cato* was preparing to march against the Mountaineers of *Catalonia*, and would from thence march into the Country of the *Turdetani*, a People of *Andalusia*. Upon this News, the Inhabitants of these Countries were struck with Terror. The *Bergistani*, who dwelt round *Berga* on the Frontiers of *Arragon*, delivered up seven of their Towns to the *Romans* of their own Accord. And it cost the *Consul* little Trouble to reduce those Cities of the

Province, which had before refused to submit. A little time after, *Cato* returned again towards *Tarragona*; and then they, whom his Presence had intimidated, took Advantage of his Removal, to shake off the Yoke. Upon which the *Roman* General led his Army against these unquiet People, a second time; conquered them; and they in vain implored the Clemency of the Conqueror. They were all punished for their second Revolt, with being re-duced to Slavery, and sold to the best bidder.



Places, in whole Provinces <sup>82</sup> beyond the *Ebro*, were left defenceless, and *Rome* took Possession of them.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVIII.

L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS, M.  
PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

§. XIX. WHILST *Cato* was subduing or pacifying the People of *Hispania Citerior*, and near it; the *Prætor Manlius*, who had been sent with him to assist him, fell on the *Turdetani*, who were situated more to the South, towards *Lusitania*. *Manlius's* Troops, when joined with those of the *Prætor Appius Claudius*, who commanded in *Hispania Ulterior*, made an Army of Soldiers, who had long made War with the *Spaniards*, and whose Experience had made them formidable. Whereas, the *Turdetani* on the other hand, and the *Turduli*, their Neighbours, were in no Reputation for Valour. Nevertheless, their Obstinacy in the Rebellion deserved Chastisement. *Manlius* drew near their Country; and found more Enemies there than he had expected. The <sup>83</sup> *Turdetani* and *Turduli* had hired the *Celtiberians*, who were reputed brave, into their Service; and in these Mercenaries consisted the whole Strength of the Army of the Rebels. But they encamped by themselves; and by that Means the *Romans* had at first only the *Turdetani* and *Turduli* to engage with: And these weak Enemies were broken, and put into Disorder, upon the first Shock. The Difficulty was greater, when the *Romans* were to give the *Celtiberians* Battel; insomuch, that the *Prætors* did not think their Armies sufficient to cope with them. They judged it necessary for the *Consul* to come in Person. The *Turdetani* were then rallied, and still kept the Field in a separate Body from the *Celtiberians*; notwithstanding, that all the slight Skirmishes that had happened between the former, and the united *Romans*, turned to the Disadvantage of the *Spaniards*. And *Cato* himself was a little <sup>84</sup> afraid of the *Celtiberians*. He sent Deputies to them to make this Proposal to them; That they should either 1<sup>st</sup>, return into their Country, in which case, their Revolt from the *Roman* People should be entirely forgiven them. Or 2<sup>dly</sup>, That they should end the War with a Battel, the Time and Place of which was left to their Choice. Or 3<sup>dly</sup>, That they should join their Troops to those of *Rome*, upon Condition that they should receive of her double the Pay that the *Turdetani* gave them. This last Proposal was not agreeable to the *Roman* Officers, whom the General consulted: They thought it shameful to buy off the *Celtiberians* with Money. But *Cato* persisted in his Opinion, and answered; *If we are Conquerors, we shall pay the Celtiberians with our Enemy's Money; and if they are overcome with us, they will have nothing to demand.* Thus the prudent *Consul* was above a ridiculous Scrupulosity in points of Honour, when his Republick found her Account in neglecting them. The *Celtiberians* demanded of the *Romans*, that a Day should be appointed for them to deliberate of their Offers. A Council was held; but the Assembly was always full of *Turdetani*, which hindered the Members of it from declaring for either side of the Question. They deferred giving their Answer beyond the Day appointed; and all this Interval was spent in a Cessation of Arms, though not formally agreed on. During this kind of Truce, the People of both Camps visited each other, and were permitted to converse together with Freedom. Each Party made their Preparations, and filled their Magazines, without any Obstruction. These Delays therefore made the *Consul* very impatient; and he endeavoured to bring the Enemy

Plut. Life of  
Cato.

<sup>82</sup> The City which *Livy* calls *Segestica*, one of the richest of any in these Cantons, ventured to sustain a Siege. Where it stood, is utterly unknown to modern Geographers; and none of the Ancients say one Word of it, but *Livy*. Some think that *Livy* meant *Segeda*; which *Pliny* places between the *Batis* and the Ocean. *Sanfon* thinks that *Segestica*, was a City of the *Turduli*, between *Arjona*, to the West, and *Ubeda*, to the East. *Ambrose Morales* makes *Segestica* the same City as *Segisa*, which gave Name to the *Segisians*, or *Segians*, a People of the Province of *Tarragona*, according to *Pliny*. But the *Spanish* Author says, it stood between *Soria* and *Osma*, in the Place where the Town of *Seges* now stands. Whereas, *Sanfon* places this City in the Country of the *Bastetani*, near Mount *Argentarius*, in the Neighbourhood of *Castel Segura*. But so far as we can judge of it by *Livy's* Story, it seems more natural to place *Segestica*, far from *Andalusia*, beyond the *Ebro*, in the Kingdom of *Leon*. There

*Sentica* formerly stood, which *Morales* took for *Zamora*, and *Sanfon* for *Alba de Tormes*. The Copyists may, by an easy change, have turned *Sentica* into *Segestica*.

<sup>83</sup> The *Turdetani* and *Turduli* were formerly but one People. Afterwards they divided themselves, and seized two different Countries. The Western part of *Andalusia*, of which *Seville* is the Capital, was the Portion of the former; and the latter took Possession of the Territory of *Cordona*, in the East-part of *Batica*.

<sup>84</sup> According to *Livy*, the Desertion of the *Borgisiani*, a People of *Catalonia*, who had lately declared against the *Romans*, created *Cato* new Trouble. In order to secure those, who might be drawn into a Rebellion by so dangerous an Example, he disarmed the *Spaniards* on this side the *Ebro*. But this was so heinous an Affront to this warlike Nation, that several of them chose rather to kill themselves, than submit to so shameful an Indignity.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLVIII.  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS, M.  
PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

to a Battel. He sent to ravage their Lands, which had hitherto been spared, and ordered <sup>85</sup> *Seguntia*, where the *Celtiberians* had left their Baggage and Effects, to be besieged. But by all these Hostilities, he could not provoke the Rebels to hazard a general Action. *Cato* therefore returned to his old Camp near the *Ebro*, and left the *Prætorian* Armies to watch the Enemy, in order to fight them if occasion should offer. And though the *Consul* was guarded with only seven Battalions in his return, he signalized it by taking many Cities. The <sup>86</sup> *Sedetani*, *Ausetani*, and *Suessetani*, returned to their Duty. The *Lacetani* <sup>87</sup> only continued obstinate in their Revolt. Their Confidence arose from the Nature of their Country, which was interspersed with Rocks, and covered with Woods and Thickets. During the Absence of the *Consul*, they had carried the War into the Territories of the Allies of *Rome*, and had ravaged their Lands. The *Consul* therefore resolved to punish the Rebels, and take their Capital. It was a walled City, of a considerable Length, but little Breadth. In order to begin his Attacks, *Cato* formed his little Army about four hundred Paces from the City, and took only one Detachment with him, which consisted almost entirely of the *Suessetani* who had joined him. This Detachment he led in Person, almost to the Foot of the Rampart, after having first given his *Manipuli* orders not to stir, till he returned to them; and the *Consul* was obeyed. He led the *Suessetani* to attack the Place; and the *Lacetani*, as soon as they saw them, despised them. The latter had often experienced how much these Troops were inferior to them, in Courage. They hoped to put them immediately to flight; which was the very thing the *Consul* designed. They opened their Gates; and the whole Garrison made a Sally on these *Suessetani*. Upon this the Cowards instantly gave way, and dispersed themselves. And whilst the *Lacetani* were intent upon pursuing them, the *Consul* made all possible haste to his *Manipuli*, and led them to the Gates of the besieged City, which was left defenceless. So that the *Romans* easily forced their Way into it, and made themselves Masters of it. By this Stratagem the Capital was taken before the *Lacetani* returned; and they had no Resource, or Asylum left. The only Method they could take, was to surrender to the Conqueror at Discretion. From thence the *Consul* brought his Troops before <sup>88</sup> *Bergium*. This Place was the Retreat of the *Banditti* of the Province, who were continually making Incursions into it, and infesting it. The Governor of the Place was very uneasy to see these Rogues assemble there. But what could he do? They were stronger than he, even in the Place where he was Governor. He therefore came privately to the *Consul*; made an Apology to him for the Violences which the Inhabitants of the City, and the *Banditti* which came from other Places committed, contrary to his Inclination; and *Cato* took proper Measures with him, to get Possession of the Place. He advised him to retire into the Citadel, with those of the Inhabitants of *Bergium*, who were least faulty; and the *Consul* came in Person, and appeared before the Gates of the City. The *Banditti* were struck with Terror at this Sight. The Governor attacked them

<sup>85</sup> There were three Cities in *Spain* called *Seguntia*. The first which is here spoken of belonged to *Celtiberia*, and was therefore called *Seguntia Celtiberiorum*. *Pliny* places it in the Country of the *Arevaca*. This was the Name formerly given to the People who lived about the River *Areva*; which is now called *Eresma*, and discharges itself into the *Duero*. The City we speak of seems to be the same that *Ptolomy* calls *Segortia*. It is now known by the Name of *Sigüenza*. There was also a City of *Seguntia* in *Bætica*. Its Situation agrees pretty well with that of *Gisgonza*, a Town of *Andalusia*, near the River *Guadalete*. And lastly, the third *Seguntia*, which was distinguished by the Name of *Paramica*, belonged to the *Varduli*, a Nation which possessed part of the Territories of *Alava* and *Biscay*. Some think this last City was the present *Ségura*. *Sanfon* and *Briet* will have it to be the same as *Sergame*, which belongs to the Province of *Guipuscoa*. Add to this, that according to *Aulus Gellius*, the *Consul* foresaw, that a Place so well fortified as *Sigüenza*, would make a long Resistance; and therefore that he might not interrupt the Course

of his Conquests, he turned towards *Numantia*. There he received, in the Name of the Republic, the Homages of the *Sedetani*, *Ausetani*, and *Suessetani*.

<sup>86</sup> The *Sedetani* inhabited the South-part of the Kingdom of *Arragon*, and a little Canton of the Kingdom of *Valencia*. As for the *Ausetani*, they took their Name from the City of *Ausa*, afterwards called *Ansona*, and now *Vic d'Osona*. They inhabited a part of *Catalonia*, near *Gironne*. It is generally thought that the Western-part of the Territory of *Guipuscoa* belonged to the *Suessetani*. See what we have said of these three Spanish Nations, Vol. 3.

<sup>87</sup> The Country of the *Lacetani* contained part of the Bishoprick of *Lerida* and of *Catalonia*, along the Sea-Coasts, between the Rivers *Lobregat* and *Tet*. See Vol. 3.

<sup>88</sup> Most modern Geographers think that *Bergium* stood in the same Place where *Berga*, a City of *Catalonia*, now does. *Mariana* speaks also of another Town called *Berga*, near the City of *Huesca*; which is thought to be the same Place that *Ptolomy* calls *Bergidum*.



on one Side, from the Top of the Citadel; and *Cato*, on the other, beset their Gates. So that *Bergium* was taken by Assault. Nevertheless, when the *Consul* was Master of it, he distinguished the Innocent from the Guilty. All those whom the Governour had carried with him into the Citadel, were reinstated in the Possession of their Liberty, and Estates. The other Citizens of *Bergium* were condemned to Slavery, and sold by the *Quæstors*, for the Benefit of the Publick. And the *Banditti* were all executed. These Conquests and Exploits re-established Tranquillity in *Hither Spain*; and *Cato* was then wholly intent on getting what Advantages he could from it, for his Republick. The Silver and Iron Mines with which it abounded, were an inexhaustible Fund of Riches for *Rome*; and the *Consul* himself was the only Man who received no Profit from them. The Soldiers enriched themselves there. Besides the Booties they took in the Cities they conquered, the General gave each of them a Pound Weight of Silver. Some of the Officers were surprized at this Liberality. But *Cato* said, *It was better that many of the Romans should return Home with Silver, than a few only with Gold.* It is certain that the General appropriated nothing of all these rich Spoils to himself. He lived in as low and frugal a manner, as the meanest Soldier, and appropriated<sup>89</sup> nothing to his own Use.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVIII.  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
M. PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

Plut. Life of  
Cato.

§. XX. THIS News from *Spain*, gave the People of *Rome* great Joy, and an high Esteem for *Cato*. They ordered publick Prayers to be offered up for three Days, by way of Thanksgiving to the Gods. But at the same time, the Enemies the *Consul* had at *Rome*, were uneasy at the Glory he acquired in *Spain*. The Great *Scipio* himself was jealous of him. They were both Heroes; but Men of very different Characters. *Scipio* loved Luxury and Expence. *Cato* lived very abstemiously, and denied himself every thing, in order to heap up great Riches. The one made War with the Magnificence of a Sovereign; the other was so frugal in the Management of the publick Expences, that he left his Successor in *Spain* the Horse the Republick had given him. The latter was a little accused of Avarice; or at least he was sordid in his OEconomy. The former was liberal to Profuseness. Both were very brave, and very enterprizing. But *Cato* made War like a Fox; *Scipio* like a Lion. Besides, they had been at Variance. *Cato*, who was of an obscure Birth, had sided with the Great *Fabius*, *Scipio's* eternal Rival. This Difference of Temper, Party, and Conduct, and the Equality of the Esteem which began to divide the *Roman* People between the Merit of the one and the other, roused again the Ambition of *Scipio Africanus*, which seemed to lie dormant. He stood for the *Consulship* for the next Year. It is pretended, that his Design was to succeed *Cato* in *Spain*, and there compleat the Pacification of this great Continent, which he had formerly conquered. *Cato*, tho' in *Spain*, was not a Stranger to the Plots and Designs of *Scipio*; and he made Haste to finish the Work he had begun; that he might not leave his Rival a Pretence to demand *Spain* as his Province, when he should be elected *Consul*. In the mean time, *Cato* spoke of the Emulation which appeared between him and *Scipio*, like a Man of Sense. *A little Rivalship*, said he, *between the first Officers of the Republick, will only increase its Lustre. As long as the Patricians shall endeavour to surpass the Plebeians, and the Plebeians ardently aspire at equalling the Patricians, in glorious Actions; Rome will be well served.* In short, *Cato* so much increased the Number of his Exploits, and settled all *Spain* in such Tranquillity and Order, that the Senate did not think it necessary to send a *Consular* Army thither. He returned to *Rome* with his Troops, and there received the Honours of a Triumph the next Year. We are assured, that in the Account he gave the Senate of his Exploits, he ventured to affirm, that he had subdued a greater Number of Places in *Spain*, than he had been Days there. And indeed, there were reckoned up above four hundred Cities which

<sup>89</sup> As far as we can judge of it by *Cato's* Character, the Disinterestedness he then shewed, was rather the Effect of Vanity and Ambition, than a true Greatness of Soul. He would not even suffer any of his Domesticks to apply any of the Spoils of the Enemy to their own Use. Nevertheless, one of his Slaves, named *Paccus*, out of a Greediness of Gain, had bought three young *Spanish* Prisoners, for whom he expected to have a considerable Ran-

som. But, to his great Misfortune, he was not secret enough in the Affair. It came to *Cato's* Knowledge; and the unfortunate *Paccus* hanged himself, out of Despair. He chose rather to die, than submit to the rigorous Usage of an hard and inflexible Master, who made it a Rule never to pardon any Fault in his Slaves. As for the three young Prisoners, the *Consul* sold them, and put the Money into the publick Treasury.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLVIII.  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
M. PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

the Victorious *Consul* had re-conquered for his Republick. When he was return-  
ed to *Rome*, and become a private Man again, he spent his Leisure in hard La-  
bour. In private, he employed himself in Study. He enquired into the Ori-  
gin of the Cities of *Italy*, and wrote an Account of them, which deserved Com-  
mendation. He took Pleasure in Agriculture, and laid down Rules for it. In  
publick, he often pleaded before the People and Senate; and was always ready to  
serve his Country in Arms, even as a private Soldier.

§. XXI. But *Cato's* Victories in *Spain* have made us a little lose Sight of the il-  
lustrious *Flamininus*, who continued in *Greece*. Upon the Report of the Pleni-  
potentiaries, who had just concluded a Peace with *Macedon*, the Senate judged it  
necessary that *Flamininus* should continue in his old Province. They plainly saw  
that, sooner or later, they must have a War with *Antiochus*. This King of *Syria*  
was very ambitious of extending his Conquests into *Europe*; and the *Roman* Repub-  
lick was as desirous of spreading the Terror of her Arms into *Asia*. When two  
Conquerors become Neighbours, they never continue long quiet. They study one  
another, and try each other's Strength for some time; and then a Rupture breaks  
out, and Hostilities begin. Under this Persuasion, the Senate thought it necessary  
to begin her Precautions very early, in order to preserve the Affections of the  
*Greeks*, and thwart the Measures *Antiochus* was labouring to enter into with them.  
Besides, the *Romans* began to suspect the *Ætolians*, and *Nabis* the Tyrant of  
*Lacedæmon*. They had Cause to apprehend, that *Lacedæmon* and *Ætolia* would  
join with the *Syrian*, and draw other *Greek* Nations into a new Confederacy against  
*Rome*. For these Reasons, the Senate were for leaving *Flamininus* the Troops he  
had hitherto commanded; and even increasing them, if there should be occasion.  
Indeed, the Plenipotentiaries lately arrived from the East, were incessantly repre-  
senting to the *Conscript Fathers*, That *Antiochus* had a formidable Fleet at Sea;  
That his Land-Forces were numerous; That his Son *Seleucus* was at the Head of  
them, in *The Thracian Chersonesus*; and That this young Prince waited only for the  
Return of his Father, in order to attempt the Conquest of all *Thrace*. To which  
they added, That the Tyrant *Nabis* set no Bounds to his Ambition; That being  
placed in the Center of *Greece*, his Aim was to make himse'f Sovereign of it;  
and That the *Ætolians*, who were dissatisfied with the *Romans*, sought all Op-  
portunities to stir up Enemies against them. This Report of the Plenipotentiaries  
made strong Impressions on the Minds of *The Fathers*. They were now fully in-  
structed by them in the true Situation of Affairs in *Greece*. Nevertheless, the  
oldest Senators thought it necessary to begin where the Danger was greatest. *Antiochus*  
was returned into *Syria*, and his Fleet had been shattered with a Tempest.  
The *Ætolians* had, as yet, only declared against *Rome* in Words and Murmurs.  
But the Senate thought *Nabis* a more formidable Enemy, because so artful a Man.  
*The Evil with which he threatens us*, said they, *is in the Heart of Greece. We must*  
*begin with Nabis*. But the House was a little divided in Opinion, as to that Mat-  
ter. However, the Senate at last decreed, That Orders should be sent to *Flami-*  
*ninus* to attack and ruin *Nabis*, if he thought it for the Interest of the Republick.  
And this first Resolution of the Senate was followed by another, which seemed to  
be of as much Importance. Many Letters were come from *Carthage*, which gave  
the *Romans* Reason to suspect the Fidelity of *Hannibal*. They brought Accounts,  
that there was a constant Correspondence kept up between *Antiochus* and him.  
*The Carthaginian*, said the Writers, *often corresponds with the King of Syria; and An-*  
*tiochus has his Agents about Hannibal, who is a wild Beast which can never be tamed.*  
*His Hatred to Rome survives his Defeat. He is turbulent, factious, and implacable.*  
*He complains, That the City grows dull and unactive; and That nothing can rouse it*  
*out of its present Lethargy, but the Sound of Arms.* Indeed these Letters were sent to  
*Rome* by *Hannibal's* Enemies. The *Barcan* Faction had always opposed him; and  
all these Letters came from them. It was also well known, that *Hannibal's* En-  
emies were very lately increased at *Carthage*. He had been made Head of the Re-  
publick; and during his annual Administration, had cited a *Quæstor* of great In-  
terest and Credit to appear before him. The Judges were then perpetual at *Car-*  
*thage*; and the *Quæstors*, after the Expiration of their Office, became Judges, of

Liv. B. 33.  
c. 45.

Livy, *ibid.*



Course. This Expectation therefore doubled the Pride of the *Quæstor*, who was of the *Barcan* Faction; and he refused to appear. His Accuser therefore brought his Information before the People; and in the Assembly, *Hannibal* complained both of the Insolence of the *Quæstor*, and the Mischief which perpetual Judges did the State. *They reign tyrannically*, said he, *and it is very common among them for Favour to prevail over the best Right. When a Man has once incurred the Displeasure of one of these Judges, they all become his Enemies; and then Life and Estate are no longer safe.* *Hannibal's* Discourse pleased the assembled People; and they abolished the Perpetuity of the Office of Judge, and ordered that new Judges should be annually chosen. This Edict gained *Hannibal* many Friends among the People. But it drew upon him the Hatred of all the great Men; whose Aversion was increased by another Law, which he caused to be made. The Revenues of the *Carthaginian* Republick were imbezzled. The Lords who had the Care of them, applied them to their own Use. And in short, the Treasury was so much exhausted, that there was scarce Money enough left in it, to pay the *Romans* their Tribute. A new Tax was going to be laid on the People, in order to raise it. But *Hannibal* prevented the Oppression. He represented to the People, That if they would make an Enquiry after the imbezzled Money, they would find enough to pay the *Romans*, without overburdening the People. These Regulations were indeed just; but they created the Author of them many Enemies. Hence *Scipio Africanus* took Occasion to defend *Hannibal* in the Senate of *Rome*. *The Calumnies cast upon this illustrious Carthaginian are*, said he, *only the Effects of the Resentments his Wisdom has drawn upon him. It is beneath the Dignity of the Roman People to adopt unjust Accusations. Is it not enough to have overcome Hannibal, without suffering him to sink under the unjust Accusations of those who envy him?* This Discourse did Honour to *Scipio*; but it did not efface all Mens Suspicions. *Hannibal's* Temper was well known at *Rome*; and the Oaths he had taken in his earliest Infancy to be an eternal Enemy to the *Romans*, were remembered there. Whether therefore out of Caution, or out of an implacable Hatred, *The Conscrip*t Fathers sent an 91 Embassy to *Carthage*. The Pretence for it was, to settle some little Differences between *Masinissa* and the *Carthaginians*; but the true Design of it was to watch *Hannibal's* Conduct. If he had entered into any Engagements with *Antiochus*, the Ambassadors were ordered to give him up to his Enemies, and destroy him by their Hands. But *Hannibal* was too sagacious not to penetrate into the Designs of the *Romans*; and being conscious that he was guilty, resolved to withdraw from the Enquiries of the Ambassadors. As he was *Suffes*, that is, the first Magistrate in the Republick, he was obliged to appear in publick continually; and this made his Escape the more difficult. He therefore managed it with a great deal of Address. He ordered his Gold and Silver to be carried to *Thapsus* 92, a City near a Country-Seat which he had on the Sea-shore, not far from *Carthage*. There he got two *Felucca's* equipped with good Rowers, and hid them in a little Gulph within reach of his House. When the Day came, in which he designed to set out, he appeared before the Senate and People, as usual; and had a Conference with the *Roman* Ambassadors. In the Evening he took Horse, as it were to take a Turn to *Thapsus*, from whence he was to come back immediately; and he ordered his Attendants as *Suffes*, to wait for him at the Gate of the City. As soon as he arrived at his Country-house, he immediately embarked, with a few chosen Servants, and set sail for the Island of *Cercina* 93. The next Day, the People at *Carthage* were much surprized, not to see *Hannibal* there. The Market-place was soon filled with Crowds of People. Some said he was fled, to avoid the Violence of his Enemies; and others suspected, that he had been privately assassinated, by Order of the *Romans*. But at length, a Bark arrived from *Cercina*, and cleared up the Truth. *Hannibal* had been seen there. From thence he sailed for *Tyre*, where he was received with all the Respect due to the

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVIII.  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
M. PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

*Justin, B. 33.  
c. 47.  
Livy, B. 33.  
c. 47.  
App. in Syriac.*

91 The three Ambassadors which the Republick sent to *Carthage*, were *Gaius Servilius*, *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*, and *Quintus Terentius Culeo*.

92 *Thapsus* in *Africa*, was a maritime City in *The Byzacene Province*, or the Kingdom of *Tunis*; between *Russa* and *Adrumetum*. It is now buried in its Ruins.

93 The little Island of *Cercina* lies near the Coast of the Kingdom of *Tunis*, not far from *The Little Syrtis*. It is now known by the Name of *Cercara*, or *Cercare*. It could scarce furnish Subsistence for a small Number of Inhabitants.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLVIII.

L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
M. PORCIUS  
CATO, CON-  
suls.

greatest Warrior who had been bred by a Republick which owed its Rise to the Tyrians. But *Hannibal* did not tarry long there. He continued his Journey towards *Antioch*, from whence King *Antiochus* was already gone, towards *Ephesus*. But one of the King of *Syria's* Sons detained him some Days at *Antioch*. The Prince was willing this Great Man should be present at the Festival celebrated near 94 *Daphne*, in Honour to *Apollo* and *Diana*. After the Ceremony, *Hannibal* was in Haste to be gone; and he sailed to *Ephesus*, where he found *Antiochus*. This King was yet wavering between Peace and War: But *Hannibal's* Presence helped much to turn the Scale. The most formidable Enemy *Rome* had, was now come to him; and he could make what Use he pleased, both of the Hands and Head of an Hero, who had very like to have utterly ruined the *Roman* Republick. Besides, the *Ætolians* seemed dissatisfied with *Flamininus*, to whom the Senate had given Power to determine the Fate of *Pharsalia*, *Leucas*, and some other Places claimed by them. They had been disappointed of their Pretensions, and were inclined to favour *Antiochus*. Strong Motives to the *Syrian*, both to declare War, and begin it!

§. XXII. THIS was the Situation of Affairs in *Greece*, when *Flamininus* received Orders to turn his Arms against the Tyrant *Nabis*. This ambitious King had, I know not by what Surprise, got Possession of *Argi*, which the *Romans* had formerly taken from him; and *Flamininus* was particularly enjoined to take this important Place from *Nabis* again, and drive him out of it a second time. But the *Pro Consul* either could not, or would not, attempt this, without the Consent of the Allies of the *Roman* People. He therefore assembled a Diet at *Corinth*, at which the Deputies of all the *Greek* Nations were present. The *Ætolians* themselves came thither, notwithstanding their Discontents. *Flamininus* opened the Assembly in this manner. *In the War we jointly made with Philip, the Romans and Greeks had each their different Interests to pursue. We both had Reason to join in the same Resolutions. But the War we are now going to begin, relates only to you. Greece alone is interested in it. Rome is no farther concerned than to assist her Friends and Allies with her Arms and Councils. Nabis, you know, has taken Possession of Argi. By that means, the Strength of the Tyrant is increased, at the Expence of the publick Liberty. It is you who are attacked; it is your Rights which suffer. And it is therefore your Business to determine, Whether you will leave Peloponnesus in Slavery to a Tyrant, or shake off the Yoke which he imposes upon you. Whatever Part you choose, Rome will acquiesce. Examine then, whether Slavery is preferable to Liberty; and whether the Usurpation of Argi does not endanger all Peloponnesus. As for me, I shall approve of whatever the Majority agree on.* As soon as *Flamininus* had concluded, one of the Deputies of *Athens* assumed the Discourse, and exaggerated the Benefactions of the *Romans*, with that kind of Eloquence which was peculiar to that Nation. *It is not enough,* said he, *for their Republick to deliver Greece from the Slavery to which Philip had reduced it. She now solicites us to free our selves from the Chains of a new Tyrant. Let it not then be said, after this, that Rome had nothing in view in pacifying Greece, but to enslave her! This were an unjust Calumny, which ought never to come out of the Mouth of a Greek.* These last Words were a severe Reflection upon the *Ætolians*; and the Chief of their Deputies, named *Alexander*, was piqued at them. He first inveighed against the *Athenians*, who with their cowardly Flatteries betrayed the common Cause; and then fell on the *Achaïans*, whom he supposed to be the Authors of the War which it was proposed to declare with *Nabis*. *What!* said he, *shall then Achaia, which was so long attached to Philip, set no Bounds to her Desires? Corinth is just surrendered to her; and would she have Argi too? Have We been treated in this manner?* The *Ætolians* joined with the *Romans*, from the first Beginning of the War; and continued faithful to their Confederates, to the Conclusion of the Peace. And they were promised indeed, That all the Cities which had formerly belonged to them, should be restored them, when re-

94 The Citizens of *Antioch* gave the Name of *Daphne*, to one of their Suburbs. Near it was a delicious Grove, on the Banks of the *Orontes*; and in the middle of this Grove, a Temple consecrated to *Apollo* and *Diana*. The Inhabitants, and neighbouring Na-

tions, came thither to celebrate the Festivals instituted in honour to these two Divinities. The Grove, tho' near to the Suburbs, was about forty *Stadia*, or one League and a half from the City itself, according to *Strabo*.



taken from Philip. But has this been performed? Have Echina, Leucas, and Pharus, all Ætolian Cities, been put into the Possession of their old Masters? No; Rome has only given us a vain Shadow of Liberty. Does not she continue Mistress of Chalcis, and Demetrias? Roman Garrisons absolutely govern those Places. But what am I saying? Why does not Flamininus withdraw his Troops from Greece? The War with Nabis, and the Recovery of Argi, are only Pretences, to keep us always subject to the Republick. Let the Romans be gone from hence! Let them suffer us to enjoy the Liberty they have procured for us! And then, the Ætolians will undertake to oblige the King of Lacedæmon to surrender up Argi, either of his own Accord, or by Force. We shall not look on Flamininus as our Deliverer, till he has carried back his Army cross the Seas.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVIII.

L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
M. PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

THIS Discourse of Alexander was thought by the Assembly a very unseasonable Bravado; and Aristæus, the Chief of the Achæans, answered it, in these Words. O Great Jupiter! and you Juno, the Protectress of Argi! will you suffer either the Usurper of Lacedæmon, or the Ætolians, to keep Possession of it? The former is a Tyrant; the latter are Robbers. He has seized Argi, in spite of us; and it would be to our Prejudice, if they were to become Masters of it. These Pyrates would then extend their Piracies to our Countries. What will become of us, if they should establish themselves in the Middle of Peloponnesus! Flamininus, will you suffer it? These Barbarians have nothing that is Grecian, except their Language. They have neither the Heart nor the Politeness of Greeks. We therefore earnestly entreat you, Romans, to take Argi out of the Hands of Nabis; and to settle the Affairs of Greece in such a manner, that we may be absolutely secured from the Enterprizes of the Ætolians. The Deputies of the other Nations said almost the same thing; and the War with Nabis was agreed on, without any Opposition, unless from the Ætolians. The Pro-Consul concluded with a few Words, relating to the Invectives of Alexander. I should answer you, said he, but that I find the Allies are already so much exasperated against you, as to need rather to be appeased than irritated with a longer Discourse. Thus ended the Diet; and the Deputies returned to their respective Cities. Then the Pro-Consul applied himself wholly to getting from each of the Confederate Nations their Contingent, in order to form a great Army; and he even sent to the Ætolians, to engage them to join their Troops with those of the rest of the Confederates. But they refused; and their Refusal rendered them very odious to the rest of Greece, and confirmed the Romans in the Suspicions they had entertained of them.

Livy, B. 34.  
c. 24.

Livy, ibid.

§. XXIII. WHEN all things were got ready, Flamininus marched his Legions from Elatia, where they were encamped. Doubtless Antiochus was informed at Ephesus, of the Preparations the Pro-Consul was making for a new War. And perhaps he was afraid that the Forces of the Romans and Greeks would come and fall upon his Son Seleucus, who was busy in rebuilding Lysimachia, in Thrace. But be that as it will, he sent Deputies to Flamininus, to propose an Alliance to him. The Pro-Consul, however, was too wise to enter into Engagements with a King, whose Artifices he dreaded. He answered the Envoys, That his Power was expired, since the Departure of the ten Plenipotentiaries; and That if their Master would treat with his Republick, he might send an Embassy to Rome, where the Senate would examine his Proposals. In the mean time, these Conferences did not delay the March of the Legions a Moment. They advanced towards Argi, to besiege it; and in their March, they were joined by a Reinforcement of ten thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse, commanded by Aristæus the Prætor of Achæia. The Achæans furnished most Troops in this War, because all the Conquests were to be given up to them, and Rome was only fighting their Battels. These united Forces encamped together; entered the Country of the Argians together; and at length arrived within four Miles of Argi. This City was strong and defended by a numerous Garrison. It was guarded by two Citadels, which flanked it on two Sides. But after all, nothing contributed so much to the Difficulty of taking it, as the Ability of the Governour, who commanded in it. This was Pythagoras, Son-in-law to the Tyrant Nabis, Brother to the Queen his Wife, and the best Soldier the King of Lacedæmon had in his Dominions. Nevertheless, at the Approaches of Flamininus, and the Sight of his Army, he was seized with Dread. Besides the vast Compass of Walls he had to defend, Pythagoras had some



Year of  
ROM E  
DLVIII.  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
M. PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

Reason to fear intestine Seditions. The *Argians* in general were impatient under the Yoke of the Tyrant *Nabis*, and sighed for Liberty. This appeared by the Step taken by a young Citizen named *Damocles*. He, as imprudent as zealous for recovering the Liberty of his Country, had sworn to drive out *Pythagoras* and his Garrison. Then he communicated his Design to his Friends, one of which betrayed him. He was immediately cited to appear before the Governour; and knew that his Death was certain. He therefore chose rather to be killed Sword in hand, than to die by the Hands of the publick Executioner. He ran, like a Madman, into the midst of the Market-place, crying out, *Argians, if you have yet any Love for Liberty, follow me!* But the Madman cried out in vain. There did not appear to be any Measures taken for a general Revolt; and *Damocles* was abandoned to the Vengeance of *Pythagoras*, who caused him to be cut in pieces. Some of his Accomplices underwent the same Fate; some were shut up in Prisons; and the rest escaped out of the City, by the help of Cords, with which they let themselves down the Walls in the Night. These Fugitives retired to the *Roman Camp*; and *Flaminius* examined them concerning the Condition of the Place. They informed him, That if his Camp had been nearer to the City, the Sedition would have succeeded. And the *Pro-Consul* therefore ordered some of his Cavalry and Infantry to advance to a Place called *Cylabaris*, where the *Argian* Youth used to exercise themselves in Wrestling and Boxing. This *Gymnasium* was no more than three hundred Paces from the Walls; and was guarded; but *Pythagoras's* Soldiers made but a slight Resistance. They were put to Flight; and the *Pro-Consul* came and encamped his whole Army at *Cylabaris*. There, *Flaminius* spent a whole Day, in watching for a new Insurrection in the City. But all was quiet there. He therefore called a Council of the Allies, to deliberate whether it was best to besiege *Argi* in form, or to fall on *Lacedæmon*, in order to surprize *Nabis* in his Capital. All, except *Aristæus*, who would have found his Account in subduing *Argi*, were for going directly to *Lacedæmon*. There, said they, is the Source of the Evil. The Tyrant's Head ought to be crushed. The *Pro-Consul* heard the Remonstrances of *Aristæus* with Patience; but concluded, That since the whole Design of the War was to deliver *Argi*, they ought to attack her Ufurper. I will hasten to *Lacedæmon*, said he, and level all my Aim at the Tyrant himself. Then he immediately sent his Troops to lay waste the Country round *Argi*, which was all left desolate, and nothing remained for the Subsistence of *Pythagoras's* Garrison. In the mean time, the *Pro-Consul* was advancing towards *Lacedæmon*, and had already crossed Mount <sup>95</sup> *Parthenius*. He had passed by <sup>96</sup> *Tegea*, and was arrived on the Confines of *Arcadia*, at a Town called <sup>97</sup> *Caryæ*; where he encamped for some Days, before he entered the Territory of *Lacedæmon*. All the Allies were not yet assembled; nor were the Provisions which the Confederate Cities were to furnish, all arrived. *Flaminius* waited for them. But at length the Auxiliaries arrived from all Parts. Even *Philip* sent fifteen hundred

<sup>95</sup> Mount *Parthenius* bordered upon *Arcadia* and *Argolis*. It is supposed to have been so called because a Number of Virgins, called in *Greek* *παρθέναι*, *Parthenoi*, assembled there to offer Sacrifices to *Minerva*, to whom the *Greeks* gave the Surname of *Parthenos*. The *Athenians* erected a Temple to this Goddess, and called it *Parthenon*.

<sup>96</sup> *Tegea*, a City of *Arcadia*, situated on the Frontiers of *Argolis*, near the River *Eurotas*, is now nothing but a Castle, called by the Natives *Muchli*, according to *Niger* and *Chalcondyles*.

<sup>97</sup> *Sanson* and *Laurembergue* place the Town of *Caryæ* in the Territory of *Lacedæmon*. Nevertheless, *Livy* seems to bring it near the Frontiers of *Arcadia*. According to the latter, *Quinctius* encamped his Army there, before he entered *Laconia*.

From the Name of the City of *Caryæ*, the ancient Architects borrow the Term *Caryatides*; by which they mean certain Figures of Women placed like Pillars, (in the *Ionic Order*), to support an *Entablature*, or the Projections of a Cornish. *Vitruvius* ascribes the Origin of the *Caryatides* to the Ruin of the Inhabitants of *Caryæ*. The *Caryates*, says he, entered into a League with the *Persians*, against

their own Nation; that is, against the other People of *Greece*. And when the *Greeks* were victorious over so formidable a Power, they united their Forces against the Traitors; and spread Fire and Desolation in the Territory of *Caryæ*. The City was besieged, and taken by Assault. The Conquerors reduced it to Ashes, after they had killed all the Men without Exception. The Women and Children were made Slaves. And to perpetuate the Memory of their Triumph, and their Revenge, the *Greeks* made Figures in their publick Buildings which represented these wretched Captives, who seemed to groan under the heavy Burdens with which they were loaded, as a Punishment for the Crime of their Husbands.

To which we shall add, by the by, That the *Persian* Order had much the same Origin. *Pausanias* had beaten the *Persians*; and the People of *Lacedæmon*, in order to perpetuate the Shame of the Vanquished, made Statues resembling these *Persians*, and set them in the Posture of Slaves ready to sink under the Weight of the Buildings which they supported.



of his *Macedonians*, to serve in the Army of his Conqueror. And great Numbers of those *Lacedæmonian* Exiles whom three successive Tyrants had obliged to leave their native City, within these twenty Years, daily arrived in the *Pro-Consul's* Camp. After the Death of *Cleomenes*, the last of the *Spartan* Kings, one *Lycurgus* had got himself to be elected King, by Violence, or Bribery. *Machanidas* had succeeded this *Lycurgus*; and *Nabis* now illegally retained a Crown which he had usurped from the old Royal Family to which it belonged. There was yet one Descendant of that Family left, in the Person of *Agessipolis*. This young Prince had been driven from the Throne of his Ancestors, and out of his native Country, in his Infancy, by *Lycurgus*, the first of the Usurpers. And now, *Agessipolis* conceived Hopes, that the *Romans* would be so equitable as to reinstate him in a Throne which belonged to him, by Right of Blood, and by the Laws of his Country. *Flamininus* received with Joy, the illustrious Company of *Lacedæmonians*, whom the Tyrants had forced to leave their native Country: And every thing was now ready for an Attempt upon *Lacedæmon*. *L. Quinctius*, the *Pro-Consul's* Brother, and Admiral of the *Roman* Fleet, appeared with forty Ships of War, on the *Lacedæmonian* Coasts. Eighteen *Rhodian* Gallies had joined those of *Quinctius*; and ten others were expected, under the Command of *Eumenes*, the Son of *Attalus*. They had been seen near the *Cyclades*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVIII.

L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
M. PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.  
Polyb. B. 4.  
c. 81.

§. XXIV. It is not to be doubted, that all these Sea and Land Forces filled the Tyrant *Nabis* with Terror; but nevertheless, they did not discourage him. He brought a thousand more Soldiers from *Crete*, to join the *Cretans* he already had; and raised three thousand Mercenaries, among the neighbouring Nations. These Reinforcements included, he had in his Army ten thousand of his Countrymen; to whom he added a Militia of Peasants, whom he assembled from all the Towns in his Dominions. Then he fortified his Capital with all Diligence; surrounded it with a large Ditch, and repaired the Breaches. All that remained for him to do, was to guard against Seditions. An Usurper has always Reason to fear some of his Subjects; and *Nabis's* Oppression increased his Anxieties. But he thought of such an Expedient to rid himself of them, as became a Man of his Character. He ordered a Review of his Troops, in a Field called *Dromos*, in the Language of the Natives, because the *Lacedæmonian* Youth used to run Races in it. All were summoned to appear there under Arms. One single Company, in whom the Tyrant could confide, were ordered to surround the *Dromos*, and come well armed; and then he addressed himself to the People assembled, in this manner. *These are critical Times. You must therefore pardon my just Suspicions, and well grounded Fears; and excuse my taking such Precautions as I think necessary. I had rather deprive the Persons I suspect of an Opportunity to commit a Crime, than punish them for it. I will therefore keep some of you in Prison, till the present Tempest which threatens us is blown over. A Calm will soon return, if intestine Seditions don't increase the Storm; and then the Prisoners shall be released.*

Liv. B. 34.  
c. 27.

THIS said, he repeated the Names of fourscore young Men of the principal Nobility; and they were dragged to Prisons as fast as they were named. Nor was this all *Nabis* did. The next Night he ordered all their Throats to be cut. Some 98 *Ilote* (which was the Name the *Lacedæmonians* gave their Peasants) were suspected of an Inclination to desert; and *Nabis* ordered them to be whipped thro' all the Streets in the City, and then put to Death. Thus the Tyrant extorted by Fear, an Obedience which would not have been paid him out of Affection. And as he durst not appear in the open Field, he shut himself up in *Lacedæmon*, where he had a Garrison strong enough to make Sallics on the Besiegers.

98 The *Ilote*, according to *Strabo*, came originally from a little Country of *Laconia*. They preserved their Independence till the Reign of *Agis* King of *Sparta*, who forced them to pay Tribute to the *Lacedæmonians*. Most of them submitted to the Will of the Conqueror, except the Inhabitants of the City of *Helos*. These revolted, and ran to Arms, to shake off the Yoke which was going to be imposed upon them. But the *Lacedæmonians* were vic-

torious; and the *Ilote* were punished for their Rebellion. They and their Posterity were condemned to perpetual Slavery, and to labour in the Fields, without Hope of Redemption. The Race of them continued till *Augustus's* Reign, who at last restored them their Liberty. And they then took the Name of *Eleuthero-Lacones*, in Memory of the Recovery of their Freedom.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLVIII.  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
M. PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

§. XXV. IN the mean time, *Flamininus* advanced towards the Capital; and drew near to <sup>99</sup> *Sellasia*, on the Banks of the <sup>100</sup> *Oenus*, where there was a very difficult Pass. The *Roman* Army therefore marched round the Mountains, and arrived on the Banks of the <sup>101</sup> *Eurotas*, a River which washed the Walls of *Lacedæmon*. The *Roman* General marched before, with a Detachment of light-armed Cavalry and Infantry; and whilst he was busy in pitching his Camp, the auxiliary Troops of the Tyrant sallied out of the Place on a sudden, fell on the Workmen, and put them into Disorder. Then the *Legions* which followed instantly appeared in Order of Battel, and fell on the Aggressors; who were as precipitate in their Flight, as they had been warm in pursuing the *Romans*. Then *Flamininus* made his Army halt for some time, out of the Reach of the Enemy's Darts. The latter attempted to make no more Sallies; and the *Romans* retired into their Camp; but not to continue long there. The *Pro-Consul* did not pretend to attack the Town in the Place where he at first appeared. He decamped the very next Day, and keeping the River on one Side of him, and Mount *Menelæus* <sup>102</sup> on the other, he marched along by the City, through a narrow road. His Army filed off in good Order. The *Legions* were the Advanced Guard, and the light-armed Soldiers, supported by the Cavalry, closed the Rear. The Lieutenant-General, *Appius Claudius*, who commanded the Rear-Guard, fully expected that *Nabis* would attack him behind, and had prepared his Troop for facing about to the Enemy, in case of any such Accident. Accordingly, the Tyrant thought the Opportunity too good a one to be lost; and ordered his Mercenaries to make a Sally, and attack the *Romans* behind. The latter instantly faced about, and the Battel was fought, as in a Plain. After a pretty vigorous Attack, the Mercenaries of *Nabis* gave way; yet they were the Body in which the Tyrant placed all his Confidence. He depended more on them, than on his own Subjects. They would, however, have made a good Retreat, if the *Acheans*, who were acquainted with the Country, had not seized the narrow Passes. But the latter made a terrible Slaughter of the Fugitives. At length, *Flamininus* brought his Army near *Amyclæ* <sup>103</sup>, a little City very near *Lacedæmon*; and there he pitched his Camp, at the Foot of Mount <sup>104</sup> *Taygetos*. The charming Valley which reaches from this Mountain to the *Eurotas*, lay at the Mercy of the *Romans*; and the *Lacedæmonians* suffered them to lay it waste, without making any Sally. On the other hand, *Flamininus* continued unactive for some time; waiting for the Success of the Expeditions his Brother *Quinctius* had begun, on the Coasts of *Laconia*; that is, the Country of the *Lacedæmonians*. This *Roman* Admiral had already seized some Towns on the Sea-Coast; and he thought <sup>105</sup> *Gythium* a Conquest of more Importance. This was a strong City, which might be called the Port of *Lacedæmon*, and the Receptacle of all its Riches. And *Flamininus's* Camp was not so far from it, but *Quinctius* might receive Succours from thence, if there should be

<sup>99</sup> The City of *Sellasia* belonged to the *Lacedæmonian* State. It was famous for the Defeat of the Tyrant *Cleomenes*, the last King of *Sparta*.

<sup>100</sup> The River *Oenus* watered *Laconia*, and the Territory of *Sparta*. *Stephen of Byzantium* gives the same Name to a little City in this Country.

<sup>101</sup> The River *Eurotas* rises near Mount *Stymphalos*, now Mount *Poglisi*, in *Arcadia*, near the Place where the River *Alpheus* rose. It crosses old *Laconia*, and waters the City of *Sparta*, from whence it runs into *The Laconic Gulph*. The Ancients gave it several Names. It was indifferently called *Ægyledes*, *Neris*, *Hemerus*, *Marathon*, and *Galefus*. *Niger* calls it *Iris*. According to others, it is known in the Country by the Name of *Basilipotamo*, or *The Royal River*. But this great Name does not very well agree with a little River, which is scarce navigable at the Mouth of it.

<sup>102</sup> The Name of *Menelæus*, was given both to a Mountain of *Arcadia*, on the Confines of *Laconia*; and to a little Country in that Neighbourhood, which *Polybius* mentions.

<sup>103</sup> *Amyclæ* stood on the East Bank of the *Eurotas*, a little below *Lacedæmon*, and near Mount *Taygetos*. Therefore this City was also called by the same Name as the Mountain. Some of the Anci-

ents call it *Limnæ*. It was famous for the Birth of *Castor* and *Pollux*. *Pausanias* speaks of a famous Temple, which the Inhabitants consecrated to *Apollo*. *Niger* calls it *Vordona*.

<sup>104</sup> Mount *Taygetos* reached into *Laconia*, above *Tenarus*, at a little Distance from the Sea. The Natives now call it *Maina*. It was consecrated to *Castor* and *Pollux*, according to *Homer*; and to *Bacchus*, according to *Servius*. It took different Names, from its several Branches. *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pausanias*, *Ælian*, *Plutarch*, *Pliny*, and *Cicero* tell us, that formerly a great Rock was broken off from this Mountain by an Earthquake, and destroyed the City of *Lacedæmon*. Twenty thousand of the Inhabitants were buried alive, or crushed to pieces, in the Ruins of the Houses.

<sup>105</sup> The City of *Gythium*, was formerly a Sort of Port and Arsenal to *Lacedæmon*, from which it was distant about thirty *Stadia*; that is, three thousand seven hundred and fifty Geometrical Paces; to the South. It is now only a Village which the *Greeks* call *Paleopoli*. *Pliny* tells us, it gave its Name to *The Laconic Gulph*. It stood on the same Shore, near the Mouth of the *Eurotas*. It was there that *Tolmides* the *Albanian* General burnt the Ships of the *Lacedæmonians*.

Occasion;



Occasion; which was the Admiral's chief Motive to begin the Siege. But after all, *Gythium* was well fortified, and defended by a large Garrison. However, the Squadrons of King *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, came very opportunely, to invest the Place. *Quinctius* landed his Marines, Seamen, and even the Rowers of his Fleet; carried ashore all the Machines necessary for a Siege; advanced with his *Mantelets* and *Covered Galleries*; and battered the Walls with *The Ram*. One of the Towers was already thrown down, and with its Fall had demolished a Part of the *Courtine*; so that there was a considerable Breach made. Then the *Romans* endeavoured to mount it; and, to make a Diversion, ordered a second Attack to be made at one of the Gates of the City. Upon this, the Terror of the Besieged was so great, that one of the *Lacedæmonian* Generals, named *Dexagoridas*, sent an Herald to the *Roman* General, to capitulate. But this *Lacedæmonian* was not absolute Master of the Place; one *Gorgopas* had an equal Share of Power with him; and the latter caused his Collegue to be murdered, and alone sustained the Attacks of the *Romans*. Nay, it was even observed, that when he was sole Governour, the Besieged made a more vigorous Resistance than before, and the Aggressors were often repulsed.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVIII.  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS, M.  
PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

So that *Quinctius* despaired of taking *Gythium*, when *Flaminius* appeared in Person, at the Head of four thousand chosen Men. The *Pro-Consul's* Camp was within Reach; and he came very seasonably to support his Brother. As soon as *Flaminius* appeared on an Eminence, with his four thousand Men drawn up in Battalia, *Gorgopas* himself sunk into Despair. He then thought himself obliged to capitulate, and to accept worse Terms than those for which he had killed his Collegue. Strange Caprice! a Fit of Zeal often makes Men punish others for what they themselves are forced by Necessity to do.

THE Surrendry of *Gythium* broke *Nabis's* Measures, in *Lacedæmon*. He had brought from *Argi* his Son-in-law *Pythagoras*, who was the bravest and most prudent Officer in all his Troops; and both were of Opinion, that it was best to sue to the *Roman* General for a Peace. The Tyrant had almost all his Dominions taken from him, except his Capital, and the City of *Argi*, where *Pythagoras* had left a Garrison of three thousand Men, under the Command of a *Pellenian*, named *Timocrates*. The best Measures therefore that could be taken, were to save the Remains of his usurped Territories. With this View, *Nabis* sent to *Flaminius's* Camp one of those Messengers of Peace, who were called *Caduceatores*. His Business was only to demand an Interview between the King of *Lacedæmon* and the *Roman Pro-Consul*. The latter would give no Answer, till he had called a Council of the Allies. But they being all unanimous that this Request might be granted, since it would leave all the Blame on the Tyrant, if they did not agree; the Day and Place were fixed, for a Conference.

§.XXVI. THERE was a Plain between *Lacedæmon* and the *Roman* Camp, in which were several little Hills. On one of these Eminencies the King appeared, and on another, the *Pro-Consul*; each having only a small Train of Attendants. *Nabis* had only Part of his Guards with him; and only King *Eumenes*, *Sosilaus* the Head of the *Rhodians*, *Aristæus* the General of the *Achæans*, and a few of his Tribunes, accompanied the *Pro-Consul*. When they were met, the *Pro-Consul* gave *Nabis* Leave to speak first; and the Tyrant began thus. *If I could have found out the Reasons which made you take up Arms against me, I would have waited for my Destiny in Silence; and if I must perish, let me at least know, what it is that causes my Ruin. Indeed if I was contending with Carthaginians, who know no Rule of Equity but their Ambition, I should not be surprized at their Proceedings against me. But I see at the Head of my Enemies, Romans; Men of strict Probity, who keep Conventions, and observe the Faith of Treaties with a religious Regard. What then is my Crime? Is it my having entered into the general Confederacy of the Greeks, with the Romans, against King Philip? Is it that I violated my Engagements, by receiving of the King of Macedon the City of Argi, which he offered me? This were a vain Accusation. The Thing itself, and the Circumstances of the Time, acquit me of all Blame in that Particular. I neither got Possession of Argi, by Violence, or Artifice. I was in Alliance with Philip, at the Time he gave it up to me. Since I have been Master of it, I have indeed entered into Engagements with you. But upon what Terms? Upon Condition that I should abandon*

Liv. B. 34.  
c. 31.



Year of Argi? No. But that I should furnish my Contingent of Troops, to continue the  
 R O M E War with Philip. I have done so; and you are now come to punish me for it. As  
 DLVIII. to the main Point then of the Detention of Argi, I am perfectly innocent. Some  
 L. VALERIUS say I am a Tyrant. But what Reason have they to complain of my Administra-  
 FLACCUS, M. tion? Others complain, that I have beaten off the Chains of many Slaves, and  
 PORCIUS distributed the Lacedæmonian Fields among the Citizens of Lacedæmon, with a  
 CATO, Con- perfect Equality. But this is a frivolous Charge. And as to any thing else, I can-  
 suls. not believe that Flaminius would reproach me with seizing a Throne, which did  
 not belong to me; because I am in no other Condition now, than I was when Rome  
 made an Alliance with me. She gave me the Title of King; and can she now only  
 allow me that of an Usurper? This were an Inconstancy unworthy of the Roman  
 Name. And as to the many Slaves I enfranchised, and the equal Distribution I  
 made of the Lands, these were Edicts, which I had passed, before I entered into an  
 Alliance with you. Did you then judge me unworthy of it? Besides, how are you  
 concerned in the two Laws, which I thought very proper for my Kingdom? Every  
 Nation governs itself by different Maxims. At Rome, Riches are the Measure of  
 Honour and Distinction. A Man cannot be a Roman Knight, till he has <sup>106</sup> such  
 an Income. At Lacedæmon, our Lawgivers have settled other Customs. We have  
 thought that an Equality of Condition, would tend most to the publick Good; and  
 that the King would be best served, if there were no Preheminence or Distinction  
 among his Subjects. So that I have only put our Laws in execution. I have placed  
 Slaves on the same Level with the free Citizens of Lacedæmon; and divided the  
 Lands equally among them all. This is my Crime; this my pretended Tyranny! If  
 I am not very Laconick, in my Address to you, (a Method of speaking much esteemed  
 among us,) the Desire of justifying my self before you, is my only Motive to neglect  
 it. However, I shall conclude with observing, in two Words, that since my Alliance with  
 you, I have not done any thing that can render me unworthy of it. This Discourse of  
 Nabis was full of Artifice, and suitable to the Genius of his Nation. Flaminius  
 answered it in these Words. In vain, Nabis, do you take Advantage of your Al-  
 liance with Rome. We never treated with you; but with Pelops <sup>107</sup>, the unfortu-  
 nate Son of Lycurgus, whose Throne the Tyrants have invaded. Did it become us  
 to enter into a League with such an Usurper as Nabis? The only Design of Rome  
 in bringing her Armies into Greece, was to banish Tyranny. This Philip has found  
 to his Cost. But after all, was he as unjust a Tyrant as you? I don't speak of Argi,  
 which you have invaded, either by Violence, or by the Cession of another, it matters  
 not which; but of Lacedæmon itself. You there keep Possession of a Crown which  
 does not belong to you; and in the Scheme which we have formed, to deliver all  
 Greece from all her Tyrants, the Lacedæmonians ought to have the first Place. I  
 therefore come to reinstate them in their former Liberties. Shall we have forced

<sup>106</sup> In order to be a Roman Knight, a Man must have been worth at least, four hundred thousand Sesterces, which make about fifty thousand French Livres. This Law was certainly founded in good Policy. The only Design the Romans could have in it, was to prevent the Abuses that Poverty in a high Station produces. It was to be feared, that a poor Roman Knight would dishonour himself, and his Order, by supplying his Wants by shameful Methods. Besides, it was a Guard against the common Profuseness of Men of distinguished Rank. Spend-thrifts became more frugal, lest they should be deprived of their Dignity. Whatever Turnebius, and some Moderns after him, may say to the contrary, the Republick required, that a Roman Knight should be worth at least four hundred thousand Sesterces, in Estate or Effects only, and not so much yearly. We need no other Proof of it, than this Passage of Pliny the Younger's Epistle to Firmus. *Esse autem tibi centum millia censum satis indicat, quod apud nos Decurio es. Igitur ut te non Decurione solum, verum etiam Equite Romano persruamur, offero tibi, ad implendas equestres facultates, trecenta millia nummum.* It is certain, says he, that you are worth an hundred thousand Sesterces, since you are a Decurion in our Province; and in order to make that a Knight's

Estate, I offer you three hundred thousand Sesterces more. If, as some Criticks pretend, the Laws required that a Man should have four hundred thousand Sesterces per Annum, before he could be made a Roman Knight, it will follow, that Pliny must have offered his Friend Firmus a Present of above thirty six thousand Livres a Year. Which does not seem at all probable. Besides, the Census of a Knight or a Senator was the same, as of any other Citizen. And by the Word Census, the Ancients always mean the Estimate or Valuation that was made of every Man's Estate by the Censors. And lastly, the Law of the Census, for Senators and Knights, was designed only to provide, that every Man should have enough to support him, according to his Dignity. Now in order to this, it was not necessary that the latter should have four hundred thousand Sesterces a Year, and the former twice as much. See Vol. 3. where we have explained all the Particulars that relate to the Senate of old Rome.

<sup>107</sup> Pelops was the Son of Lycurgus, one of the last Kings of Lacedæmon. He did not long survive his Father. He was but young, when the Tyrant Nabis murdered him, in order to usurp a Crown, which by Law, and Inheritance, belonged to this young Prince.



*the Macedonian Garrisons to leave Jassos and Bargylia; and shall we not rescue Argi and Lacedæmon from Slavery? Shall we leave two of the most flourishing Cities in the Universe in the Hands of an Usurper? This would be to spoil the good Work we have begun. It would be to bring a Reproach on ourselves. You may indeed pretend, that Argi surrendered voluntarily to Philip, and that you only succeed to his Rights. But don't we know, that the Macedonian seized it, through the Treachery of two or three Argians, and contrary to the Inclinations of the rest of the Inhabitants? Nay, had you yourself the Consent of the Commons, when you got Possession of it? But suppose Philip had a just Right, have we not delivered Thesfaly, Phocis, and the Country of the Locri, out of the Slavery in which he kept them? And shall Argi be the only Place, which shall not share the common Good? You indeed pretend, that none can reproach you with any thing, but your new Distribution of Lands, and the vast Multitude of Slaves you have set at Liberty. And it is true, that you have put the vilest of the Populace on a Level with the most illustrious Lacedæmonians; which is a great Crime. But is this to be compared with the Barbarities and Violences you daily commit upon your Subjects? If you would know all the Particulars of them, call Assemblies of the Argians and Lacedæmonians, and give them full Liberty of Speech. The Argians will then tell you, that your Son-in-Law Pythagoras, has cruelly massacred a good Number of their Inhabitants, almost in my sight. The Lacedæmonians will desire you to restore them those fine Youths you have so lately murdered there. If you deny it, produce them. Bring them out of the Prisons, where they were to be kept, only for a time. But you will say, what have the Romans to do with my Conduct? Nothing more, Nabis, than to set Greece at Liberty, and deliver her from her Tyrants. This was the Design which has made us cross the Seas, exhaust our Treasures, and liberally spill our Blood. And if after all, you will again reply, that you have not, strictly speaking, broke your Alliance with Rome; this is a vain Illusion. I could reproach you with numberless Breaches of Faith. But to include all in two Words; was it not double Perfidy, to commit Hostilities against our Allies, and to join with our Enemies? And have not you done both? You have seized Messene<sup>108</sup>, a City in Confederacy with us; and you have entered into a Correspondence with Philip, by his Minister Philocles. You have infested the Seas of Malea<sup>109</sup> with your Piracies, and spilt almost as much Roman Blood there, as Philip did on the Continent. Pretend not then to take Advantage of the Appellation of an Ally; you have abused and despised it. The soft Terms you use, ill become you. Assume the Air and Tone of a Tyrant; and you will be more in Character. At these Words Confusion appeared in Nabis's Face; and Aristænus exhorted, nay, entreated him, to save his Life and Estate, by a ready Abdication. He quoted to him the Examples of many Tyrants, who had executed Justice on themselves; and had spent the rest of their Days, with more Glory, and Tranquillity in a private Life, than they could have done on an usurped Throne. The whole Day was spent in these Conferences, without coming to any Conclusion. The next Morning they were renewed, and then Nabis made some Proposals for a Peace. He consented to give up Argi, withdraw his Garrison from thence, and restore the Allies all their Deserters. To which he added, that if the Pro-Consul had any other Pretensions, they should be given him in writing, that he might consult with his Friends about them: And thus ended the Interview.*

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVIII.  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS, M.  
PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

<sup>108</sup> The City of *Messene* was one of the largest and most powerful Cities in *Peloponnesus*. It was the Capital of a Province, which from it was called *Messenia*, a Country famous in Story, for the long and bloody Wars it maintained with *Lacedæmon*. But at last, the *Messenians* were overcome and oppressed by the *Lacedæmonians*, and long groaned under the Yoke of a severe Bondage. Inasmuch, that to say a Man was a greater Slave than a *Messenian*, was a proverbial Expression to signify, that a Man was not his own Master, but a servile Dependent on another. *Messene* is now remarkable only for its Antiquity. The Natives of the Country call it *Meseniga*. It is now a little City on the Coast of *The Messenian Gulph*, or *The Gulph of Coron*,

or in the Language of the Seamen, *The Gulph of Calamata*. It is so called from neighbouring Cities of those Names.

<sup>109</sup> The Name of *Malea* was formerly given to a Promontory of *Peloponnesus*, on the Western Coast of old *Laconia*. It runs out into the *Ægean Sea*, and divides *The Laconic* from *The Argolic Gulph*. The former of these Gulphs is that which the *Italians* most commonly call *Il Golfo di Castel Rampani*, and not *Golfo di Colochina*, as *Briet* pretends. The second is the same with *The Gulph of Napoli di Romagna*. The Promontory is now known by the Name of *Capo Malio*, according to *Sophian*; or *Capo Malio di Sant Angelo*, according to *Father Briet*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLVIII.  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS, M.  
PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

§. XXVII. As soon as *Flamininus* returned to his Camp, he assembled the Chiefs of his Confederates; and the greatest part of them were for pursuing *Nabis* to the last Extremity. *Greece*, said they, *will never enjoy Peace, or a perfect Liberty, till the Tyrant of Lacedæmon, either has abdicated, or is destroyed. It had been better never to have declared War with him, than to finish it without this Catastrophe. Nabis will think himself authorised by the Peace, to detain a Crown, which shall be left in his Possession. The imperfect Judgment of the Romans will confirm his Right; and many little Tyrants, will think themselves allowed, by this Example, to usurp the Sovereignty in their respective Countries.* But the *Pro-Consul* had quite other Views. He wanted to finish the Affair with *Nabis*, and return to *Rome*, with the Glory of having completed the Deliverance of all *Greece*. He, like *Scipio*, was afraid, lest a Successor should come and rob him of the Honour of finishing the Affair he had begun. Nevertheless, it was not to be concluded, in a forcible Way, without reducing *Lacedæmon*; and *Flamininus* therefore represented to the Allies, the Condition of the Place, and the Difficulty of the Enterprize, in these Words. *We have, said he, already endured many Fatigues, for a great while together, not in taking Gythium by Force, but only in obliging it to surrender. And yet Gythium is nothing in Comparison of Lacedæmon. How much Blood must yet be spilt, how much Money spent, if we will reduce this Capital? We had great Reason to expect an Insurrection in the City against the Tyrant, and therefore drew near to it. But we don't find the least Commotion there. Besides, I know that Antiochus threatens us with a speedy War. He is already come into Europe, with Sea and Land-Forces; and is more formidable than ever. What Troops then shall we have to send against him, if we employ them before Lacedæmon? But these Reasons did not in the least move the Allies. They still insisted on pursuing the Siege of Lacedæmon, and destroying Nabis. And then the Pro-Consul shewed his Address, and his Skill in the Art of Dissimulation. He pretended to come over to their Opinion. Since it is your Desire, said he, let us besiege Lacedæmon. But let us take proper Measures, and make due Preparations, for so long a Siege. We shall be forced to spend the Winter here. Let me then only exhort you to arm yourselves with Constancy enough to support the Hardships of the Season. Great Sums of Money will also be wanted for building Machines, particularly erecting Moveable Towers, and furnishing them with Ballistæ and Catapultæ. Not to mention Provisions, great Convoys of which must be continually coming hither. Write therefore to your respective Cities, and enquire how much each is able to supply. As for Troops, we have enough. But the more numerous our Army is, the greater Quantities of Provisions will be wanted. Make haste. Winter approaches; and the Badness of the Roads, will make Carriage the more difficult.* At these Words, the Chiefs of the Confederacy looked steddily on one another, and held their Peace. Every one was afraid of alienating the Minds of his People from him, by the Taxes, that it would be necessary to lay upon them. The more free each City was, the greater was the Difficulty of bringing the whole Body to be unanimous. The Deputies feared the Murmurs of those, whom they had left at Home, and who only contributed their Money towards carrying on the War. Most of these petty Nations were impoverished by the Wars; and the *Greeks* were not of a liberal Temper. So that the Ardour of the Chiefs for the Siege, instantly began to cool. In short, they all agreed to leave the *Roman General* at full Liberty, to suspend, or carry on the Operations of the Campaign, as he pleased.

Thus *Flamininus* was more authorized than ever, to settle a Peace; and he called for *Nabis's* Ambassadors, and proposed to them the following Terms as the Conditions of it. 1. *There shall be a six Months Truce, between the Romans, King Eumenes, and the rest of the confederate Greeks, on the one Hand; and the King of Lacedæmon, on the other.* 2. *In this Interval, Nabis and Flamininus shall send Deputies to Rome, to get the Treaty ratified there.* 3. *The Truce shall take Place, from the Day, that Nabis signs the Articles.* 4. *In a Fortnight after that Day, Nabis shall evacuate Argi, in order to put it into the Hands of the Romans; and no Slave shall be taken away from thence, till his Master is first paid the Value of him.* 5. *Nabis shall restore all the Ships taken from the maritime Cities of the Allies; shall not equip more than two Brigantines for his own Use, and those only of sixteen*

Livy, B. 34.  
c. 34.

Livy, *ibid.*



sixteen Oars each; shall restore the Romans, and the other Confederates, all the Deserters and Prisoners of each Nation; and shall deliver up to the Messenians in particular, all the Booty he has taken from them, which shall be any where to be found. 6. Nabis shall restore to the Lacedæmonian Exiles, their Effects, and such of their Wives and Children, as shall be willing to follow them; but none of the Women shall be forced to go into Banishment with them. 7. The Romans and their Allies shall bona fide surrender up to the Lacedæmonians, all their Mercenaries, which have taken Refuge among them. 8. The Lacedæmonians shall not keep Possession of any of their Towns in the Island of Crete, but surrender them all up to the Romans; and shall not keep up any Correspondence with the Cretans, or make War in their Country. 9. Nabis shall immediately evacuate the Cities, which he is to surrender up to the Romans, or which have voluntarily delivered themselves up into their Hands; and shall make no further Attempts on their Liberty. 10. Nabis shall not for the future, erect any Cities or Castles, in the Territories of another; or even, in his own. 11. He shall give the Pro-Consul any five Hostages he shall choose, as Pledges of his Fidelity; of whom his own Son shall be one. And lastly, he shall pay down a hundred Talents <sup>110</sup> immediately; and fifty more, in equal Payments, in the Space of eight Years.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVIII.  
L VALERIUS  
FLACCUS, M.  
PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

§. XXVIII. THESE were hard Conditions; nevertheless *Flamininus*, when he proposed them, was extremely desirous of having them accepted. He was very impatient to leave *Greece*, and return to *Rome*. The Reputation of *Philopæmenes* began to eclipse his. This *Philopæmenes*, then Captain-General of the *Achaian* Troops, shared at least the Glory of these Expeditions with the *Pro-Consul*. Nay, the illustrious *Greek* seemed even to excel the *Roman*, in point of Valour, and Knowledge in the Art of War. He was born at <sup>111</sup> *Megalopolis* in *Achaia*, to which his native City belonged. In the several Wars the *Achaians* carried on with their Neighbours, before *Flamininus* came into *Greece*, *Philopæmenes* had all along distinguished himself by his Courage, and Conduct, in the Command of Armies. He had from his Infancy studied an Art, which the *Greeks* called <sup>112</sup> *The Tactick Art*, and of which they were the Inventors. No one understood better than *Philopæmenes*, how to draw up an Army, seize advantageous Posts, suit his Dispositions to his Ground, order Evolutions at a proper time, and in a regular manner, make an Attack seasonably, or judge of the critical time for a Retreat. This great Man, was looked on as the Reformer of military Discipline, in *Achaia*. He had changed both the offensive and defensive Arms used there. He had taught the *Achaians* a new way of forming themselves; had inured them to fighting pitched Battels; and above all, had made their Cavalry in a manner invincible. Nothing was ever better judged, than the Motions he taught them, whether they were instantly to fall off from the Front to the Rear, or to feign a Flight, in order to return unexpectedly on the Enemy, or to rally after an Onset. And *Philopæmenes* was no less able in point of Practice, than in Theory. He had fought many Battels, and had always behaved himself with great Courage as a Soldier, conducted the Actions like a great General, and secured the Victory. He was now in the same Camp, and the same Confederacy, as *Flamininus*; and these two great Men, were the Subjects of the Soldiers Discourses, at their Leisure. They compared them together, and the *Roman* always had the Disadvantage, upon the Comparison. They thought that *Philopæmenes* had a greater Genius and Ability for War. They found that *Flamininus's* having vanquished *Philip* in two pitched Battels, was not so much to be imputed to his own Valour, or regular Conduct, as to the Intrepidity of his Legions. Whereas, they agreed that *Philopæmenes* owed his Victories only to himself. To him alone, said they, the *Achaians* are indebted for the use of their Arms, and the Regularity of their Marches, Encampments, and Evolutions. But after all, if *Flamininus* was inferior to *Philopæmenes*, in the Art of commanding Armies, he surpassed him in Justice, Eloquence, Moderation, and all those civil Vir-

Plut. Lives of  
*Flamininus*,  
and *Philopæ-*  
*menes*.

<sup>110</sup> A hundred and fifty Talents make, according to our Computations, a hundred and fifty thousand French Crowns.

<sup>111</sup> We have already given an Account of the City of *Megalopolis*.

<sup>112</sup> By *Tacticks* the *Greeks* meant the Art of drawing up an Army in Battalia, and making Machines of War.



Year of tues, which are the Bands of Society. No Man ever had more Address, in manag-  
 R O M E ing Bodies of Men, and keeping Nations of different Tempers and Characters, in  
 DLVIII. such an Union, as is necessary to support a Confederacy. Nevertheless, the Ro-  
 L. VALERIUS man was not easy to see himself outshined by a Greek, in those Qualities, which  
 FLACCUS, M. most dazzle the Eyes of the Multitude; and this made him so zealous to finish  
 PORCIUS the War, and get the Terms he had sent to *Nabis* accepted. To this end, he advanced  
 CATO, CON- with his Army nearer to *Lacedæmon*. He fancied, that Fear would oblige the Ty-  
 suls. rant to submit to the Will of the strongest. *Philopæmenes* was also very capable  
 of increasing the Fears of the *Lacedæmonian*. As for the Tyrant, whether by Ac-  
 cident, or out of Policy, the Conditions which had been proposed to him, and  
 which he had read only to a few Confidants, were immediately made publick in  
 Livy B. 32. *Lacedæmon*. He had himself observed but one thing in them, which pleased him.  
 c. 36. Nothing was said of his quitting the Throne, surrendering it up to <sup>113</sup> *Agessipolis*, or  
 calling home the Exiles, which were the things he most dreaded. But in other  
 Particulars, he thought himself hardly treated. What enraged him most, was the  
 Necessity to which he was reduced of surrendring up all the maritime Cities he  
 possessed. From thence came the Riches of *Laconia*, and the best part of the  
 Soldiers he had in his Service. To them his Pirates brought the Prizes they were  
 continually taking, and especially to *The Cape of Malea*. And as for the Heads  
 of the *Lacedæmonian* State, every one considered how far his own private Interest  
 was concerned in the Proposals of the *Roman*. They who kept the Wives of the  
 Exiles, and loved them, disliked the Liberty that was given them of returning to  
 their Husbands. They who had seized their Effects, looked upon them as their  
 own, and refused to give them up. The Slaves, whom *Nabis* had set at Liberty,  
 and to whom he had probably given the Lands of the Exiles, were alarmed at be-  
 ing reduced to their former Indigence and Servitude. And lastly, the Mercenaries,  
 who had adhered to the Tyrant, contrary to the Inclinations of their native Cities,  
 were going to lose their Pay, if Tranquillity should be established; and to be de-  
 nied an Asylum, in their own Country.

So that all these different Objectors to the Treaty (stirred up, no doubt, by Men  
 hired by *Nabis* for that Purpose) ran to Arms; and demanded the Continuance  
 of the War, with great Clamours. The Tyrant took Advantage of the Commo-  
 tion he had raised; assembled the *Lacedæmonians* in the Market-place; read the  
 Conditions offered him; added several odious Articles to them; and said, *What*  
*Answer shall I give the Roman Pro-Consul? Give him no Answer at all*, replied  
 the Multitude, *but run to Arms. A War! A War! We will have War!* These  
 Clamours, and this Tumult, were very agreeable to the Tyrant. He promised  
 himself great Advantages from the Good-will of a People, who voluntarily  
 offered to run the Hazards, and support the Fatigues of a Siege; and he exhorted  
 his Troops to persevere in these brave Sentiments, which a sudden Start of Passion  
 had inspired them with. *Courage*, said he, *often gives the brave, Success over those who*  
*are more numerous*. To which he added, That the *Ætolians* would soon come to  
 their Assistance; and That, at all Events, the City was provided with Provisions and  
 Men to defend it. Every one therefore hastened to the Post assigned him; and  
 some *Lacedæmonians* even marched without the Walls, and threw some Darts at  
 the advanced-Guards of the *Roman* Camp. Then *Flaminius* could no longer  
 doubt, but that *Nabis* had rejected his Proposals for Peace. Mutual Attacks soon  
 followed; but these were only slight Skirmishes, and lasted only four Days. On  
 the fifth Day, the *Lacedæmonians* made a Sally, which turned to their Disadvan-  
 tage. The Number of Combatants on both sides was so great, that the Action  
 looked like a pitched Battel. Some Historians pretend, that it was a general Ac-  
 tion, and that all the *Macedonian* Army encamped without the Walls. But be that  
 as it will, *Nabis's* Troops gave way, and the *Romans* pursued them so warmly,  
 that some of them entered the City, through the Openings between the different  
 Parts of the Walls. In order to explain this, it is necessary to give a Description  
 of *Lacedæmon*. This City of *Sparta* (for this was another Name for the Capital

<sup>113</sup> *Agessipolis*, after the Death of his Uncle *Cle-  
 omenes*, had a lawful Right to the Crown of *Lace-  
 dæmon*. But the Tyrant *Lycurgus* took Advantage  
 of the Prince's Infancy, and seized the Throne.

*Machanidas* and *Nabis*, who succeeded this Usurper,  
 made themselves yet more odious to the *Lacedæmo-  
 nians*, by their Usurpations and Violences, to the  
 Prejudice of *Agessipolis*, and the publick Liberty.



of *Laconia*) which was so famous in all Ages, was almost of a round Figure. It stood in a Plain; but nevertheless had some Eminencies about it. The *Eurotas* washed the East-side of it, and for almost the whole Year, was not fordable in any Part. Beyond the River Eastward, there were several steep Rocks, between which and the River, there was only a very narrow Way. The City stood on the opposite Bank of the River, and was in some Places, defended only by these steep Rocks. Old *Lycurgus*, who built it, did not think it proper to surround it with Walls. He, out of a kind of Bravado, was against his City's having any other Fortifications, but the Bodies of his Subjects. And *Agessilaus*, one of his Successors, said, in the same Sense, that the *Lacedæmonians* themselves<sup>114</sup> were the only Bulwark their Country had. But afterwards, the Tyrants who ruled in *Lacedæmon*, fortified it with some pieces of Wall, at certain Distances. Yet still there were several Parts left open, without any Walls to defend them, especially in the steep Places; and in them Temples were erected to several Divinities. Such was the City which *Flamininus* undertook to besiege. His Army, including the *Romans*, the *Greek* Confederates, and the Marines he had brought from *Gythium*, amounted to fifty thousand Men. The *Pro-Consul* ordered the Place to be surrounded on all sides, and a general Assault to be given. All his Soldiers instantly loaded themselves with Scaling-Ladders, took Flambeaux in their Hands, and armed themselves in an odd manner, but such a one as was proper to strike Terror into the Besieged. Then the Assailants made a great Shout, and at the same time began the Attack. This sight filled the *Lacedæmonians* with Terror; and the Uncertainty of their Commanders increased the Confusion. They knew not whither to go, or send Succours, first. The Besiegers attacked all parts of the Wall, and every Hill at once. It was therefore necessary to watch over all, and defend the whole Compass of the Walls, at the same time. But the principal Attacks were on three sides; towards the Temples of<sup>115</sup> *Apollo*, and *Diana*, and in a Place called<sup>116</sup> *Heptagonia*. These Posts were guarded indeed, but had no Walls or Ramparts. The News which was brought *Nabis*, almost together, of the Danger of the City, and the Attack at these open Places, threw him into a Consternation. He for some time continued motionless, like one Thunderstruck. He had scarce the use of his Reason. He neither heard any Body, nor gave any Orders. Nevertheless, the *Lacedæmonians* kept their Ground, in the seven Angles, or seven narrow Passes of *Heptagonia*; till at length, the Contest became unequal. The Besieged only defended themselves with their Darts, which they threw at the *Romans*. The latter easily warded off the feeble Strokes of the Enemy, with their Bucklers. The *Lacedæmonians* were so closely drawn up, that they had not room to use their Arms. The *Romans* therefore made a sort of *Tortoise*, and advanced with their Bucklers over their Heads; and the Enemy in vain threw down upon them, Showers of Stones and Tiles, from the Tops of the Houses. However, the *Lacedæmonians* sustained the Impetuosity of the *Romans*, as long as they were shut up in the narrow Passes. But when the Besiegers had forced their Way into the wide Streets of the City, the Besieged could no longer stand before them. They fled, and retired to the Eminencies. As for *Nabis*, the Extremity of the Danger brought him to himself; and he thought only of finding some Way to make his Escape out of the City. But *Pythagoras*, who, during the Inaction of the Tyrant, did the Office of a Governor, had more Presence of Mind. He ordered the Houses to be set on Fire, in all the Places where the *Romans* had entered the City. These Houses, which were for the most part built of Wood, burnt the faster, because those Officers were ordered to promote this Fire, which were generally employed in extinguishing others. So that the Roofs, Beams, and pieces of Walls, fell on the *Romans*, and crushed them to pieces. The Flames burst

<sup>114</sup> *Lycurgus*, the Lawgiver of *Sparta*, a different Person from him, of whom we have lately spoken, used to say, *That Courage was the surest Bulwark to a besieged City*. In this Sense *Agessilaus* said of a Body of *Lacedæmonians* under Arms, *These are the Walls and Fortifications of Sparta*.

<sup>115</sup> It is past doubt, that *Livy* by *Phæbeum* means a Temple dedicated to *Apollo*. Nevertheless, *Meur-*

*sins* has guessed, that the Copyists have by mistake put *Phæbeum* for *Ephæbeum*. Which was the Name of an Academy, or *Gymnasium*, in *Lacedæmon*, where the young *Spartans* were taught bodily Exercises. *Pausanias* mentions it.

<sup>116</sup> This was the Name the *Lacedæmonians* gave a Fort, or Building, which was built in the form of an *Heptagon*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLVIII.  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS, M.  
PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

out against them, amidst Clouds of Smoke, which stifled them. So that no new Troops of the Besiegers durst enter the City; and those that had entered it, marched back again with Precipitation, for fear of being pent in by the Flames, which they began to feel behind them. As for *Flamininus*, who was a Spectator of this Disorder, he sounded a Retreat. The *Romans* had at least the Glory of having reduced *Nabis* to the last Extremity, though they were forced to retire; and *Pythagoras* had the Honour of having saved his Country <sup>117</sup>.

§. XXIX. NEVERTHELESS, the Retreat of the Besiegers was too slight an Advantage to the Tyrant to raise his Courage. He consulted his Fear, and resolved to send *Pythagoras* to *Flamininus's* Camp, to offer to submit to those very Conditions of Peace, which he had before rejected with Scorn. The *Pro-Consul* at first received the Ambassador with great Haughtiness, and ordered him to go out of his Tent. But he returned back, threw himself at the *Roman* General's Feet, and with many Intreaties, obtained what the *Roman* General was extremely desirous of giving him. *Flamininus*, without streightening the Yoke of the Conquered with new Conditions, was satisfied with the first Treaty, but pressed the Execution of it. He insisted upon receiving the Money and Hostages demanded, without any Delay. And as for the City of *Argi*, which was the Cause of the War, it had already recovered its Liberty. Upon the first News that *Lacedæmon* was besieged, the *Argians* had taken up Arms, under the Command of one of their Countrymen, named *Aristippus*; and *Nabis's* Garrison had been driven out of the City, with *Timocrates* their Commander. But the latter had had his Life given him, because he had treated the Inhabitants with the greatest Mildness, during his Administration. These Successes spread Joy in *Flamininus's* Camp. His Brother *Quinctius*, King *Eumenes*, and the *Rhodians*, congratulated him upon it, and returned to the Fleet, which soon left the Coasts of *Laconia*. *Quinctius* sailed for *Rome*, without Delay, in order to carry thither the News, that *Greece* was entirely rescued from Slavery: and publick Prayers were ordered to be offered up, for three Days. *Eumenes* returned to *Pergamus*, and the *Rhodians* to their own Island. But *Flamininus* continued in *Greece*, and spent the Winter there. He had now completed the great Work of the Pacification of the *Greeks*; and was no longer apprehensive of being robbed of the Glory of it by a Successor. He therefore went to all the Feasts, where the flattering *Greeks* piqued themselves upon paying him the highest Honours. The *Nemæan* <sup>118</sup> Games were of ancient Institution. They were celebrated in *Argia*, near *The Nemæan Forest*, in Honour to *Hercules*, who was said to have cleared the Forest of its Monsters. Both the Show, and the Assembly, which was held there on a stated Day, had been postponed, on Account of the War and Troubles in the Country; and now *Flamininus* was nominated to be *Agonothetes*, or President, in them. This Distinction was the more agreeable to him, because in the other Games, the *Achaians* had often divided that Honour between *Philopæmenes*, and him: And he appeared at the Show with all the State of a *Roman Pro-Consul*. He there proclaimed Liberty to the *Argians*, by an Herald; which was received with extraordinary Acclamations. But after all, the Joy of the *Greeks* was not so complete, as they pretended. The Tyrant was still in the Heart of *Peloponnesus*; and amidst this general Recovery of Freedom, *Nabis* still kept *Lacedæmon* in Slavery. This was a Grievance that sunk deep into the Heart of *Agesipolis*, and the other *Spartan* Exiles. The former lost all Hopes of being ever re-established on the Throne: The latter saw themselves banished from their native Country for ever. And the *Ætolians*, who were dangerous Enemies to *Flamininus*, took Ad-

Plut. Life of  
Flamininus.

Livy, B. 34.  
c. 41.

<sup>117</sup> Some ancient Authors, whom *Livy* mentions, gave a very different Account of the Circumstances and Success of the Action, which produced a Peace between the *Romans*, and the Tyrant *Nabis*. The latter, say they, pitched his Camp over against that of *Flamininus*. He there entrenched himself, resolving not to attack the *Pro-Consul*, till he had received a new Reinforcement of Troops, which the *Ætolians* promised him. He tarried a long time, but no Succours came; and a Detachment of *Romans* had surprised his Foragers, who were dispersed in the Fields. Then he immediately left his Trenches, and at the Head of some Batta-

lions, hastened to their Defence. And what was at first a Skirmish only, became all on a sudden a pitched Battel. But every thing gave way before the *Roman* Valour. The unfortunate *Nabis*, after a Loss of fifteen thousand Men killed upon the Spot, and four thousand made Prisoners, had no Refuge but in the Clemency of the Conqueror. He was forced to accept those Terms of Peace, which he had so scornfully rejected. It is easy to see, that this Account cannot be reconciled with that of *Livy*, as we have inserted it in the Text.

<sup>118</sup> See what we have said of the Origin and Celebration of these Games, Vol. 3.

vantage



advantage of these secret Murmurs, and divulged them. In all the Diets of Greece, Year of  
they attacked the *Pro-Consul's* Reputation. In the Treaty that was made with R O M E  
Philip, said they, *this warlike King was obliged to withdraw all his Garrisons, out* DLVIII.  
*of the Greek Cities; and shall the cruel Tyrant Nabis continue in Lacedæmon? Shall*  
*Agelipolis be deprived of the Crown of his Ancestors? He, who joined the Romans,*  
*and fought under their Standards? It is plain Flamininus has had nothing in view,*  
*but to make Nabis his Creature.* L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
M. PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

THE Roman in vain replied, That he could not destroy *Nabis*, without ruining the *Lacedæmonians*. His Mildness and Humanity were set at nought. But he was feared; and the Regulations he made in *Greece* were strictly followed. He reformed many new Customs, which the Licentiousness of the *Macedonians* had introduced into the Cities which they had seized. In a Diet, which he caused to be assembled at *Corinth*, he prepared the People for his return to *Italy*; made a long Harangue; and largely enumerated the great Services he had done *Greece*. The subduing of *Philip*, the putting him out of a Condition to hurt his Neighbours, and the re-establishing of the *Greek Nations* in the Possession of their Laws and Liberty, were the Topics he touched on, with most Applause. And at length he came to the Peace he had concluded with *Nabis*; and discovered a great Coldness among his Auditors, upon the mention of this Particular. Every one said within himself, that the *Roman* had not done enough to deserve the Name of a General Deliverer. The Orator read in their Faces this Disapprobation of his Conduct, with regard to *Nabis*; and therefore made his utmost Efforts to convince them, that he could not have destroyed *Nabis*, without the utter Ruin of one of the most venerable Nations in *Greece*. *I have, said he, reduced Nabis so low, that he cannot justly give Umbrage to any one; and to have pursued the Vengeance of Rome further, would have been to have made the Remedy worse than the Disease. I shall therefore return to Italy, with the Satisfaction of seeing you happy, and in Tranquillity. But before my Departure, I will take away even the Suspicion that the Ætolians have entertained of me, and affected to spread among you. I will soon withdraw the Garrisons I have put in Demetrias and Chalcis; and evacuate the Citadel of Corinth. The Enemies of the Roman Name shall no longer say, That Greece has only changed her Masters; and That Rome has taken Philip's Place. Your Cities will then see, who are their true Friends; whether these Ætolians, or the Romans. Don't judge of it by Words, but by Facts: And think of nothing now, but making the best use of our Benefactions. Let not the Liberty for which you are indebted to us, degenerate into Licentiousness! Let it be the chief Business of the Heads of the Nations, and their respective Subjects, to maintain Concord! Let it ever reign among you. Then no King, or Tyrant will be able to hurt you. Your Passions and Partialities are your greatest Enemies. Obstinacy in Opinion produces Divisions. Then Assurances are called in from Abroad, to prevent being forced to give way; and thus through slight Contentions, the People fall a Prey to Foreigners. Let me then have the Satisfaction of seeing when I come to Rome, That I have not been obliging ungrateful Men; and That the Tranquillity I have <sup>119</sup> settled among you, proves a lasting one.*

THESE last Words, which seemed to flow from a Paternal Affection, drew Tears from the Eyes of some in the Assembly; and the *Pro-Consul* himself was softened. There appeared a visible Emotion in his Countenance, and the *Greeks* were affected with it. They mutually exhorted one another to retain a grateful Remembrance of so gracious a Protector, to reverence his Advice as Oracles, and to imprint it deeply on their Minds. And as the last Testimony of their Affection, they fought for all the *Romans* who were reduced to Slavery, in all the Coasts of *Greece*, and delivered them up to him. The greatest Part of them were Prisoners of War whom

<sup>119</sup> *Flamininus*, says *Plutarch*, seems to have forgotten the Glory he had acquired by his military Exploits, and to remember only, that he had restored the People their Liberty, and delivered them from the Oppression of their Tyrants. This was what he most valued himself upon. The *Pro-Consul* made the Subject of a *Greek Inscription*, on his own Buckler, which he consecrated, with several other Silver Bucklers, to *Castor* and *Pollux*, in the Tem-

ple of *Delphi*. The Inscription, according to *Plutarch*, was this. *Brave Tyndarides, Flamininus, of the Race of Æneas, makes you these Presents. Accept them as a Pledge of the Liberty he restored to Greece.* At the same time, he adorned the Statue of *Apollo* with a Crown of Gold, on which was another Inscription, which perpetuated the Memory of his Victories and Conquests.



Year of *Hannibal* had taken in *Italy*, and sold to the *Greeks*. They amounted to twelve thousand <sup>120</sup> in Number; and the Redemption of them cost the *Achaens* a hundred *Talents*. This was the most acceptable Present they could have made *Flamininus*; and it did him the most Honour at his Triumph.

DLVIII.  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
M. PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

§. XXX. AFTER this, he thought of nothing but leaving *Greece*. The Lieutenant General *Appius Claudius* was ordered to march the *Roman* Troops thro' *Thessaly* and *Epirus*, and wait for the *Pro-Consul* at <sup>121</sup> *Oricum*. In the mean time, the latter came to *Chalcis*, caused the Diet of *Eubœa* to be assembled there, and represented to the Deputies, the Situation in which he found the Island, and the Condition in which he left it. Then he drew his Garrison out of that City; took his Road thro' *Thessaly*; rectified the Disorders that the Mixture of the *Macedonians* with the Natives had introduced into the Cities; established Councils in them and chose the Senators out of the richest of the Citizens. He ordered, that the Cities which were most concerned in Interest to maintain the publick Tranquillity, should have the Precedence in the general Assemblies. And lastly, after he had withdrawn the *Roman* Troops from *Demetrias*, he arrived at *Oricum*, where he embarked his Troops, and landed at *Brundisium*. His Passage thro' the Cities in *Italy*, was one continued Triumph. The *Romans* he had delivered out of Captivity, and the Chariots loaded with the Spoils he was carrying to *Rome*, for the publick Treasury, and which were very numerous, marched before him. His *Legions* followed him: and thus attended, he arrived in the Suburbs; where he lodged, till the Senate should determine the Affair of his Triumph, which was unanimously granted him. It was also ordered, contrary to Custom, that the Procession should continue three Days. The *Romans* never had before seen so many Riches as *Flamininus* had brought from *Greece*. By this Expedition he not only procured the *Romans* Glory, and Allies; but also enriched them, and helped to embellish the Capital. The first Day, the Multitudes of Arms of all Sorts, which *Flamininus* had taken from the Enemy, were carried in Procession. Among these were Pikes made after the *Macedonian* Manner, Helmets of the *Greek* Fashion, and Javelins of all Sorts. The same Day were also carried in Carts the fine Statues which had been taken from *Philip*; and among these, particular Notice was taken of a beautiful Statue of *Jupiter*, under the Figure of a General of an Army. It was a Master-piece; and the Victor ordered it to be placed in the *Capitol*. The second Day, the Gold and Silver was carried on Hand-barrows; as well that which was in Specie, as in Bars and Ingots. The Silver in Bars was computed at eighteen thousand Pounds \* Weight; and the Silver Coin at two hundred and seventy Pounds Weight. There were also a great Number of Silver Vases, most beautifully chased; and Multitudes of Brass Vessels, the Workmanship of which cost more than the Metal. But what most attracted the Eye was a Buckler of massy Gold, and ten others of massy Silver. In Silver Money there were four thousand *Attick Tetradrachmæ* †, each of which weighed about four <sup>122</sup> *Roman Denarii*. In Ingots of Gold there was three thousand seven hundred Pounds ‡ Weight; and in Gold Coin, fourteen thousand five hundred and fourteen || *Philippuses* <sup>123</sup>. On the third Day, the triumphant Victor appeared. In the first place, a hundred and fourteen

Plut. Life of  
Flamin.  
Cicero in Ver-  
rina Sexta.

\* Worth  
54000 l. Ster-  
ling, at 3 l.  
per Pound.

† Worth  
8116 l. 13 s.  
and 4 d. Sterl.  
Arbuthnot.  
‡ Worth  
177600 l.  
Sterling, at  
48 l. per  
Pound.  
|| 13123 l. 1 s.  
and 6 d. Ar-  
buthnot.

<sup>120</sup> Every Slave was taxed at five hundred Silver *Denarii*, according to *Livy*. And *Polybius*, as quoted by him, says that it cost the *Achaens* a hundred *Talents* to redeem all their Slaves. Whence *Livy* concludes, that their Number was twelve thousand. And by this we may certainly fix the Value of the *Talent*, and *Roman Denarius*, at that time. Five hundred *Denarii* multiplied by twelve thousand, make six hundred thousand *Denarii*, which were equal to a hundred *Talents*. So that six thousand *Denarii* were worth a *Talent*. Now each *Talent* contained six thousand *Attick Drachmæ*, as has been elsewhere observed. Whence it follows, that the *Denarius* and *Attick Drachma* were, at this time, of the same Weight and Value.

<sup>121</sup> The City of *Oricum* is most commonly thought to be the Place the *Italians* now call *La Vallone*. It stood on the Coasts of the *Ionian* Sea. See Vol. 3. It was at this Place that *Lucius Quincius*, by Order of his Brother the *Pro-Consul*, as-

sembled all the Ships of Burden which were to transport to *Rome* the richest of the Spoils taken from the Enemy.

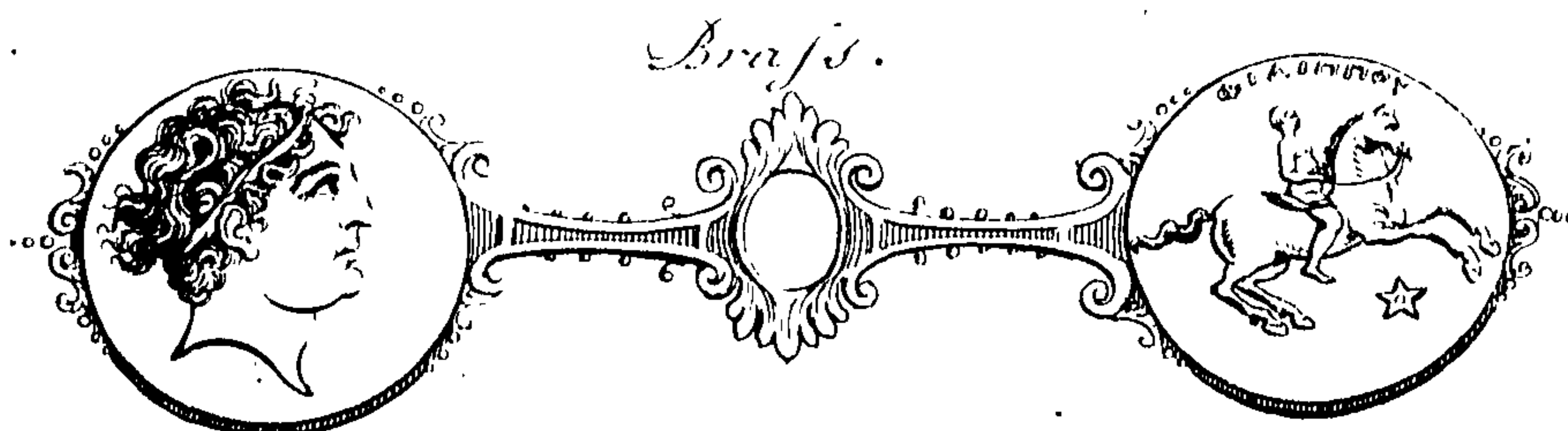
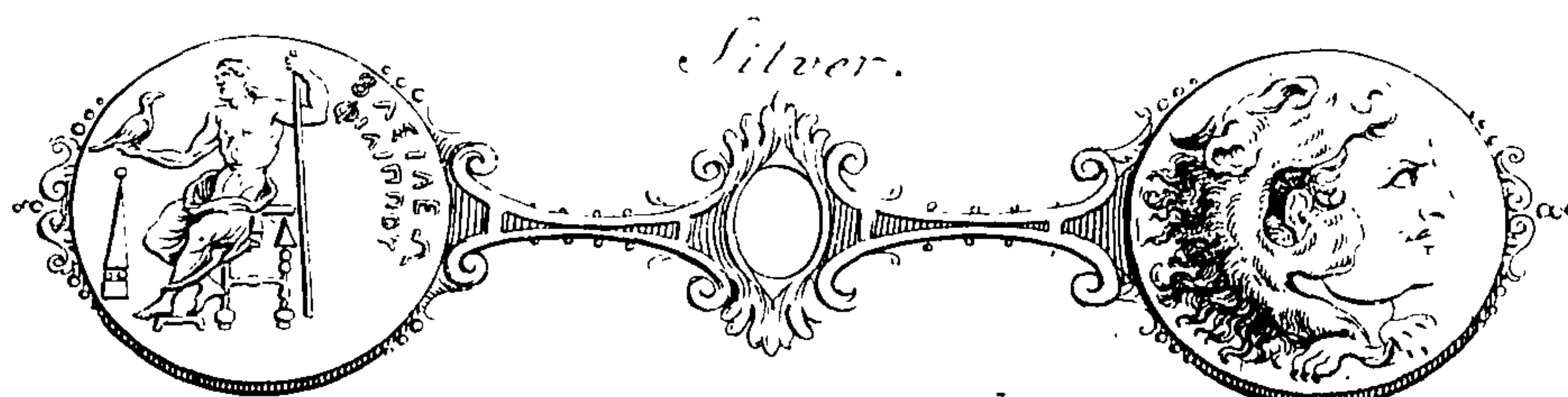
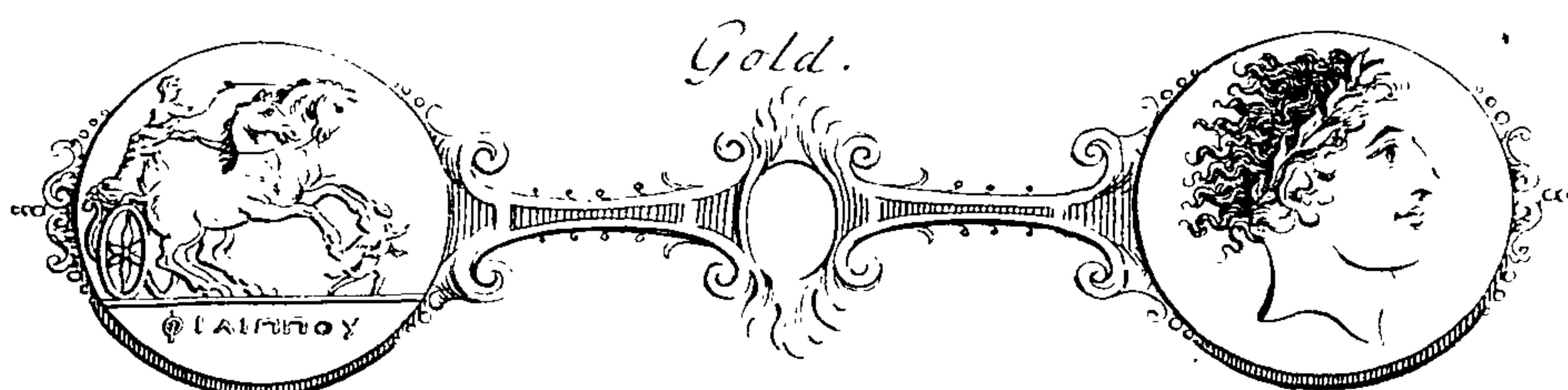
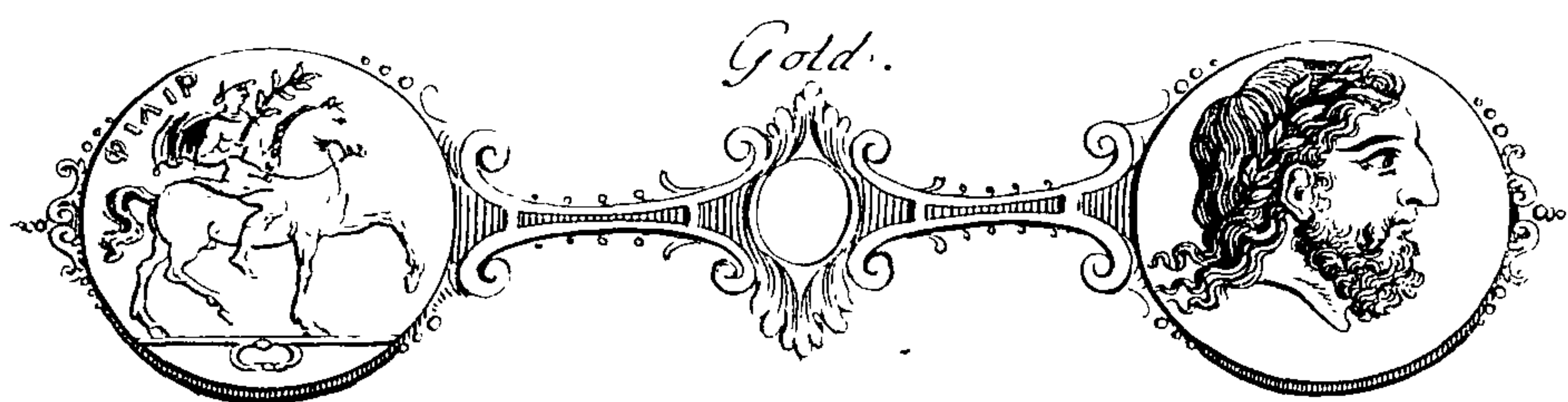
<sup>122</sup> *Livy* here compares the *Attick Drachma* with the *Roman Denarius* current in his time.

<sup>123</sup> A *Philippus* was the Name of a current Coin among the *Macedonians*. *Philip* of *Macedon*, the Father of *Alexander the Great*, struck a Gold Coin which bore his Image and Name. And from hence they were called *Philippus's*; as well as those of the same Weight and Metal which were afterwards struck in Imitation of them. The Successors of the King of *Macedon*, after his Example, caused to be engraved on their Coins, their Symbols, Figures, and Names. Therefore *Horace*, Ep. 1. B. 2. calls this Sort of Money *Regale Numisma*.

———*Inculcis qui versibus & male natis,  
Rettulit acceptos, regale numisma, Philippus.*

The Name of a *Philippus* was also common to two other





*Different Sorts of Philippuses, an ancient Macedonian coin*



fourteen Crowns of Gold, which *Flamininus* had received in Presents from the Cities he had set at Liberty, were carried before him. After the Hand-barrows in which these Testimonies of *Grecian* Gratitude were carried, followed the Victims which were to be sacrificed. Then came the Captives the Conqueror had taken, and the Hostages he had demanded. Among the latter was *Demetrius*, the Son of the King of *Macedon*, and *Armenes* the Son of the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*. After them, came *Flamininus* in his Chariot; and the Soldiers he had brought from *Greece* closed the Procession. They were many in Number, because no Part of the *Roman* Army had been left there. Their old General gave each Foot Soldier the Value of two hundred and fifty *Asses*, twice as much to every *Centurion*, and three times that Sum to every Trooper. But after all, what most affected the *Romans*, in this great Solemnity, was the great Number of *Roman* Slaves who had been delivered from Chains in *Greece*. They followed the Victor's Chariot; and that they might appear *New Men*, they, in Token of their being again made free, had shaved their Heads, and wore *Pilei*. The Number of these unfortunate Men, who were brought back to their Families, gave great Lustre to *Flamininus's* Triumph, and gained him the Hearts of many *Romans*. Indeed, this Sight was not presented in *Rome*, till the next Year; but we have anticipated it a little, to join the glorious Rewards *Flamininus* received, to our Account of his Victories. Let us now return to the Consul *Valerius Flaccus*, who was left, without his Collegue, in *Italy*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLVIII.

L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
M. PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

Val. Max. B. 5.  
c. 2. § 6.

§. XXXI. HE made War with the *Boii*, in *Cisalpine Gaul*, with Success. Near *The Forest of Litana*, he defeated them in a pitched Battel, and killed eight thousand of them. This Loss obliged the *Gauls* to confine themselves to their Cities. So that the Consul, who only wanted an Opportunity to signalize himself, spent the rest of the Campaign on the Banks of the *Po*, in repairing and re-peopling *Placentia*, and *Cremona*. It must be owned, that the Glory of the *Roman Consuls* depended very much on the Hazard of Lots. By them their *Provinces* were assigned them. *Valerius* would have immortalized his Name, if it had been his Lot to have had a Commission more capable of doing him Honour. *Spain* fell to *Cato*; and he triumphed. *Valerius* had only a few *Gauls* to fight with; and he defeated them. But his Victory was not deemed of Consequence enough to deserve to be honoured with a Triumph. However, he came and presided in the *Comitia*, in which the *Consuls* were chosen for the next Year.

*SCIPIO AFRICANUS* had inserted his Name among the Candidates; and the Views of this Great Man were never mean. He had now conceived Hopes, either of being sent into *The Levant*, to begin the War with *Antiochus*, or of succeeding *Cato* in *Spain*, and snatching from this declared Enemy to his Fa-

Year of  
R O M E  
DLIX.

P. SCIPIO A-  
FRICANUS,  
TIB. SEMPRO-  
NIUS LONGUS,  
Consuls.

other Sorts of Money, of different Metals. This appears by a Letter of the Emperor *Valerian* to *Cerionius Albinus*, as mentioned by *Vopiscus*. We are there told, that as a Reward for the great Services *Aurelian* had done, that Prince allowed him two *Antoninus's* of Gold, *per diem*, and fifty small Silver *Philippus's*. And it is observed in another Letter, that the same Emperor had made him a Present of three hundred Gold *Antoninus's*, and three thousand Silver *Philippus's*, for the Celebration of *The Games of the Circus*. And lastly, the Author just now quoted produces also another Letter, in which *Valerian* orders *Mulvius Gallicanus*, the *Praetorian Praefect*, to pay *Probus*, who was just promoted to the Empire, one hundred Gold *Antoninus's*, a thousand Silver *Marcus Aurelius's*, and ten thousand Brass *Philippus's*. So that here are Gold *Philippus's*, Silver *Philippus's*, and Copper *Philippus's*. We may form some Judgment of these three Sorts of Money, by the Figures we have engraven of them. We see on one, the Head of a *Jupiter Olympus*, and on the Reverse, *Philip* on Horseback, holding a Palm-Branch in his Hand. The Face of the second was the Figure of this Prince, crowned with Laurel, and the Reverse, the same Prince sitting in a Chariot drawn by two Horses, with a winged *Victory* running before it. These two Reverses seem to allude to the Prizes *Philip* gained in the

Chariot-Races, and Horse-Races, during the Solemnization of *The Olympick Games*. The Author of *Alexander's Life*, inserted among those of *Plutarch*, says, that the King of *Macedon* had multiplied the triumphal Chariots on his Coin. One of the two Medals that follow is of Silver. On it we see the Head of *Philip*, covered with a Lion's Skin, and the Statue of *Jupiter Olympus*, holding an Eagle in his Hand. At the Foot of this God we see one of those little Pyramids which were the Bounds for those who disputed for the Prize in the Races at *The Olympick Games*. The next Medal is of Brass, and has nothing in it but what has been explained in the former ones.

Add to this, that all the Sums of Money which we have mentioned in the Text, after *Livy*, amount to above forty Millions, a hundred and twenty one thousand *Livres*; at the Rate of seven *Franks* for a *Philippus*, according to the received Opinion of the most able Antiquaries. We value the Pound of Gold at five hundred *Livres*; and the Pound of Silver, at the Rate of twenty five *Livres per Mark*.

124 According to some, *The Forest of Litana* was planted near the Territory of *Bologna* and *Modena*, in an uneven Country, full of Rocks. They fix it near the Place which the *Italians* call *Selva Romanesca*. But others bring it nearer to the *Apennines*, in the Neighbourhood of *Lizano*. See Vol. 3.

mily,



Year of R O M E DLIX. P. SCIPIO AFRICANUS, TIB. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS, Consuls. Liv. B. 34. c. 42.

Family, the Honour of finishing the War there. But tho' he obtained the Consulship a second time, with *Tiberius Sempronius Longus*, who was made his Colleague; he was disappointed of both his Views. He applied to the Senate to make *Greece* at least one of the *Consular Provinces*; and represented, That *Antiochus* was come into *Europe*; That he had brought *Hannibal* with him; That the *Ætolians* began to stir; and That it was indispensably necessary for the Republick to have a considerable Army in a Country where the first Sparks of this great Fire already appeared. But the *Conscript Fathers* would not comply with the Instance of the new *Consul*.

§. XXXII. *ANTIOCHUS* had not yet openly declared against *Rome* by any Act of Hostility. His Designs indeed were obvious; but they were not yet made publick. It would still be time enough to oppose his Invasions, whenever the Rupture should be made. Besides, the Seditions in *Spain* seemed to be stifled at least; and the Senate therefore thought it necessary to recall the Troops there, as they had done those in *Greece*, and disband them. It was also highly proper to give all those *Roman Citizens* some Repose, who had so long served in foreign Wars, in the *Legions*. So that it was decreed, That the *Consuls* should not serve any where but in *Italy* all the Year. The *Gauls* still persisted in endeavouring to shake off the *Roman Yoke*. But the *Carthaginians*, *Macedonians*, and *Greeks*, were become subject to the Republick. *Cisalpine Gaul* alone maintained War with her, and was neither exhausted of Men, nor discouraged, after so many Losses. If the *Roman Historians* have given us exact Accounts of the Numbers of the *Gauls* that were slain in continual Battels, it is scarce conceivable that any of them should have been yet left alive. Nevertheless, three Generals of the Republick led three different Armies this Year, only against the *Gauls*. *Valerius Flaccus*, the late *Consul*, went to take upon him again the Command of his Army, after he had presided in the *Comitia* for Elections. He entered *Insubria*, in Quality of *Pro-Consul*, and drew near to *Milan*, in Quest of the *Boii*. They had passed the *Po*, under the Command of one of their Generals named *Durilocus*. Their Design was to make an Insurrection in *Insubria*, and embark the *Insubres* again in their Revolt. But *Valerius* gave them Battel, and killed ten thousand of their Men. Yet were not the *Gauls* intimidated by all these Disadvantages. *Bojorix* their King had soon got together a new Army. He kept the Field, attended by two of his Brothers, seized some advantageous Posts in his own Country, and there waited for the Enemy. Then the *Consul Sempronius* left *Rome* without Delay. He brought his *Consular Army* into the Enemy's Country, and appeared within reach of *Bojorix*; and the Appearance and Multitude of the *Gauls* terrified him. He wrote to *Scipio* his Collegue to come and join him with his Army, and promised to delay fighting till he arrived. But the Great *Scipio* seems to have disdained engaging with such weak Enemies. He was not in haste to go to reduce Mutineers, whom so many Generals had weakened, without gaining much Glory by it. He did not think *Cisalpine Gaul* a proper Scene of Action for him, and therefore delayed taking the Field. In the mean time, *Bojorix* imputed the Delays of *Sempronius* to Weakness, or Fearfulness; and the Reasons that occasioned the Dilatoriness of the *Romans*, animated the *Gaul* to hasten a general Action. He was afraid of having two *Consuls* united against him; resolved to give Battel; and gave his Soldiers but two Days Repose. Nay, even in this Interval, he exercised them in frequent Skirmishes, and emboldened them to bear the Sight and Arms of the *Romans*. On the third Day in the Evening, he marched out of his Entrenchments, and appeared before the Enemy's Camp, to force it. The *Roman Lines* were surrounded on all Sides, and the Attack was general. *Sempronius's Army* had but four Gates, at which they could march out; one fronting the Enemy's Camp; another opposite to it, called *The Quæstorian Gate*, because it opened upon the *Quæstor's Quarters*; and one on each Side. The two latter were called <sup>125</sup> *Principales*, because they were over against the Ends of that Row of Tents which was pitched for the *Principes*; that is, the second Line of the *Legionaries*. *Bojorix* ordered some large Battalions of *Gauls* upon the Attack of these *Principal Gates*; and they kept themselves drawn up in exceeding close Order, without them. In the mean time, the most vigorous Attack was made at

<sup>125</sup> See our Dissertation on the *Roman Camps*, and the Plate annexed to it, Vol. 2.



*The Quæstorian Gate*, and the *Gauls* broke thro' it. They entered the Camp, and killed the *Quæstor Sempronius*; and with him were slain *M. Atinius*, and *P. Sempronius*, two Officers of the Auxiliaries, and two hundred of their Men. Then, the two *Legions* of the *Consul* were ordered instantly to make Sallies at *The Principal Gates*; and the Battel was terrible, and much confused. The *Romans* laboured to get out of the Camp, and the *Gauls* to get into it. They mutually stabbed one another with their Swords, and pushed one another with their Elbows and Bucklers. In short, the *Romans* could not clear the Way to the Gate, till *Q. Victorius* and *C. Atinius*, two *Tribunes*, one of the second, and the other of the fourth *Legion*, both, as if it had been by Agreement, threw their Ensigns into the Middle of the Enemy's Battalions. This was a Stratagem which had long been practised by the *Romans*. And now, it raised their Valour to the highest Pitch. They made inconceivable Efforts, to recover their *Eagles* out of the Enemy's Hands; and the Victory declared for the *Romans* on all Sides. The *Consul* detached away a Body of the Allies who always guarded him, and whom he always kept in Reserve for great Emergencies; and these brave Men marched towards *The Prætorian Gate*; fell upon the *Gauls*, who had seized a Part of the Camp, on this Side; drove them from their Post; made a terrible Slaughter of them; and kept the rest of the *Gauls* from entering. The *Romans* likewise began to gain the like Advantage at both *The Principal Gates*. On one Side, the fourth *Legion* marched out of their Trenches, and repulsed the Enemy in the Plain. On the other, the second *Legion* made a brave Resistance, and kept the Enemy out of the Camp. So that there were in a manner three Battels fought at the same time, round the same Entrenchments. In the Center of the *Roman Camp* great Outcries were heard, and confused Voices from different Places. Nevertheless, the Onset and the Confusion continued. The Danger still remained, and the Victory was uncertain, till Noon. But then the *Gauls* were extremely tired. They could hold out no longer against the Heat of the Sun, Thirst, and the Perseverance of the *Romans*. Generally speaking, the *Gauls* were not so able bodied Men as their Enemies; and they had naturally as much Levity, as the *Romans* had Constancy and Patience in Labour. So that the Soldiers of *Bojorix* gave way, and retreated towards their Camp; and the *Legionaries* were too ardent in pursuing them to the Foot of their Trenches. The *Consul* in vain sounded a Retreat. These brave Men, in the Heat of their Blood, were obstinately bent on forcing the Lines *Bojorix* had raised; and they suffered for it. All the *Gallic Army* marched out against them, and drove them back to the *Roman Camp*. Whereas, if they had paid any Obedience to the Commands of their General, they would have returned thither, without this Repulse. Thus ended a bloody Battel, remarkable for a continual Vicissitude of Advantages and Disadvantages on both Sides. The chief Difference between them was, that one had lost many more Men than the other. Eleven thousand *Gauls* were killed on the Spot; whereas the *Romans* lost but five thousand.

§. XXXIII. SOME Historians divide the Glory of this Action between *Scipio* and *Sempronius*. But it is most probable, that the former did not join his Colleague till he came near *Placentia*, after the Retreat of *Bojorix*. This King of the *Boii* sheltered his Troops in his Cities, and left the Country exposed to be plundered by the *Consuls*. They jointly made Incursions into the Territories of the *Gauls* and *Ligures*, laid all waste wherever they came, and penetrated wherever there were no Lakes or unpassable Forests to stop them. Thus *Scipio's* second Consulship was very barren of Glory to him. Nevertheless, the new *Censors*, *Ælius Petus*, and *Cornelius Cethegus*, continued him *President of the Senate*; and he caused them to make a Regulation, by which he lost much of his Credit among the People. Before the Year that the illustrious *Africanus* was *Consul* the second time, the Senators had no Place of Distinction at *The Scenic Games*. They had always sate mixed with the rest of the Spectators. But now *Scipio* prevailed on the *Censors*, to order the *Ædiles* to see *The Conscript Fathers* placed in the *Orchestra*. 'Tis true, the Precedence was due to them in all Places; but Innovations always create Jealousies. And all the Odium of this new Distinction fell on the *President of the Senate*, who was deemed the Author of it.

*Cicero de A-*  
*ruspic. Respon.*  
*Val. Max. B. 2.*  
*c. 4. §. 3.*



Year of  
R O M E  
DLIX.  
P. SCIPIO AFRICANUS,  
TIB. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS,  
Consuls.

IN this Year *Rome* also sent out a great Number of *Citizens*, to settle *Colonies*. Some went to <sup>126</sup> *Puteoli*, <sup>127</sup> *Vulturnum*, and <sup>128</sup> *Liternum*, in *Campania*; others to <sup>129</sup> *Salernum*, <sup>130</sup> *Buxentum*, and <sup>131</sup> *Sipontum*; and lastly, others to <sup>132</sup> *Tempsa* and <sup>133</sup> *Croton*. But what was deemed most singular at that time, was the Repe-  
tition of a superstitious Practice, which had already had some Footing among the *Romans*. Four and twenty Years before, a *Consul* had made a Vow to consecrate to *Jupiter*, all the Animals which should be born in one Spring, except prophane Animals; that is, such as it was not lawful to offer up in Sacrifice. This Con-  
secration had been appointed to be made the last Year; but some Fault had been found in the Execution of it; and the *Pontifices* ordered that it should be begun again, this Spring. At the same time, was also discharged another Vow, which the *Consul Sulpicius* had made five Years before, at the breaking out of the War with *Philip*. He had vowed to celebrate *The Great Games*, in order to obtain the Pro-  
sperity of the Republick in *The Levant*. All these religious Ceremonies, and the building of several Temples, which were dedicated to *Juno*, *Faunus*, *Fortune*, and *Jupiter*, were the Marks of peaceful and wealthy Times. *Rome* had gained vast Riches, by the Spoils of *Greece*, and *Spain*; and was now eased of the Expence of those great Armies which she so long maintained beyond the Seas. She had now only eight *Legions* in Pay; and had no considerable War to support, but in *Cisalpine Gaul*. Happy Times for the *Romans*, if they could have set Bounds to their De-  
sires! But their Ambition increased with their Conquests <sup>134</sup>.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLX.  
L. CORNELIUS MERULA, Q.  
MINUCIUS THERMUS,  
Consuls.

§. XXXIV. As soon as the new *Consuls*, *Cornelius Merula*, and *Minucius Ther-  
mus* were chosen, the Republick shewed the Desire she had, to extend her Dominion into *Asia*. There were three Ambassadors come to *Rome*, from *Antiochus*. Their Names were *Menippus*, *Hegesianax*, and *Lysias*. Their whole Business was only to desire, in the Name of their Master, the Friendship and Alliance of the *Roman* People. It may be affirmed, that no Sovereign in the World was better able to vie with the *Roman* Republick, than King *Antiochus*. Besides his personal Merit, and the Extent of his Conquests, which had procured him the Surname of *The Great*, he was the most fortunate Prince in his domestick Affairs, of any of the *Seleucidae*. *Antiochus* had at least three Sons, old enough to succeed him; and four Daughters, already marriageable; and by marrying them to the most power-  
ful Kings, he might procure himself very formidable Alliances. Besides, no Power in *Asia* was comparable to his. All the rich Countries of that Continent, from

<sup>126</sup> *Puteoli*, an ancient City of *Campania*, is now called *Puzzoli*, or *Puzzuolo*. It stands in the King-  
dom of *Naples*.

<sup>127</sup> The City of *Vulturnum* stood at the Mouth of a River called *Vulturinus*, between *Sinuessa* and *Liternum*, near the Place where we now see a Castle which the *Italians* call *Castello di Vulturno*.

<sup>128</sup> *Liternum*, or as others *Linternum*, stood on the Sea-Coast of *Campania*, at the Mouth of the *Clanis*, which also had the same Name as the City. Nothing now remains of it but a Tower, which the Natives call *Torre di Patria*.

<sup>129</sup> *Salernum*, a City belonging to the Kingdom of *Naples*, is now the Capital of *The Hither Principality*. It still retains the same Name, which it has given to the neighbouring Gulph.

<sup>130</sup> *Buxentum* belonged to *Lucania*, a Province which is now called *The Basilicata*. It had a Port on *The Gulph of Lano*, or *Laino*. Near it, according to *Holstenius*, is the Port called *Capo Lansiresco*. As for the City, some think it the same as *Pisciota*; others, as *Cluver*, the same as *Policastro*.

<sup>131</sup> At a little Distance from *Manfredonia*, stood the City of *Sipontum*, in *La Puglia*, now *The Capatinata*. It is now buried in Ruins, which are still called *Siponto*, near the Mouth of the *Candelaro*, below Mount *Garganus*. See what has been already said of the Antiquity and Situation of these six Cities.

<sup>132</sup> *Tempsa*, or as some, *Temesa*, formerly stood near a Place in old *Bruttium*, in *Calabria*, now known in the Country, by the Name of *Torre Loppa*. It stood between the Mouths of the Rivers

*Ocinarus* and *Lametus*; one of which is now *The Savato*, the other *The Amato*, *Fiume*.

<sup>133</sup> We have treated of old *Croton*, a City of *Bruttium*, or *The Further Calabria*, Vol. 2. Add to this, that each of the *Colonies* designed for the three first Cities, was to consist of three hundred Persons. The Care of conducting them to their respective Habitations was, as usual, committed to two Men venerable for their Birth and high Offices. *Livy* observes, that some Members of these new *Colonies* claimed the Title and Privileges of *Roman Citizens*. But the Senate determined that they had forfeited that Right. We have already observed, that the *Romans* who were transplanted into other Provinces ceased to enjoy the Privileges inseparably annexed to those who were enrolled in *The Tribes*. This we have incontestably proved. See our Dissertation on the Rights peculiar to *Roman Citizens*, the *Colonies Municipia*, and *Latins*, Vol. 2.

<sup>134</sup> The End of this Year 559, was remarkable for the Triumph granted to *Marcus Porcius Cato* after his glorious Expeditions in his Government of *Spain*. The immense Sums he brought from this rich Country, were first carried in Procession, and then put into the publick Treasury. About the same time, two Ambassadors from the Tyrant *Nabis* arrived at *Rome*. The Senate came out of the City to the Temple of *Apollo*, to hear their Business which was, for *The Conscrip Fathers* to confirm the Articles of the Treaty of Peace *Nabis* had been forced to accept. Which was done, according to the Plan *Quintius* had drawn up.



the Eastern Borders of *Media*, to *Æolis*, and *Ionia*, were subject to his Dominion. He had very lately made himself Master of *Cælo-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judæa*, *Samaria*, and in short, all the *Asiatick* Provinces, quite to *Egypt*. Nay, and his Pretensions to *Thrace* in *Europe*, were well founded. His Great Grandfather, *Seleucus Nicator*, had conquered it from *Lyfimachus*, whom he defeated, and killed in a pitched Battel. Indeed, his Predecessors had long neglected the Sovereignty they had acquired in *Thrace*; but *Antiochus's* Right still subsisted, and he had already taken Possession of it. By his Care, *Lyfimachia*, the Capital of the *Chersonesus*, was just rebuilt, and repeopled. And certainly, so powerful a King, deserved all Respect at the Hands of the *Romans*. His Alliance and Friendship were not to be rejected. But *Rome* either wanted to hinder this Conqueror from setting his Foot in *Europe*, or sought a Pretence to penetrate into *Asia*, to spread the Terror of her Name there. The Ambassadors of *Antiochus* were not received by the Senate, with that Civility and Regard, which the Dignity and Merit of their Master deserved. The Proposal they made was not unanimously accepted. The Senate pretended to compound with them, and set Bounds to their King's Pretensions. So that before they gave their Answer, *The Conscript Fathers* took indirect Means to affront the Ambassadors. They were referred to the ten Commissioners, who had formerly been sent to *Macedon*, to conclude the Peace with *Philip*, and settle the Affairs of *Greece*. *Flamininus*, who was yet at *Rome*, was at the Head of the Commission; and as soon as the three Ambassadors appeared before this new Court, *Menippus*, who spoke in the Name of *Antiochus*, expressed himself in this manner. *Why are all these Delays made, and indirect Methods taken, to give us a plain Answer? The Proposal we make is a plain one, and has no Difficulty in it. We desire the Alliance and Friendship of the Roman People. We don't come to treat with you as a vanquished People with their Conqueror; or as Nations actually at War sometimes do with one another, in order to settle their Differences in an amicable manner. Antiochus, and the Roman People, are neither upon the Foot of Enemies; or of Victors, and conquered Persons. Why then would You give Law to Us? What Right have the Romans to dispose of the Cities of Europe and Asia? What Authority have they, to direct us to withdraw our Garrisons from some Places, and not to seize others. You may perhaps have treated Philip in this manner. But do the Laws of Nations give you a Right to assume the same Ascendant over Antiochus?* This sensible, and somewhat haughty Discourse of *Menippus*, was answered by *Flamininus* after the *Roman* manner, that is, with a very imperious Air. *You say*, said he to the Ambassadors, *you would have a direct Answer, and I will give you one. Antiochus shall not be our Friend and Ally, but upon two Conditions. The first is, that he keep himself within the Bounds of Asia. The second, That if he will come into Europe, he shall consent, that the Romans shall protect the Greek Cities in Asia, and enter into Alliances with them.* At these Words, *Hegeſianax* assumed an Air of Confidence, which the Goodness of his Cause gave him, and said; *What Injustice! Your Design plainly is, to dispossess Antiochus of the Dominions of his Fathers. The Chersonesus, and all Thrace, belonged to his Great Grandfather, whose Right has descended entire to him. The Possession he has lately taken of his Inheritance, was no more than rescuing it out of the Hands of Usurpers. Romans, have you so good a Right as this, to the Greek Cities, in Europe, and Asia? By what Title do you pretend to justify your Conquest of them, or your depriving the King of Syria of the Possession of them? He desires your Friendship indeed; but in an honourable way; and not to buy it in a base manner.* These were solid Reasons: which *Flamininus* only answered in a rambling manner; by saying, that *Rome* was determined to pursue the Resolution she had made, to procure all the *Greeks* their Liberty. *Æolis* and *Ionia*, said he, *are inhabited by Greek Colonies,*

Year of  
R O M E  
DLX.  
L. CORNELIUS  
MERULA, Q.  
MINUCIUS  
THERMUS,  
Consuls.

App. in Syria-  
cis.

Livy, B. 34.  
c. 58.

135 Indeed, several Swarms of *Greeks*, either driven out of their own Country, or drawn by the Delicousness of the Climate, had lately settled in the finest Parts of *Asia Minor*. Among these several Colonies, the Ancients, particularly *Strabo*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Apollodorus*, and *Pausanias*, mention some *Æolians*, and *Ionians*. The former were thought to have inhabited from Time immemorial, the Pro-

vinces of *Thessaly*, which were under the Dominion of one *Æolus*, the Son of *Hellen*, from whom they took their Name. Hence the Term *Æolis* is used by *Apollodorus*, to signify *Thessaly*. Afterwards they spread themselves in *Peloponnesus*, and beyond the *Isthmus*, in *Acarnania*, *Phocis*, *Boeotia*, *Ætolia*, and *Locris*. The *Achaians* themselves were originally *Ætolians*, according to *Strabo*. Several of these Nations



Year of *who went into Asia, to people the Country. We have formed a Design to set all the*  
*R O M E* *Greeks free. Those of Europe are already secured against the Tyranny of Philip;*  
 DLX. *and it is our Business to go on to preserve those of Asia, from the Power and Domi-*  
 L. CORNELIUS *nion of Antiochus. What can be more humane! Nevertheless, if we may credit Livy,*  
 MERULA, Q. *this Reason confounded Hegesianax; Who, says the Latin Historian, shewed*  
 MINUCIUS *his Confusion by his Silence. But in reality, nothing could be weaker or more*  
 THERMUS, *trifling, than this Principle, upon which the Roman argued. It tended to a total*  
 Consuls. *Subversion of the Law of Nations. If Thrace, Æolis, and Ionia, belonged to*  
 \* B. 34. c. 59. *the Syrian, by an ancient Conquest, how could the Pretence of restoring these*  
*People their Liberty, be a just Reason for withdrawing them from their Obedience*  
*to their lawful Sovereign? Is the Design of setting a Prince's Subjects at Liberty,*  
*a sufficient Reason for others to declare War with him? Such Maxims tend to the*  
*Ruin of all Societies, and the Subversion of the most sacred Conventions. At*  
*that rate, no Master can be secure of his Right over his Slaves; nor any Repub-*  
*lick, over the Cities belonging to it; nor any King, over his Subjects. It must*  
*therefore be confessed, that the War the Romans made with Antiochus, was founded*  
*more in Ambition, than in Justice. The last Answer the ten Commissioners gave*  
*the Ambassadors, was this. Take your choice; either refrain from ever setting your*  
*Foot in Europe; or else, don't be surprized, if we send some of our Troops into Asia.*  
*It is easy to imagine, that the Syrians would not acquiesce in the Orders of the*  
*imperious Republick. They preferred a War, to the Loss of their ancient Right*  
*to vast Countries, in Europe, and Asia. And it is not improbable, that Antiochus*  
*had made these first Advances, in asking the Friendship of the Romans, purely to*  
*throw all the Blame of a War upon them. For at Bottom, he was exceeding de-*  
*sirous of coming to a Contest with them. Hannibal, with whom he advised, in-*  
*spired the Syrian with an Hatred to Rome, and heightened his Confidence.*

S. XXXV. THE *Carthaginian* General had been long taking Measures for stirring  
 up his own Nation against *Rome*, in favour of *Antiochus*. Though absent, and a  
 Fugitive from his Country, he still had Friends there. All the Faction of his Fa-  
 mily were absolutely devoted to him. He therefore made an Attempt to bring  
*Carthage* into a Revolt from *Rome*, and engage her in the new Party he had em-  
 braced. Nevertheless, he did not think it proper to negotiate the Affair with his  
 Countrymen by Letter. That would not have been safe. He pitched upon a fo-  
 reign Merchant, who had come to trade at *Ephesus*, where *Hannibal* was then  
 residing, with *Antiochus*. *Aristo* was the Name of this Trader; who seemed to  
 have all the Qualities necessary to gain him Success in a difficult Negotiation. He  
 was born at *Tyre*, and understood the Language which was spoken at *Carthage*.  
 The *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians* were, if I may so speak, but one People. Besides,  
*Aristo* was a Man of Address, Resolution, and Intrepidity. *Hannibal* had experi-  
 enced his Skill in Business, in the execution of several Commissions which he had  
 entrusted him with; and the *Carthaginian* neither spared Presents, nor Promises to  
 him on this Occasion. He gave his Agent proper Instructions; told him the Names of  
 those he must see, and of those whom he ought to suspect; and without giving him any  
 thing in writing, taught him several Signs, by which he might satisfy his Friends,  
 that he acted by Commission from him. *Aristo* came to *Carthage*, and was taken  
 for a *Carthaginian*. He did not make himself known to any but *Hannibal's* Friends  
 and solicited them to take up Arms once more, against a Republick, which was  
 going to be overpowered by the Number of her Enemies. In short, he discovered  
 to them the Design *Antiochus* had formed, of sending *Hannibal* to revive the War  
 in *Italy*. But as secret as the Negotiations of the *Tyrian* were, his frequent Visits  
 to the Heads of the *Hannibal* Faction, betrayed him. Nay, he himself dropped  
 something of his Designs. Nothing was talked of, in publick or private, but *Han-*  
*nibal's* Envoy. Till at length, one of the Enemies of his Faction ventured to say

Nations united, under the Conduct of *Pentbilus*,  
 the Son of *Orestes*, in order to go over into *Asia*,  
 and settle in the Country next to the *Ægean* Sea,  
 which they called *Æolis*, to perpetuate the Memory  
 of their Origin. As to the *Ionians*, they were so  
 called from their first King *Ion*. The Writers we  
 have just quoted, make them some of the most an-

cient Inhabitants of *Attica*, and of a part of *Pelopon-*  
*nesus*. Being forced by the *Acheans* to leave the  
 own Country, they crossed the Sea, under the Con-  
 duct of *Nilæus*, and some other *Athenians* of the  
 Race of *Codrus*; and took Possession of that Pro-  
 vince of *Asia Minor*, which borders upon *Cari-*  
 and *Æolis*.



in the publick Senate, That it signified nothing that *Hannibal* was banished, if he was still suffered to carry on Intrigues, by his Emissaries. He also declared, That one *Aristo*, whom he knew not, was carrying on a Negotiation at *Carthage*, in favour of *Antiochus*; and That a Storm would soon break out, which would utterly destroy the *Carthaginian* Republick. Upon this, the Senators all cried out, as if by Concert, That the *Tyrian* ought to be seized; and That Ambassadors should be sent to *Rome*, to carry him thither. The rash *Hannibal*, said they, *has brought Misfortunes enough upon us already. If private Persons offend, it is only at their own Perils. But the Case is otherwise as to Communities. The Republick ought not only to keep free from Guilt, but from the very Imputation of it.* *Aristo* was therefore cited to appear: and he insisted, that he had brought no Letter from *Hannibal*; and defied the Senate to produce any. But he could not give a very good Account of his Business at *Carthage*. What made him suspected, was his frequent and private Visits to those of the *Hannibal* Faction. He conversed with none but them. Some were therefore for imprisoning him, for a Spy. Others pleaded for the *Syrian*, and contended, that if they arrested him upon bare Suspicions, such an Act would set Foreigners against them. *Carthage* was a trading City, from whence People were continually going to all the Ports in the *Mediterranean*, and to which Merchant Ships were continually coming, in great Numbers, from all Parts. The *Carthaginians* were therefore afraid of Reprizals, especially from the *Tyrians*. And these Considerations, suspended, at least for some Days, the Arrest of the Criminal; and *Aristo* took this Opportunity to escape. He kept his Ship in a Readiness to sail; but before he went off, made use of a Stratagem, which was sufficient to cause the *Romans* to suspect the Judges, who had suspected him. In the Dusk of the Evening, he went privately into the Hall, where publick Audiences were given, and over the President's Seat, affixed up a Writing, which contained these Words: *Aristo had no Orders to treat with private Persons, but with the Senate of Carthage.* His Design was, thereby to extricate *Hannibal's* Friends out of the Affair, to confound the Senators, and to create Troubles in the City. Accordingly, the Sight of this Writing put the People in a Ferment. They were divided between *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. Nevertheless, the Fear of a Republick, whose Superiority she had experienced, and whose Vengeance she dreaded, kept *Carthage* in her Duty. She thought it necessary to send an Embassy to *Rome*, to inform the Consuls and Senate of what had passed; and at the same time, to complain of some Usurpations of *Masinissa*, on the Lands of *Carthage*. As for *Aristo*, he set sail the next Night, and had the ill-natured Pleasure of knowing, that he had sowed Divisions among the *Carthaginians*, and rendered their Senate suspected, both by their own People, and by the *Romans*.

§. XXXVI. IN the mean time, *Masinissa* thought he might turn to his Advantage the Discontents between *Rome* and *Carthage*, and the Misunderstandings between the *Carthaginian* Senate and People. Between his Dominions, and those of the Republick, there was a maritime Country, which was the richest and most fruitful of any in *Africa*. It was called <sup>136</sup> *Emporia*; and though there was then no City in it but that of <sup>137</sup> *Leptis*, it payed *Carthage* a <sup>138</sup> *Talent* \* a Day for Tribute. *Masinissa* thought this a favourable Occasion, to seize one part of this fine Country, and plunder the other. But he was afraid, that the *Carthaginians* would take this Opportunity of sending an Embassy to *Rome*, to complain likewise of his

Year of  
R O M E  
DLX.

L. CORNELIUS  
MERULA, Q.  
MINUCIUS  
THERMUS,  
Consuls.

\* 193 l. 15 s.  
Arbuthnot.

<sup>136</sup> The Name of *Emporia* was formerly given to a little Country in *Africa*; which reached, according to *Livy*, and *Polybius*, almost to *The Little Syrtis*, in *The Bysacene Province*, which is now a part of the Kingdom of *Tunis*. The Fruitfulness of this maritime Country, and its advantageous Situation, brought a great many Merchants to it, from all Parts. And from thence it was called *Emporia*; a Term used by the *Greeks*, to signify either a trading City, or the Trade of such a City. *Pliny* says, that the Lands in this little District produced above an hundred-fold.

<sup>137</sup> There were two Cities in *Africa* called *Leptis*; and distinguished by the Names of *Leptis Magna*, or *Great Leptis*, and *Leptis parva*, or *Little Leptis*.

The latter is here meant by *Livy*. It stood between *Thapsus* and *Adrumetum*, to the West of *The Little Syrtis*. No Footsteps of it are now left. The Place where it stood is called *Lepi* by some, and *Mahometa* by others. As for *Great Leptis*, it was near *The Great Syrtis*, in the Territory of *Tripoly*, some Miles from the Mouth of the *Cinyphus*, a River which rises in the Deserts of *Lybia*, and discharges itself into *The Great Syrtis*, and not *The Little*, as some Moderns have thought, from some misunderstood Passages of the Ancients. This River, according to *Marmol*, is the same as the *Magra*.

<sup>138</sup> A *Talent* was worth about three thousand French *Livres*.



Year of unjuſt Proceedings. He therefore reſolved to anticipate them by an Embaſſy of his own; and charged his Ambaſſadors to increaſe the Suſpicions of the *Romans*, with regard to *Hannibal* and *Ariſto*. This was a previous Step which he took to defend his Invaſion of *Emporia*, againſt his Accuſers. The *Roman* Senate heard both Parties, but with a ſecret Inclination to favour *Mafiniſſa*. The *Numidian* King's Ambaſſadors had heightened the Suſpicions entertained at *Rome*, of the Unfaithfulneſs of the *Carthaginians*; and the Negotiations of *Ariſto* made her fear, that *Hannibal* had drawn *Carthage* into *Antiochus*'s Meaſures. Why, ſaid the *Romans*, did not the *Carthaginian* Senate ſeiſe the *Tyrian Ship*? Why did they not ſend *Ariſto* himſelf to *Rome* to be examined here? This Connivance conceals ſome *Mystery of Iniquity*. Theſe Suſpicions prejudiced the People in favour of *Mafiniſſa*. Nevertheless, the *Carthaginians* had really Juſtice on their ſide, in the Affair of *Emporia*. They contended, that when *Scipio* had ſettled the Limits of the *Carthaginian* State, and the Kingdom of *Numidia*, he annexed *Emporia* to the former. And they added, that *Mafiniſſa* himſelf had owned their Right to this Country, ſince he had aſked the *Carthaginians* Leave, to march his Troops through it, in time of War. As for the *Numidian* Ambaſſadors, they denied that *Scipio* had ſettled the Affair of *Emporia*: And as to any original Right *Carthage* could have had to it, they reaſoned thus. The Territory of *Carthage* was originally confined to as much Ground, as could be encompassed by an Ox-hide, cut into Thongs. All therefore that ſhe now has more, is an *Uſurpation on the Kings* of *Numidia*. And as to *Emporia* in particular, it is a middle Country between *Carthage* and us, which has perpetually changed its Maſters, and has been poſſeſſed by the ſtrongeſt. But though the *Roman* Senate were convinced of the Right of *Carthage*, as founded upon long Poſſeſſion, they left the Affair undetermined. They only promiſed to ſend three Commiſſioners to the Place, with the Title of Ambaſſadors, to examine into, and determine, the Diſpute there. *Scipio Africanus* was at the Head of this Commiſſion; and probably, had private Inſtructions from his Republick, not to inſiſt on the Surrendry of *Emporia*. Indeed, nothing could have been more eaſy, than for this great Man, to have put an end to this Diſpute, by his own Authority. But the *Romans* thought it Policy, to leave it to be Matter of perpetual Quarrels between the two Parties. The Dominion of *Rome* over *Africa* was ſtrengthened by it. The more the *Numidians* and *Carthaginians* were embroiled, the more eaſy it was for her to continue Miſtreſs of both States. In a Word, *Carthage* could not ſtir in Favour of *Antiochus*, without having *Mafiniſſa* upon her. *Scipio* and his two Colleagues therefore left the Affair undetermined, and returned to *Rome*.

§. XXXVII. THE News from *Spain*, was neither altogether good, nor altogether bad. In *Hither Spain*, the *Prætor Digitius*, had very ill ſupported the Advantages *Cato* had gained there, in his Conſulſhip. *Cato* had left his Province almoſt pacified at his Departure; but upon the Arrival of *Digitius*, the Nations had taken up Arms again. The *Prætor* had fought ſeveral Battels with them, but always with Loſs. Till at length his Year ended, and he was obliged to deliver up his Troops into the Hands of the Perſon the Republick ſhould ſend to ſucceed him. This was one *C. Flaminius*, who was yet at *Rome*, and making Preparations for his Departure. Upon the Reports which were ſpread of the Weakneſs of the *Prætorian* Army, in *Hither Spain*, *Flaminius* offered a Petition to the Senate, deſiring Leave to carry into his Province, a Legion which was left in the City. Without this Reinforcement, ſaid he, it will be impoſſible for me to repair the Loſſes, *Digitius* has received. But the Senate would not grant his Requeſt. They did not think proper to engage the Republick in ſo great an Expence, upon uncertain Rumours. All that *Flaminius* could obtain, was Leave to raiſe Troops in *Spain*, when he ſhould come thither. The new *Prætor* propoſed to raiſe himſelf a great Army; and therefore took the Road to *Sicily*, and made Levies there. Then being thrown by a Tempeſt on the Coaſts of *Afric*, he there got together a good Number of thoſe Soldiers, who had formerly ſerved under *Scipio*, and whoſe Love of Licentiousneſs had kept them in *Africa*, where they led a rambling Life. Thus out of an Aſſembly of *Sicilians*, *Africans*, and the *Spaniards* he raiſed upon the Spot, *Flaminius* got Troops enough, to keep the Rebels to their Duty. Beſides, the Affairs of *Rome* in *Spain* were not ſo bad as had been repreſented.



P. Cornelius Scipio, surnamed *Nasica*, had kept up the Glory of the Roman Year of Name in his Province. He had been nominated *Prætor* for *Further Spain*; and R O M E had signalized himself by his Victories there. The Reader may remember in what DLX. Reputation *Nasica* was at *Rome*, for his Probity. When the Goddess of *Pessinus* L. CORNELIUS was to be received, he had been judged the most virtuous Man in the Republick; MERULA, Q. and in *Spain*, he shewed himself to be likewise a good General. As soon as any MINUCIUS Rebels stirred in his Province, he fought them, and with Advantage. There were rec- THERMUS, koned up above fifty Places, which he had brought back to the *Romans*. But the Bat- Confuls. tel which did him most Honour, was that which he fought with the <sup>139</sup> *Lusitani- ans*, near <sup>140</sup> *Ilipa*. An Army of these People, whose Country lay on the most Western Coast of *Spain*, had passed the *Ebro*, and committed great Ravages in *Hither Spain*. *Nasica* waited for them at their return, and gave them Battel. Indeed, the *Roman* Army was inferior to the *Lusitanian* in Number; but it had many other Advantages over the Enemy. The *Lusitanians* were fatigued with a long March, and had had a great deal of Trouble, in driving a vast Quantity of Cattle, which they had brought out of the Fields. Besides, the *Romans* attacked them unexpectedly. Nevertheless, upon the first Onset, the *Lusitanians* shewed great Courage, and made a vigorous Resistance. Though the Action begun at nine in the Morning, yet at two in the Afternoon, the Victory had not declared itself, on either side. Nay, the *Romans* seem to have been ready to give way. But after this, the Battel became equal. And at last, the Boldness and Perseverance of *Nasica*, got the better of the Resistance of the Enemy. He made a Vow to celebrate *The Great Games*, in honour to *Jupiter*, if he gained the Victory. The Superstition of the *Romans*, and their Persuasion that their General would be heard, increased their Courage. They fell upon the Enemy with more Fury than ever: The *Lusitanian* Troops retired, and being pursued by the *Romans* with fresh Vi- gour, were at length overpowered; and then a general Rout ensued. The Enemy lost in their Flight twelve thousand Men, and a hundred and thirty four Standards; besides five hundred and forty Horsemen, who were made Prisoners of War. As for the *Romans*, they are said not to have lost above seventy three Soldiers in the Action. A memorable Battel, which signally displayed both the Valour of the *Romans*, and the Prudence of their General! *Nasica* led back his Troops to *Ilipa*, restored the Booty he had taken from the Enemy to the proper Owners that could be found, ordered his *Quæstor* to sell the rest, and distributed the Money among his Soldiers. After this he left *Spain*, and surrendered up his Army to *Fulvius*, his Successor; who gained a famous Victory near <sup>141</sup> *Toledo*, over three *Spanish* Nations together. The <sup>142</sup> *Vaccæi*, <sup>143</sup> *Vectones*, and *Celtiberians*, ventured to come to a Battel with him, in the open Country; their Army was routed; and *Hilermus*, one of their Kings, was taken Prisoner. As for *Flaminius*, he had lost much time in assembling his Troops together; and it being very late when he came into his Province of *Hither Spain*, he performed no great Exploits there. Nevertheless, the City of <sup>144</sup> *Ilucia* submitted to him; and when his Troops were in Winter-quarters, he cleared the Country of some *Banditti*, who infested it. Thus the two *Prætors* had gained a Superiority in *Spain*, but had not extinguished the Sedition.

<sup>139</sup> See what we have said, Vol. 3. of the Bounds of old *Lusitania*, which contained the Country we now call the Kingdom of *Portugal*.

<sup>140</sup> There were several Cities in *Spain* called *Ilipa*. *Ambrose Morales* places that here spoken of, in *Estremadura*, which was then in *Lusitania*. *Pro- lomy* speaks of a City of *Ilipula*, which belonged to the *Turdetani*. Some have thought that the *Ilipa* *Livy* mentions, was the same Place that *Pliny* calls *Lepie*; which is now called *Niebla*, according to *Sanfon's* Conjecture. Others don't distinguish it from *Lepe*, a little City at a little Distance from the Mouth of the *Anas*, or *Guadiana*; at one of the Extremities of old *Lusitania*.

<sup>141</sup> *Toledo* became afterwards one of the most considerable Cities in the Country of the *Carpetani*: And long after that, it became the Capital of all *Spain*, under the *Gothic* Kings. It is still the chief City in *New Castille*.

<sup>142</sup> The *Vaccæi* possessed part of the Kingdom of *Leon*, and of *Old Castille*, on both sides the Ri- ver *Duero*. See Vol. 3.

<sup>143</sup> The *Vectones* or *Vettones*, anciently inhabited those parts of *Lusitania*, which are now Parts of the Province called *Tra-los Montes*, and of the Kingdom of *Leon*, on this side the *Duero*. The Cities of *Ciudad Rodrigo*, *Ledesma*, *Salamanca*, and *Bejar*, take up the greatest part of this Canton, of which some Authors have thought that *Merida* was the Capital. Some of the *Spanish* Geographers say, there were two sorts of People called *Vectones*. One sort, which are those here spoken of, inhabited a part of *Portugal*; the other settled near the Head of the *Duero*.

<sup>144</sup> *Livy* places the City of *Ilucia* in the Coun- try of the *Oretani*, which was formerly a part of the two Cantons, which the *Spaniards* now call, *La Mancha*, and *La Sierra*.



Year of  
ROME  
DLX.

L. CORNELIUS  
MERULA, Q.  
MINUCIUS  
THERMUS,  
Consuls.

§. XXXVIII. THE two *Consuls* for the Year had much the same Success against the *Gallic* Rebels in *Italy*, as the *Prætors* had, against the Revolters in *Spain*. They gained great Advantages over them; but did not put an end to the Rebellion. In the beginning of the Campaign, the *Consuls Merula*, and *Thermus*, expected to have continued quiet, in *Rome*. They did not think the *Gauls* in a Condition to take up Arms again, after their late Losses. But all on a sudden, *Cincius*, the Governor of *Pisa*, sent Advice to the Senate, that twenty thousand *Ligures*, had laid waste the Territory of *Luna*, and were entered into that of *Pisa*. The *Consuls* had already drawn Lots for their Provinces, at all Events; and *Liguria* had fallen to *Thermus*, *Gaul* to *Merula*. *Thermus*, therefore marched to the Place, where the Affairs of his Province called him; but before he set out, he gave an Order, which met with Opposition. Two *Legions* had been raised the last Year in the City of *Rome*; and the *Consul* ordered them to repair in ten Days to *Aretium*, the general Rendezvous for his Troops. But these *Citizens*, though enrolled, had no mind to leave their Houses, and follow the *Consul*. Great Numbers of them made their Excuses to the *Tribunes* of their *Legion*. Some pretended to have served their whole time; others feigned Sickness; and the Affair was therefore brought before the Senate. The letter was read in the House, which *Sempronius*, the *Consul* for the last Year, and now *Pro-Consul* in *Cisalpine Gaul*, had written to the Republick: and by that it appeared, That fifteen thousand *Ligures* were gathered together round *Placentia*, and That the Banks of the *Po* were ravaged by them; and That the *Boii* were inclined to take up Arms again. This Expedition of the Enemy, was therefore thought one of those, which the *Romans* called *Tumultus*, that is, a sudden Insurrection of all the *Gallic* Nation; and on these Occasions, no *Citizen* was exempted from taking the Field. So that no Excuses were admitted. The *Tribunes* were ordered to spare no Body. All the *Legionaries* therefore came to the Place appointed. The Soldiers also that *Scipio* had disbanded the Year before, and the Auxiliaries of his Army, had Orders to assemble together to serve under *Merula*. This *Consul* was then preparing to set out for *Gaul*. The Rendezvous of his Troops was in *Hetruria*; and Leave was also given him, to enlist all the Youth in the Fields, and Towns, which were fit to serve. These Precautions, and this Severity of the *Romans*, plainly shew how formidable the *Gauls* were to them. No Excuse, no Consideration whatever, had any weight; when the Business was, to suppress a *Tumultus* raised by the *Gauls*. When all things were ready for the Departure of the *Consuls*, each took the Road to his Province. *Thermus* came to *Aretium* on the Day he had fixed; and from thence he advanced towards *Pisa*, where he found the *Ligures* assembled from all Parts. Above forty thousand of them were drawn together in the Fields about that City, in hopes of Plunder.

THE *Consul* marched towards *Pisa*, with the Precaution of an able General. His Army, drawn up in a Square, marched on in good Order. At length he entered *Pisa*, and delivered it. Upon the Arrival of the *Consul* the Enemy retired, and encamped three Miles from it, on the other side the River. Then *Thermus* left *Pisa*; posted himself about a Mile from the *Ligurian* Camp; and some of his Troops marched out, by Intervals only, to skirmish. The *Consul* durst not yet hazard a general Action. His *Legions* consisted of raw young Men, neither disciplined, nor experienced in War. As for the *Ligures*, they often bad the *Roman* General Defiance; and their Army being numerous, they sent out Detachments to ravage the neighbouring Country. The Cattle, and other Booty which they got in the *Roman* Territories, were always sent into their own Country, under strong Guards; and this kind of War, in which the *Consul* only acted upon the defensive, lasted a great while.

§. XXXIX. BUT his Colleague *Merula* was more active, and employed his Army in a very different manner. He passed on through *Insubria*, to the Country of the *Boii*, and there often provoked the Enemy to come to a Battel. The *Boii* on the other hand, kept close in their Trenches, and gave up their Fields to be plundered. Accordingly, the whole Country was laid waste. Till at length Necessity alone forced *Merula* to leave it. He drew near to <sup>145</sup> *Mutina*, a City belonging to the *Romans*; and being in a Friend's Country, he marched with little Precaution.

<sup>145</sup> *Mutina*, was the old Name which the *Latins* gave to the present City of *Modena*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLX.L. CORNELIUS  
MERULA, Q.  
MINUCIUS  
THERMUS,  
Consuls.

This the *Boii* observed, and made it their whole Business to draw him into an Ambuscade. First, they kept along by the side of his Army, continually marching through Forests, which were impassable to any but themselves. Then they got before him, and lay in ambush in a Wood, by which the *Roman* Army must necessarily pass. This was a good Scheme; but they were not secret enough in the execution. *Merula* suspected it, and would no more continue his March in the Night, as he had hitherto done. He waited till Sun-rising before he would decamp. *The bravest Men*, said he, *ought always to be afraid of the Dangers of a dark Night*. Nor was this all. Whilst the *Consul* was proceeding in his March, he sent out some Bodies of Horse to make Discoveries. When his Scouts had informed him, where the Enemy were, how numerous, and what Appearance they made, he immediately ordered his Soldiers to throw all their Baggage in an Heap, in the Center of the Army, and commanded the *Triarii* to surround it, with a Circle of Pallisades, and guard it. This was done in a Moment; and then, without farther Delay, the rest of the Army marched on towards the Enemy. The *Gauls* did the same, and accepted the Challenge. Their Ambuscade was discovered; and their Artifice failing, they had now no Resource but in their Valour. It was about eight in the Morning when the Action began. The Cavalry, which the *Consul* had posted in his left Wing, and the Auxiliaries, of which his Horse-guards consisted, began the Onset. They were commanded by *M. Marcellus*, and *Tib. Sempronius Merula*, two Lieutenant Generals, who had both been *Consuls*. The present *Consul* posted himself in the Center, to restrain the Ardour of his *Legionaries*, and prevent their engaging too soon. As for the Cavalry which flanked his *Legions*, he ordered the *Tribune* who commanded them, to advance with them into the Plain. Whilst the *Consul* was giving his Orders, an Account came from *Sempronius*, that his Guards suffered much, and that he was in danger of being surrounded by the Multitude of the *Gauls*, and overpowered by them. And the *Consul* was desired to send one of his *Legions* to support these brave Men, who were exposed to so much Danger. At length therefore he commanded the second *Legion* to go and supply the Place of those Guards, which had been forced to retire into the open Spaces in the Army; and then the Battel became more furious. The Cavalry on the left, who had already suffered very much, were also ordered to retreat; and those in the right to enter upon Action. About Noon, the Sun shined with such Strength, that the *Gauls* could scarce bear the Heat of it; but still kept their Ground. They rested upon their Bucklers, supported one another by keeping in the closest Order, and still sustained the Impetuosity of the *Romans*. Their Strength failed them before their Courage did; and the *Consul* perceived how difficult it was to break them. Nevertheless, he ordered his Horse to ride full Speed upon them. Accordingly, they fell like a sudden Tempest on the *Gauls*, and beat them down; but still not one of them turned his Back. Though they lost Ground, they did not fly. The General of the *Gauls* took care to guard against it. As soon as a Soldier left his Rank, he felt an Halbert very severely on his Shoulders, till he returned to his Place. In short, never was Fight more obstinate, or Resistance more vigorous. But at length, the *Legionary* Cavalry got the better; broke into the Ranks of some *Gallic* Battalions, and put them into Confusion.

NEVERTHELESS, the greatest part of the *Gallick* Army still faced the Enemy, and seemed impenetrable. However, the *Consul* ran from File to File, and told his Soldiers, that if they would make but one Effort more, it would be easy to defeat an Army, which began already to give way. Then he ordered the *Engins* to draw as near the Enemy as possible, and to fight Man to Man: And this last Attack, made by all the *Legionaries* together, was decisive. The *Gauls* fled, and their Rout was general. Though the *Roman* Cavalry were sent out a little too late, to pursue the Fugitives, a considerable Slaughter was made of them. Fourteen thousand *Gauls* were killed on the Spot, and near twelve hundred of them were taken Prisoners; exclusive of seven hundred and twenty one of their Horse, who were surrounded, with three of their Generals. The *Romans* also took from the *Gauls* two hundred and twelve Colours, and sixty three *Gallic* Carts full of Baggage. But it must be owned, that a Victory so disputed, cost the Victors dear. The *Romans* lost five thousand Men, *Legionaries*, and Auxiliaries; twenty



Year of three *Centurions*, four Officers of the Auxiliaries, and two *Tribunes* of the second *ROMAN* Legion.

DLX.  
L. CORNELIUS  
MERULA, Q.  
MINUCIUS  
THERMUS,  
Consuls.

§. XL. *MERULA*'s first care was to give the Senate Advice of the Advantage he had just gained over the *Boii*; and his Letter came to *Rome*, almost at the same time that a Courier arrived from his Colleague *Thermus*. The latter sent Word, that he was so much engaged before *Pisa*, with keeping the *Ligures* in Awe, that he could not possibly leave his Post, to come and preside in the *Comitia*. This Presidentship had fallen to him by Lot; and he said, that he was forced, though with Reluctance, to give up this honourable Privilege. And therefore he desired, That either this Commission should be given to his Colleague; or, if he should decline it, because it had not fallen to him by Lot, That then an *Interregnum* should rather be appointed, than he be forced to leave his Expedition against the *Ligures*. And this Request of *Thermus* was deemed reasonable. Two Senators were deputed to *Merula*'s Camp, to carry him *Thermus*'s Letter, and to let him know, that if he refused to come to *Rome* to preside at the great Elections, the Senate was resolved that there should be an *Interregnum*. Upon this Advice, *Merula* chose to return to *Rome*, and accept of the Commission offered him. He was elated with his late Victory, and depended on obtaining a Triumph. But to his great Misfortune, the General Officers of his Army had done him Disservice. *Marcellus*, among others, had prejudiced the Senate against *Merula*'s Conduct. His present Rank of Lieutenant-General, and his having been honoured with the *Consulship*, gave weight to his Accusation, which ran thus. *The Republick owes a great deal to the Valour of her Soldiers. After many Losses, they have at last conquered. But the Consul has been very indulgent to the Enemy. He let slip an Opportunity of putting it out of their Power, ever to fight another Battel; and if he had sent timely Succours to the brave Men in his Army, he would have saved us much Blood. It was his Fault, That the Legionary Cavalry engaged no sooner; and That they were sent too late to cut off the Fugitives.*

§. XLI. This Letter suspended the Determination of *The Fathers*, with regard to *Merula*'s Triumph. Besides, the Senate were upon a Regulation, which required more haste than a publick Show. The Republick had long since restrained the Excess to which Usury had been carried in her Dominions. The Interest of Money <sup>146</sup> had been reduced to one *per Cent.* at most; and the Cities, which were governed by *Roman* Laws, were obliged to observe this Order. But Avarice soon found means to render it ineffectual. Almost all the Money that was lent at *Rome*, was lent under borrowed Names. The Inhabitants of the Cities of the Allies, and especially of the *Municipia*, where the *Roman* Laws were not in full force, lent the *Roman Citizens* their Names. So that these Foreigners were supposed to be the Borrowers; and in that case, the *Roman* who lent the Sum, was at Liberty to take what Interest he pleased. This was become a common piece of Knavery; and it was necessary to put a Stop to it. The Difficulty was, how to distinguish the true Creditors from the fictitious ones; and the Senate took this Method for it. They ordered, that all the Allies, not governed by the *Roman* Laws, who had entered into any Contracts with any *Citizens* of *Rome*, since the Feast of the Infernal Gods, that is, since *The* <sup>147</sup> *Ninth of the Calends of March* last, should bring them before

<sup>146</sup> See what we have said of the *Roman* Laws, that related to the Interest of Money, and the Power of Creditors, *Vol. 1.*

<sup>147</sup> *The ninth of the Calends of March* answered to our twenty first Day of *February*. The ancient *Roman* Calendar fixed on this Day, the Festival the Pagans celebrated, to appease the *Manes* of the Dead. Nevertheless, *Ovid Fast. B. 2.* seems to place it on *The thirteenth of the Calends of March*, that is, our seventeenth Day of *February*. And according to this Poet, *Aeneas* brought this religious Custom into *Italy*.

But *Macrobius* ascribes the Origin and Institution of it to *Numa*; perhaps because he revived it. *Ovid* tells us, that in the Hurry of the continual Wars which employed the Republick, the *Romans* omitted, for several Years, to pay to the Souls of their An-

cestors, the annual Duties, which the fundamental Laws of Religion demanded of every Father of a Family. In the mean time, *Rome* was afflicted with a Plague: which was so violent, that it spread into the neighbouring Countries. Then the Inhabitants, as sick in Mind as Body, reproached themselves with their Neglect of the Worship of the *Dii Manes*. Immediately all Hell was thought in a Conspiracy to ruin their Country. The terrified People fancied they saw threatening Shades, and Spectres walking about the Fields. The Souls of the Dead, were said to come out of their Tombs, and make hideous Howlings in all parts of the City. The Fears, and distempered Imaginations of most of the Citizens, realized and multiplied these Objects of Terror. And in the Terrors which these Panicks spread, every one was eager to renew the Ceremonies



before the Judges. And then, they left the Debtors at Liberty, to pay Interest for the Sums they had borrowed, either according to the *Roman* Laws, or according to the Agreements they had made with the Foreigners. By this means, the Artifice invented to palliate Usury, was exterminated out of *Rome*. The *Romans* did not hinder those, who were only Allies to them, from borrowing Money, on what Conditions they pleased; but they would not suffer their own *Citizens*, to pay any other Interest, than what the *Roman* Laws allowed. A wise Regulation, which prevented the Ruin of many Families! The *Latins* themselves, and the other Allies of *Rome*, found it so reasonable, that they conformed themselves to it, in their own Countries.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLX.  
L. CORNELIUS  
MERULA, Q.  
MINUCIUS  
THERMUS,  
Consuls.

§. XLII. AFTER this, the Senate heard the *Consul Merula's* Request. He first complained of the neglect of *The Conscript Fathers*, in not appointing a Day of publick Prayers, after the complete Victory he had gained; and then he demanded a Triumph. But he met with some Opposition. *Metellus*, a Man of Authority, who had been *Dictator*, spoke thus. *You know*, said he to *Merula*, *that Marcellus, one of your Lieutenant-Generals, has written hither against you. You have found means to confine him to the Camp near Mutina. You have entrusted him with the Command of your Army, exclusive of Sempronius, to whom that Command belonged. Is it not then probable, that you were afraid of meeting Marcellus here? We would have confronted you, and he would have supported before your Face, what he wrote*

remonies, which had been too long neglected; and the Practice of them was established.

On *The ninth of the Calends of March*, that is, the twenty first of *February*, the *Romans* came at Night to the Sepulchre of their deceased Ancestors, lighted by Funeral Torches. The Darkeness was suitable to this mournful Ceremony. The *Roman Ladies* laid aside their Ornaments, and appeared in Mourning. All carried on their Heads, Crowns and Garlands, with which they adorned the Tombs. They kissed the cinerary Urns with Earnestness, and washed them with their Tears. Great Bowls of Wine and Milk, were poured into the burial Vaults. Nor was the Blood of Victims spared; it being a prevailing Opinion, that the Dead came out of their Tombs to refresh themselves with the Smoke and Smell of the Meat. Flesh and Herbs, especially Beans, were set before them. According to the Visions of *Pythagoras*, which we will not pretend to explain, the Bean contained the Souls of the Dead, and its Lobes represented in little, the Gates of Hell. *Festus* also pretends, that upon the Flowers of this Pulse, there was thought to be the Figure of a mournful Letter. *Faba parentalibus adhibetur Sacrificis, & in flore ejus Luctus Litteræ apparere videtur.* He probably means the Letter *Theta* &c. It was thought a mournful Letter, because it was that which was marked on the little Balls, which the Judges put into the Urn, when they voted for Death. This Custom of spreading Tables in the Sepulchres of the Dead, and offering several sorts of Meats to the *Manes*, was adopted by the *Christians*. They practised these Remains of Paganism at the Tombs of the Martyrs, where some of them, were not ashamed to eat and drink to excess. This Abuse prevailed in *St. Austin's* time; and an Iniquity so crying, and so contrary to the Holiness of the Gospel, enflamed the Zeal of this Father of the Church. He expresses himself, in his Work entitled, *De moribus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, in this manner. *Nolite consecrari turbas imperitorum, qui in ipsa vera religione supersticiosi sunt. Novi multos esse sepulchrorum & picturarum adoratores. Novi multos, qui cum luxuriose super mortuos bibant, & Epulas cadaveribus exhibentes, super sepulchra seipfos sepeliunt.*

None were suffered to marry during the time allotted for this Feast. Both Men and Women were obliged to Continence. And at this time, which was wholly employed in honouring the *Di Manes*, the Gods of Heaven had no Share in the Sacrifices or Prayers of the Dead. Their Temples were shut up, their Statues veiled, and the Worship of

the infernal Gods wholly engaged the *Romans*

The Festival was closed with a Sacrifice, accompanied with some magical Superstitions, in honour to a Goddess, whom the *Romans* called *DEA MUTA*, or *DEA TACITA*, *The Goddess of Silence.* *Ovid* says, that *Jupiter* cut out her Tongue for telling Tales. She told *Juno* of this God's Intrigues with the Nymph *Juturna*. See *Ovid's Fasti*, B. 2. The Poet there supposes, that the indiscreet Nymph was condemned to live for ever in the Mansions of Oblivion and Silence. The care of the Ceremony of this last Sacrifice was committed to an old Enchantress. She practised, in the middle of a Company of Girls, all the Secrets of her Art, with a Design, to avert the Strokes of Envy, and the Malice of backsliding Tongues, which delighted in disturbing the Ashes of the Dead, by reflecting on their Memory. After these Mummeries, the old Woman made Libations of Wine, some of which she distributed among her Companions, after she had kept the best part for her self.

*Vina quoque instillat. Vini quodcunque relictum est  
Aut ipsa, aut Comites, plus tamen ipsa bibit.  
Hostiles Linguas, inimicaque vinximus Ora,  
Dicit discedens; ebriaque exit Anus.*

The next Day after the Festival was spent in Feastings, in every Family. And these Entertainments *Ovid* calls *Charistia*.

*Proxima Cognati dixerunt Charistia Chari.*

Then the Relations met together, excluding every Body else, and entertained one another in a very friendly manner. And amidst the Joy, that Wine and good Cheer inspires, the Guests interposed their good Offices, to accommodate all Differences and Quarrels that had happened between particular Persons. According to *Valerius Maximus*, the only End the *Roman* Lawgivers proposed by this Institution, was to maintain Concord, and Peace between Relations. To which *Ovid* adds, that in the midst of the Entertainment, those of the Family who had died within the Year, were mentioned; and the Number of the Children, which had been born in that time to supply their Places. In a Word, those Funeral Ceremonies, which the Pagans perverted to a bad Use, arise from the purest Dictates of right Reason, and from an internal Sensation, which is continually putting us in mind of our Immortality; as *Tertullian* has observed in his Book *Of the Soul*, and in that *Of the Resurrection*.



Year of *to us, of your Behaviour in the Battel. This Regard which you affect to shew him,*  
*R O M E makes your Conduct suspected.*

DLX.  
 L. CORNELIUS  
 MERULA, Q.  
 MINUCIUS  
 THERMUS,  
 Consuls.

BUT these Words did not discourage *Merula*. He made fresh Application, both for the Day of publick Prayers, and a Triumph; and the Senate seemed inclined to grant them. But two *Tribunes of the People* protested against any Decree, which should be made in favour of the *Consul*. So that *Merula* failed in his Attempts; and turned his Thoughts wholly to the Business of presiding in the *Comitia* at the Election of *Consuls*.

THERE never was a stronger or more just Competition between the Candidates, than now. It was, if I may so speak, a Trial of Interest, between some of the most illustrious Families in *Rome*. Three *Patricians* of high Birth, and great personal Merit, offered their Service to the Republick. One was *Scipio Nasica*, who, during his *Prætorship*, had signalized himself in *Spain*, by considerable Exploits. His Virtue had been recognized by a solemn Act of Judgment; and he had signally displayed his Valour the last Year. Besides, he was supported by the *Cornelian* Family, from which he was descended. *Scipio Africanus* presented him to *The Tribes*, as his Cousin-German; and *Cornelius Merula*, who presided in the *Comitia*, was as near a Relation to him, though of a different Branch of the Family. But it was *Scipio's* Misfortune, to have a Competitor of as great Reputation, and as well born, as himself. Except in Probity, *L. Quinctius* was in nothing inferior to his Rival. Being Brother to the Great *Flaminius*, he had commanded the *Roman* Fleet in *Greece*; and Fame made little Difference between the maritime Expedition of the one, and the Victories gained at Land by the other. It was therefore not doubted, but that the Election would fall, either on young *Quinctius*, or *Nasica*. As for *Cn. Manlius*, who was the third *Patrician* Candidate, his Interest was inferior to that of his two Competitors. Four other illustrious Citizens contended for the *Plebeian Consulship*; the two chief of which were, 1. *C. Lælius*, that faithful Friend of *Scipio Africanus*, and his inseparable Companion, in all his Expeditions and Victories: And 2dly, one *Domitius Ænobarbus*, who seems not to have been very considerable as a Soldier. So that the Great *Scipio*, supported his Cousin *Nasica*, and his Friend *Lælius*, at the same time; and it was natural to suppose, that the greatest Man in the Republick would gain all the Suffrages. But as strange as it may appear, *Flaminius*, though inferior to him in Merit, had a better Interest than *Scipio*. Time had a little effaced Mens Zeal and Veneration for the Conqueror of *Hannibal*. He had long been Resident at *Rome*; and his continual Appearance there, had sunk the Admiration of the Publick to bare Esteem. His last *Consulship* had not been very illustrious; and the Preference he had caused to be given the Senators, before the People, in the publick Games, had alienated the Commons from him. Whereas, on the contrary, *Flaminius* had not been seen in the Capital, for a great while. Besides, he observed to the People, that he was not contending for a Cousin only, but for a Brother; and his Glory was fresh in every one's Mind. He had very lately entertained them with his magnificent Triumph, for three Days together. Add to this, that he had not asked, or obtained, any Favour, since his return from *Greece*. All these Reasons put together, inclined the *Comitia* to favour *Flaminius's* Brother; and he was declared *Consul*, with *Domitius Ænobarbus*. So that the Great *Scipio*, had the double Mortification, to see that he could not succeed, either for his Relation, or his Friend 148.

Year of  
*R O M E*  
 DLXI.  
 L. QUINCTI-  
 US FLAMINI-  
 NUS, CN. DO-  
 MITIUS Æ-  
 NOBARRUS,  
 Consuls.

§. XLIII. THE new Magistrates were scarce entered upon their Office, when News came of the Defeat of the *Ligures*, by *Thermus*. He, from *Consul*, now become *Pro-Consul*, had long continued in his Camp near *Pisa*, without daring to hazard a Battel. Till at length the *Ligurian* Army had the Boldness to attack him in his Trenches. *Thermus* had much ado to defend himself in them, and was forced to march out of them. And then, the Enemy endeavoured to intercept him in his

148 In this Year 560, the *Ædiles*, *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*, and *Lucius Æmilius Paulus*, signalized their Zeal, by embellishing the *Capitol*. With the Fines they had levied, they made gilt Bucklers, which were erected, like Trophies, on the Top of the Temple consecrated to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. And

by their Direction, a Portico was built, without *The Gate Trigemina*. They also made a new Market-place near the *Tyber*, for the Sale of all Sorts of Provisions: And they built another Portico from *The Gate Fontinalis*, to an Altar dedicated to *Mars*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXI.L. QUINCTI-  
US FLAMINI-  
NUS, CN DO-  
MITIUS ÆNO-  
BARBUS, Con-  
suls.Liv. B. 35.  
c. 11.

Retreat. Whilst he was leading his *Legion* through a Wood, they cut it down, seized a narrow Pass, and thereby stopped up the Way. He was therefore under a Necessity of turning back; but the *Ligures* had already seized the Skirts of the Wood, and stopped up the Way behind, as well as before them. Then the *Pro-Consul* called to Remembrance *The Caudian Forks*, and his Soldiers were seized with as much Terror, as their Forefathers had been, in the Defiles in *Sannium*. But *Thermus* found a Remedy in the *Numidian* Cavalry, then in the Service of *Rome*. These brave Men were but eighteen hundred in Number, and made a distinct *Corps* among the Auxiliaries. They voluntarily offered the *Pro-Consul* their Service; and promised to extricate the *Roman* Army out of this Difficulty. *Nothing can get you out of this Place*, said the Commander of the *Numidians* to *Thermus*, *but the making a seasonable Diversion, at one or other of the Sides, where the Ligures shut us in. Some of us must force our Way through the Enemy, and set Fire to the neighbouring Villages. Then the Ligures will run to the Defence of their Granaries, and Houses, and leave the Passes open.* This was a well judged Expedient, and it answered its end. The *Numidians* advanced towards the Posts the *Ligures* had seized; and without fighting with them, patrolled round them, and were rather an agreeable Sight, than Matter of Terror, to them. Nothing could be more contemptible in Appearance, than the *Numidian* Squadron. Both the Men and their Horses were small and lean; and they had no Arms but one Dart each. Their Horses had no Bridles, and their Motion was very ridiculous. They thrust out their Necks, and hung down their Heads, as they galloped; and the *Numidians* added to the Ridiculousness of their March, out of Design. They often affected to fall off their Horses, and raise the Laugh and Shouts of the Enemy. This Scene was so agreeable to the *Ligures*, that most of them quitted their Ranks and Arms, and sat down on the Grass, to entertain themselves with so pleasant a Sight. On the other hand, the *Numidians* advanced nearer and nearer to the Opening, as if without Design, and as if they could not govern their Horses. Till at length, after they had long considered which was the properest Place to break out at, they spurred their Horses so hard, that they flew through the *Ligurian* Battalions, with incredible Swiftnefs, and entered the Plain. Then the Flame and Smoke soon shewed the *Ligures*, that their Fields and Houses were set on Fire. The Body that guarded the Pass, was probably only a Body of Men tumultuously assembled in the Neighbourhood, and they all quitted their Posts, and ran to defend their Goods. The *Roman* Army immediately seized this Opportunity, and got out of the Wood. In the mean time, *Rome* guarded against the Dangers to which *Thermus* had been exposed, during his Campaign. His Army was too small to resist such prodigious Multitudes of *Ligures*, as continually surrounded him: And she therefore sent him a Reinforcement of four thousand Foot, and a hundred and fifty Horse, raised in *Rome*; together with five thousand Foot, and two hundred and fifty Horse, raised in *Latium*. Then he appeared in the open Field, bid his Enemies Defiance, forced them at length to come to a Battel, and the Valour of the *Romans* determined it in their Favour. Nine thousand of the Enemy were killed on the Spot, their Army dispersed, their Camp besieged, and valiantly defended till Night. But in the Night, when it was dark, the *Ligures* quitted it, and left it to be plundered by the *Romans*.

Livy. B. 35.  
c. 21.

§. XLIV. BUT these Advantages in *Italy* against the rebellious *Gauls*, did not lessen the Attention of the *Romans*, to the Affairs in the *Levant*. The *Ætolians* were dangerous Enemies. They had signally shewn their Rage against the *Romans*, from the time that *Flaminius* commanded the *Roman* Armies in *Greece*. Ever since the Departure of those victorious Troops, which had subdued *Philip*, and the Tyrant *Nabis*, the *Ætolians* had been wholly bent on stirring up new Enemies against the Republick. And now, it was natural enough for them to presume, that *Macedon* and *Lacedæmon* would readily enter into a League against the *Romans*; and as for *Antiochus*, his Interest, his Honour, his late Steps, and the Advice he received from *Hannibal*, all inclined them to believe, that he would not delay declaring War with the imperious Republick. Nor did they despair of seeing *Carthage* also join with so many confederate Nations, and make some Efforts to shake off the Subjection to which *Rome* had reduced her. Besides, it was



Year of well known, that *Hannibal* earnestly pressed *Antiochus* to put him at the Head of  
 R O M E ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, and suffer him to transport himself  
 DLXI. with them into *Italy*, there to renew the War, even in the Bosom of the Re-  
 publick.

L. QUINCTI-  
 US FLAMINI-  
 NUS, CN. DO-  
 MITIUS ÆNO-  
 BARBUS, CON-  
 suls.

ALL these Hopes therefore encouraged the *Ætolians*; and they broke out at once. They had chosen for their Head a factious Man, and sworn Enemy to the *Romans*, named *Thoas*. He assembled a general Diet of the Nation at *Naupaëtus*; there stirred up all the Deputies; and conveyed his own Hatred to *Rome*, into all their Breasts. *We have*, said he, *a new Sort of Tyrants come to us from the West-ern Countries, who are more to be dreaded than those whose Barbarity we have hitherto experienced. The Romans, the more effectually to destroy us, join Artifice with their Cruelty. How much Grecian Blood have they spilt in Thessaly and Peloponnesus? And yet they cheat us with the specious Words of Liberty and Freedom. They would even put Fetters on our Minds; and under Appearances of Friendship, really aim at nothing but getting the Dominion over us. As for Ætolia in particular, Flamininus did what he could to debase her. She ought to have held the first Rank, among the Greek Nations. But Rome has both lessened our Limits, and sunk our Interest. Are these the Rewards we were to expect, for the many Battels in which we bore the greatest Part? Let us then shake off the Alliance with the Romans, and form a new Confederacy against them. When Philip, Nabis, and especially Antiochus, are joined with us, the Confederates will be strong enough, to bring down the proud Republick to nothing.*

Liv. B. 35.  
 c. 13.

ALL the Assembly imbibed *Thoas's* Prejudices; and they ordered, that Deputies should be sent to all the Princes, who were dissatisfied with the *Romans*, to stir them up to War. *Damocritus* set out for *Lacedæmon*, *Nicander* for *Macedon*, and *Dicaearchus* for *Syria*. The first was ordered to make *Nabis* sensible of the Contempt into which he was sunk, since the Departure of the *Romans*. His State was reduced to nothing, and *Achaia* was sole Mistress in *Peloponnesus*. By being deprived of his Ports, *Nabis* was deprived of the Riches he formerly got by Commerce; and being shut up within the Walls of *Lacedæmon*, he was become a King only in Name. The second was instructed to tell *Philip*, that he never would have a finer Opportunity to recover himself out of the low Condition to which the *Romans* had reduced him. The Conquests of *Alexander the Great*, and his victorious Progress quite to the *Indies*, were also deemed proper Topicks, to awaken the Jealousy of the *Macedonian*. The Comparison of his present State, with the Condition in which he was before the Arrival of the *Romans*, was enough of itself, to put him in Motion. But *Nicander* was also ordered to assure him, That the Proposal of the *Ætolians* was not chimerical; That *Antiochus* was preparing to come into *Europe* with invincible Troops; That *Hannibal*, whose Name struck such Terror into the *Romans*, assisted him with his Advice and personal Service; That the courageous *Ætolians* would join with him; and lastly, That it was not possible for *Rome* to resist so many Enemies. The third Envoy had Instructions to encourage *Antiochus* to despise the insolent Orders of the *Romans*, to engage him to come into *Europe*, and to magnify to him the Forces of *Ætolia*. They were to assure him, *That without the Ætolians, the Romans could never have come into Greece; That when they were there, they never could have conquered Philip without their Assistance: That the Troops they would join with his, would be numerous, and well-disciplined; and That Ætolia would amply furnish him, both with Provisions for his Soldiers, and Ports for his Fleets.* Nay, *Dicaearchus* was also charged to deceive the King of *Syria*, with a Lye. He was commanded to tell him, That *Philip* and *Nabis* had already signed the Confederacy. In this manner did the *Ætolian* Diet sow the Seeds of War, as much as they could, in all the Countries of the East.

§. XLV. BUT nevertheless, *Philip* and *Antiochus* were not hasty in coming to a Determination. *Nabis* alone was in a Hurry, to exceed the Limits *Rome* had set him. He caused Insurrections to be raised in the maritime Cities, which he had been obliged to give up, by the Treaty of Peace. The *Achaians* had Garrisons in them, and he endeavoured to drive them out. Nay, the Tyrant even besieged *Gythium*, an important maritime City, which *Flamininus* had taken from him. The Siege was long; and *Nabis* conducted it in Person. So that these  
 Hostilities



Hostilities of the *Lacedæmonian* obliged the *Achæans* to have recourse to *Rome*; and they sent an Embassy thither, to complain of the unexpected Commotions raised by a petty King, who troubled the general Peace of *Greece*. *Nabis* had also endeavoured to persuade the principal Lords of *Lacedæmon* to join in his Revolt against *Rome*; and all those who opposed him in it, were cruelly massacred. Complaints, which made the Senate sensible that a War would soon break out in the East.

As for *Antiochus*, he, without declaring himself openly, made Preparations privately for the War he was resolved to proclaim with the *Romans*. But his Designs were not unknown in *Rome*. The *Conscript Fathers* therefore, in order to suspend the Effects of a Conspiracy, into which all *Greece* seemed to be entered; and in order to enquire into the State of Affairs upon the Spot; thought it necessary to send Ambassadors to the King of *Syria*, with Orders likewise to visit all the Coasts of *Asia*, and *Greece*, and see the Kings and Republicks which seemed wavering. Three Men, who had already been employed in Negotiations in the East, were pitched upon for this Embassy. These were *P. Sulpicius*, *P. Villius*, and *P. Ælius*, three of the Council of ten, who had formerly settled the Peace in *Greece*, and *Macedon*. As for *Scipio Africanus*, he seems to have joined himself to them, of his own Accord, without any Commission for it. *Rome* seldom sent more than three Ambassadors together. Perhaps *Scipio*, uneasy at the Preference which had been given to *Flaminius*, in the last *Comitia*, was glad to get out of *Rome*. Or perhaps, he might have a Desire to confer with *Hannibal*, in order to draw him off from *Antiochus*. Or lastly, he might be willing to absent himself for some time from a City, where his Presence had lessened his Interest. But be that as it will, it is certain *Scipio* set out for the *Levant*. *Antiochus* in the mean time, after he had spent the Winter at <sup>149</sup> *Raphia* in *Phœnicia*, began his march; but before he left that Place, he sent young <sup>150</sup> *Antiochus*, one of his Sons, to the farthest Part of his Dominions, to govern there, and preserve them against the most distant Enemies. As for himself, he led his Forces towards *Pamphylia*; and as he passed, reduced the *Pisidians* <sup>151</sup>, and made himself Master of all the Country round about *Selga* <sup>152</sup>, a City on the Banks of the River <sup>153</sup> *Cestrinus*. And about this time, *Antiochus the Great* made it his Business to marry the three Princesses his Daughters. *Cleopatra* had been some time since promised to *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, King of *Egypt*; and the Nuptials had been solemnized, during *Antiochus's* stay in *Phœnicia*. The Princess's Portion was *Cælo-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, and *Samaria*; but upon this hard Condition, That the Revenues of these four Regions should be equally divided between the Father-in-Law, and the Son-in-Law. Indeed, *Antiochus* had given *Cleopatra* to *Ptolomy*, only in order to dethrone him. But the virtuous Queen preferred the Regard she owed her Husband, to the ambitious Designs of her Father. The second Daughter of King *Antiochus*, named *Antiochis*, was sent to <sup>154</sup> *Cappadocia*, where she married *Ariarathes*, the King of that fine Country: And the third was designed for *Eumenes*, King of *Pergamus*. All these Alliances

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXI.

J. QUINCTI-  
US FLAMINI-  
NUS, CN. DO-  
MITIUS ÆNO-  
BAREUS, Con-  
suls.

App. in Syria-  
cis.

Livy B. 35.  
c. 13.

Josephus B.  
12. c. 3.

Appian in Sy-  
riacis. N. 88.

<sup>149</sup> *Strabo* and *Livy* place *Raphia* in *Phœnicia*. But strictly speaking it belonged to *Palestine*, and was near *Gaza*. *Ptolomy* makes it a City of *Samaria*; and *Pliny* of *Idumea*.

<sup>150</sup> *Antiochus the Great* had, besides *Selencus*, two other Sons, who were both named *Antiochus*. The first who is here spoken of, had married his own Sister *Laodice*, with his Father's Consent. The other was the famous *Antiochus*, surnamed *Epiphanes*, whom we shall see reign, after his Brother *Selencus*.

<sup>151</sup> The *Pisidians* inhabited that Country of *Asia Minor*, which is bounded to the North, by *Galatia* and *Phrygia Major*, which are divided by Mount *Taurus*; to the East, by *Lycæonia*; and to the South, by *Pamphylia*. *Leunclavius* says, the *Turks* call it *Perseceli*.

<sup>152</sup> The Name of *Selga* is corrupted in most Copies of *Livy*. *Gelenus* guesses the Historian meant the City of *Selga*, which stood on a Mountain near the Confines of *Pamphylia*. For this Reason some Geographers make it to belong to that

Province. It is called *Philadelphia*, by *Niger*. *Glarean* has corrected the Words *Sicam* and *Sitam*, which we find in the Text, and put *Sidam* instead of it. *Sida* was a City of *Pamphylia* near *Pisidia*, and not far from the Mouth of the River *Eurymedon*. It is now only a little City, which stands on an Eminence. *Thevet* calls it *Candolor*.

<sup>153</sup> The River *Cestrinus*, or *Cestrus*, rises in Mount *Taurus*, towards the extreme Parts of *Isauria*. It runs through *Pisidia* and *Pamphylia*, and discharges itself into The *Attalic Gulph*, or The *Gulph of Sattalia*.

<sup>154</sup> *Cappadocia* formerly contained all that great Region, which was bounded to the North, by the *Euxine Sea*; to the West, by *Galatia* and *Paphlagonia*; to the East, by *Armenia*, and *Colchis*; and was divided from *Cilicia*, to the South, by Mount *Taurus*. According to *Strabo* it was formerly divided into two *Satrapies*. The most considerable was called *Great Cappadocia*, and the other *Ponto-Cappadocia*, or *Bridge-Cappadocia*.

were



Year of **R O M E** DLXI. were making by the *Syrian*, only in order to facilitate his carrying on the War with the *Romans*. By marrying his eldest Daughter to the King of *Egypt*, he expected to have made *Ptolomy* stand neuter; and his View, in designing the youngest for *Eumenes*, was to draw off this brave Prince from his old Alliance with *Rome*. To this end he caused the Affair to be proposed to the King of *Pergamus*; and his two Brothers, *Phileteres*, and *Attalus*, thought this an honourable and an advantageous Match. But the young King himself judged otherwise of it. He preferred the Alliance of the *Romans* before that of *Antiochus*. Sooner or later, said he to his Brothers, *the Republick will overcome the Syrian*. I know the *Constancy and Valour of the Romans*. The first Expeditions may turn to the Advantage of *Antiochus*, but in the long run, *Rome will prevail*. And then I shall continue Master of my Dominions; and it will be my Glory, to have shared that of the *Romans*. On the contrary, if *Antiochus* should happen to get the better, my being his Son-in-Law, will not prevent his swallowing up my Kingdom. He will perhaps, out of Pity, leave me upon the Throne; but he will require such Subjection and Tribute from me, as will take away all the Pleasure of reigning.

L. QUINCTI-  
US FLAMINI-  
NUS, CN. DO-  
MITIUS Æ-  
NOBARRUS,  
Consuls.

Livy B. 35.  
c. 13.

Livy. lib. 35.

Livy. lib. 35.

App. in Syria-  
dis. N. 91.  
Zonaras, B. 9.  
c. 18.  
Justin, B. 1.  
and others.

THESE wise Reflections made *Eumenes* reject the Offers, and refuse the Daughter, of the King of *Syria*. He still continued attached to the *Romans*; and his Dominions continued to be an Inlet for the Republick into *Asia*. Accordingly, the *Roman* Ambassadors, and *Scipio Africanus*, landed at *Elea*<sup>155</sup>, in the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; and there found King *Eumenes* determined to take up Arms against *Antiochus*.

§. XLVI. THE King of *Pergamus* was well satisfied, that he should have a bad Neighbour in the King of *Syria*, if there should be a Peace; and that in case of War, it would be as disadvantageous to the *Syrian*, as it had been to the King of *Macedon*. He took it for granted, that when *Antiochus* should come to sink under the *Roman* Arms, he should share the Spoils; and have his State sufficiently augmented, to secure it for ever against the Enterprizes of his Neighbours. With these Views he pressed the Ambassadors as much as possible, not to give themselves any further Trouble about *Antiochus*. He was still at *Pisidia*; and *Hannibal* was waiting for him at *Ephesus*. Thither therefore *Villius* and *Scipio* came to<sup>156</sup> visit this famous *Carthaginian* General. During the Peace, they were allowed to pay each other reciprocal Civilities. Besides, the Senate of *Rome* had ordered their Ambassadors to gain over *Hannibal* by Caresses; or at least, to make *Antiochus* suspect him, on account of the good Intelligence that there should appear to be between the *Romans* and him. And in the last of these Designs they succeeded. *Scipio* and *Villius* were continually with the *Carthaginian*: And they first reproached him tenderly, with his flight from *Carthage*. *Rome*, said they, *would have supported you against the Plots of the Faction, that are your Enemies*. In brave Minds, *Enmities die with War*; but *Esteem survives it*. You devoted your self entirely to the Defence of your Country. What have you not done for her? Italy therefore will for ever remember your Exploits; and *Rome* to this Day never speaks of you, but with Commendation. The Terror which you struck into her, is changed into Admiration. Return then, *Hannibal*, Return to your tutelary and domestick Gods. Go rule at *Carthage*, and depend on the Protection of the *Romans*, who are your sincere Friends. These Praises and Protections soothed the Hero's Vanity. *Hannibal* was pleased with them; but he was not caught by them. He loved to see the greatest Men in the *Roman* Republick pay Court to him. *Scipio* and the *Carthaginian* conversed very frequently together; and always with great Civility on both sides. *Hannibal* often went out, and appeared in publick with him. One Day it happened, that they went together to a *Gymnasium*, where a great Number of *Ephesians* were assembled. This was a publick Place for walking; and the People came in Crowds round these two Heroes, whose Fame was spread all over the World.

\* About nine  
teen English  
Miles, Ar-  
buthnot.

<sup>155</sup> *Elea* bordered upon *Great Mysia*, about twenty thousand geometrical \* Paces from *Pergamus*. It stood on the Shore of the *Ægean* Sea, near the Mouth of the River *Caicus*, over against *Metelina*, and had a pretty convenient Port. It is now only a small Town, which *Molet* calls *Alea*. The Sea which divided this ancient City from *Lesbos*, was called *The Gulph of Elea*.

<sup>156</sup> *Livy* quotes *Claudius Quadrigarius* in proof of the Interview between *Scipio* and *Hannibal*; and he built it upon the Authority of *Acilius*, the Author of *The Greek Annals*, mentioned by *Plutarch* in his *Life of Romulus*. *Claudius* had translated them from *Greek* into *Latin*, according to *Plutarch*.



They were delighted to hear their Conversation; which *Scipio* then turned on the Merit of Great Commanders; and asked, whom *Hannibal* thought the greatest. The *Carthaginian*, without Hesitation, declared for *Alexander the Great*; and this Determination did not at all please *Scipio*, whose Countenance began to change. Nevertheless, he replied, *And who do you think deserves the second Place?* *Pyr- rhus*; replied *Hannibal*. *No Man ever better understood how to encamp, and how to form an Army; and he was remarkable for Boldness, above any General in the World.* This was another Mortification to *Scipio*; but still he went on, *And who do you place next to these two Heroes?* The *Roman* doubtless hoped, that *Hannibal* would at least do him the Justice to name him third. But, to his great Surprise, the *Carthaginian* named himself; and gave his Reason for it. However, the *Roman* discovered his Surprise no otherwise than by a Sneer; and with great Composure said, *In what Place then would you have put yourself, if you had overcome me?* To which the *Carthaginian* readily replied, *Above Alexander.* And this Answer, equivocal as it was, satisfied *Scipio*. He took it in good Part; and interpreted it in his own Favour. He flattered himself, that *Hannibal's* Meaning was, that he would have put him above all; and raised his own Conqueror above the Conqueror of *Darius* and of *Asia*. The Persons present thought this ingenious Flattery. *Hannibal*, without lessening himself, kept the Place which he had given himself; and at the same time appeased the Resentment of a Rival, who, till then, thought himself affronted. From that time, *Scipio* and *Villius* lodged in the same House with *Hannibal*; and their Civilities were improved into a Familiarity.

BUT as sagacious as the *Carthaginian* was, he may be justly charged with a Want of Foresight in one Particular, which was of great Importance to him. He did not foresee the ill Consequences of his conversing so publicly with the Envoys of *Rome*. *Antiochus* was informed of it in *Pisidia*, where he yet resided; and from that time, suspected him. The King fancied that the *Carthaginian* had reconciled himself to *Rome*, and no longer confided in him. He was no more entrusted as usual, with the Care of preparing all things for the War. Nevertheless, *Antiochus* did not lay aside his Design. He understood that *Villius* and his Colleagues had left *Ephesus*, and were gone to *Apamea*<sup>157</sup> in *Phrygia*, there to wait for him; and upon this Intelligence the King came thither, and did not decline an Interview which might turn to his Advantage.

§. XLVII. As for the *Romans*, they were too proud to be willing to abate any thing of their first Pretensions. They still insisted on the *Syrian's* confining himself to *Asia*, giving up some Cities which he was in Possession of, and renouncing all his Rights in *Europe*, particularly to *The Chersonesus*, and *Thrace*. So that the Conference between the King and the *Roman* Ambassadors was a warm, but not a long one. A melancholy Piece of News which the *Syrian* received put an End to it. He heard that young *Antiochus* his Son was dead. He was a very promising Prince, and had signalized himself by a Conduct worthy of an Hero. The Grief of *Antiochus* at the Loss of him, was also the more heavy, because the Reports spread abroad of the Death of the Son, were very much to the Dishonour of the Father. It was affirmed, that young *Antiochus* had been poisoned by the Eunuchs of his Court, by his Father's Order. It was said that the King, now in the Decline of Life, could not see a young Prince attract the Eyes, and merit the Esteem of all Nations, without Jealousy. The very Thought of a Successor, is said to have wounded him to the Heart. Besides, it was affirmed, that the King had surrendered up *Lyfimachia* to *Seleucus* his other Son, and had given him the rest of his Dominions in *Europe*; and that he was afraid young *Antiochus* would seize the Provinces in *Asia*. But the Calumny answered it self. The *Syrian* had Countries enough left to have given one, in his Life-time, to young *Antiochus*. Nevertheless, the Suspicions prevailed, in spite of Evidence, and it was necessary to remove them by Demonstrations of an extraordinary Grief. The Ambassadors of *Rome* were therefore dismissed without concluding any thing, and returned to *Pergamus*.

<sup>157</sup> There were several Cities in *Asia* called *Apamea*, all said to be founded by *Seleucus Nicator*. That which *Livy* mentions here had the Surname of

*Cibotos*, and was before called *Celena*. It stood in *Great Phrygia*, on the Banks of the *Marsias*, which runs into the *Meander*. It is now called *Apamis*.



Year of THE King of Syria continued his Rout, and came to *Ephesus*. And there  
 R O M E *Hannibal* was sensible how far he was from being the same Favourite as formerly.  
 DLXI. Under Pretence of Solitude, *Antiochus* shut himself up in his Palace, and refused  
 L. QUINCTIUS the *Carthaginian* General Admittance to him. The King continued there, with  
 FLAMININUS, only *Minio*, his sole Confident; and spent his whole time there, in secret Coun-  
 Cn. DOMITI- cils. *Minio* was a Courtier, who knew little of foreign Affairs, and judged of the  
 US ÆNOBAR- future War with the *Romans*, only by the Victories of his Master in the East. The  
 BUS, Consuls. Defeats of <sup>158</sup> *Achæus*, *Molon* and *Alexander*, one at *Sardis*, the other two in  
<sup>159</sup> *Media*, beyond the <sup>160</sup> *Tigris*; and the Conquest of the Provinces taken from  
 the King of *Egypt*; gave *Minio* Hopes that he should see the *Romans* humbled.  
 And lastly, the Name of *The Great*, which *Antiochus* had acquired by his Con-  
 quests in the two *Asia's*, made him expect a constant and uninterrupted Prosperity.  
 Being therefore big with these Expectations, *Minio* desired his Master to bring the  
*Roman* Ambassadors from *Pergamus* to *Ephesus*; and he undertook to answer them.  
 The King was indeed tired with so many useless Conferences; and his Mourning  
 was a just Excuse for his treating with *Rome*, for the future, only by his Favourite.  
*Villius* and his Collegues therefore came to *Ephesus*; and there the proud *Minio* ac-  
 costed them with more Haughtiness than *Antiochus* himself would have done.  
*Hear me, Romans*, said he, *and confess, that Equity at least, and Reason, are on*  
*our Side. And we will leave the rest to the Gods. Is it not true, that your only*  
*Pretence for declaring War with us, is the pretended Liberty you would procure for*  
*the Greek Cities, both in Europe, and Asia? On this account, you set Bounds to the*  
*King of Syria; forbid him returning to his Provinces in Europe; and pretend to*  
*make him evacuate some Places of which he is Master. Asia, Ionia, and Æolis are,*  
*say you, full of Colonies founded by the Greeks; and they likewise have a Right*  
*to the GENERAL LIBERTY of Greece. But does not Rome herself act directly con-*  
*trary to this pretty Speculation? Are there not Cities in your Continent of Italy,*  
*which are as much Grecian, as those in Asia? Were not Rhegium, Naples, and Ta-*  
*rentum, built by Greeks? And yet, have you included them in this general Enfran-*  
*chisement? Don't you keep them under Subjection to you? Nay, is not all Sicily in-*  
*habited by Greeks, and at the same time governed by your Laws? You govern it*  
*by Prætors sent thither annually, and strike Terror into the People with your Li-*  
*tors, armed with Axes and Falces. What? can you keep the Eastern Part of Italy,*  
*and the finest Island in the Sea in Slavery, without any Infringement on the general*  
*Liberty of Greece; and cannot Antiochus keep Ionia, Æolis, and Thrace under*  
*his Jurisdiction? What is the Difference between the Slavery of Smyrna and Lamp-*  
*sacus, on one Part, and that of Tarentum and Syracuse on the other? The Right*  
*Antiochus has to Ionia, Æolis, and Thrace, was derived to him from his Ancest-*  
*ors. Whereas Rome owes her Possession of Great Greece in Italy, and of all Si-*  
*cily, only to her Conquests. The Case then is at least equal. Don't chicane with*  
*us; but give me a direct Answer to this Question. Why don't you preserve the Li-*  
*berly of the Western Greeks, since you are so zealous for that of the Eastern? At*  
*these Words Sulpicius, one of the Ambassadors, assumed the Discourse, and said,*  
*If Antiochus has no better Reasons to urge against us, he has done wisely to treat*  
*with us only by his Minister. How wide is the Difference between the Right the*  
*Romans have to Rhegium, Tarentum, Naples and Sicily, and that of Antiochus*  
*to Ionia, Æolis, and Thrace! Rome has constantly had Possession of the Greek Ci-*  
*ties she still retains without any Interruption. Tarentum and Syracuse, for instance,*  
*have never gone into other Hands since we first conquered them. But is this the*  
*Case of the Greek Regions which Antiochus possesses, or aspires at? His Ancestors*  
*did conquer them, I grant it; but how many Changes have they undergone since*  
*that time? Some have become subject to Philip, or Ptolomy. Others have reco-*  
*vered their first Liberty; which some would now rob them of. Can then any thing*  
*be more just than to restore it to them? Shall we have come so far, and have spent*

Liv. B. 35  
c. 16.

<sup>158</sup> *Achæus*, *Alexander*, and *Molon*, had seized the finest Provinces in *Asia*, (of which *Seleucus* had made them Governours;) and thereby robbed their Sovereign *Antiochus* of his Right. But the entire Defeat, and tragical End, of the three Usurpers, restored Peace to *Syria*. See *Polybius*.

<sup>159</sup> *Media* was that vast Country which lay be-

tween the Country of the *Parthians*, *Hircania*, *Great Armenia*, *Assyria*, and *The Caspian Sea*.

<sup>160</sup> The *Tigris*, so famous for its Rapidity, rises in the Mountains of *Armenia Major*, and runs into the *Euphrates*, after it has lost itself for a considerable Length under Ground. It divides *Mesopotamia* from *Assyria*.



such immense Sums in conquering Philip; to sit down tamely at last, and see a Part of Greece enslaved a-new, by King Antiochus?

BUT after all, it must be owned, that the Reasoning of the Roman was more specious, than solid. If the Ancestors of the King of Syria conquered Ionia, Æolis, and Thrace, justly; the unjust Possessors who usurped them afterwards could not destroy his Right to them. An unjust Detention does not prejudice an ancient and legal Possession. So that, all things considered, the War Rome made with Syria, was not so much founded in Justice, as in Ambition.

NEVERTHELESS Minio, by his Master's Order, was willing to give up to the Romans, his Jurisdiction over some Greek Cities in Asia. He offered to restore Liberty to the Island of Rhodes, to Bisantium, and to <sup>161</sup> Cyzicus. He also consented that these Nations should be admitted into the Roman Confederacy. Which was more than Rome had Reason to expect. Yet still the Ambassadors were not satisfied. They absolutely insisted, That Ionia and Æolis should partake of the Liberty Rome had procured Greece; and this being opposed by Antiochus, they departed, and returned to Italy in as great Uncertainty as they came, with respect to the Event.

§. XLVIII. AFTER this, Minio gave Audience to the Deputies of some Greek Cities, which again demanded their Liberty; and of which Smyrna and Lampsacus were the chief. King Eumenes had long since instructed these Envoys to insist absolutely on their Deliverance. The Pergamenian was for War. Accordingly, the Deputies contended for their Rights with Warmth and Animosity; and at length the Conference ended in Clamours. So that all these reciprocal Discontents seemed to forebode an approaching War between Rome and Syria.

And indeed, Antiochus delayed not to call a Council of War of the chief Officers in his Armies, as well Foreigners as Syrian. Hannibal only was excluded from it. His too familiar Conferences with Scipio and Villius had made him suspected. The Question Antiochus had to propose to the Council was, Whether it was proper to make War with the Romans. And they all were of the King's Opinion. They knew, that to inveigh against Rome, and to cry out, *To Arms*, was an effectual Way to make their Court. Some therefore insisted on the Injustice of the Roman Ambassadors; and charged them with insupportable Pride. This, said these Courtiers, is treating the King of Syria with as little Regard as the Tyrant of Lacedæmon. Whereas Antiochus is a powerful and victorious Monarch; Nabis a petty vanquished Prince, who is deprived of his Dominions. Others lay little Stress on the Loss of Smyrna, and Lampsacus; but thought it shameful to give them up, and dangerous to open a Way for more considerable Demands, by surrendering them. Alexander of Acarnania was then in the Council. He had formerly joined with Philip against the Romans; and since the Defeat of the Macedonian King, had followed the King of Syria. He understood the State of Greece, and was not ignorant of the Affairs of Rome; and had thereby so far gained the Friendship of Antiochus, as to be admitted into his secret Councils. And as this Head of the Acarnanians now looked on the War with Rome as a thing determined; his Advice wholly related to the proper Measures to be taken, in order to it, and the proper Place to begin Hostilities. Europe, and Greece in particular, said he, ought to be the Seat of the War. If you make it so, the Victory is not to be doubted. There you will find the Ætolians, who are situated in the Middle of Greece, already in Arms. And as to the Ends of it; Nabis is in one, making Efforts to recover his maritime Towns, and again get Possession of Argi; and Philip will take up Arms in the other, the Moment you arrive. I know him. He is like a Lion in Chains, and will fall furiously on the Tyrants who oppress him, the Moment he is set at Liberty. How often have I heard him lament your being at so great a Distance! Draw near to him, my Lord, and you will see him instantly rebell. As for Hannibal, it is most advisable to send him back to his own Country. His Presence alone will keep the Romans there in Awe, and increase their Suspicions. Perhaps, indeed, the Hopes of being Commander in Chief of the Armies of

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXI.

L. QUINCTI-  
US FLAMINI-  
NUS, CN. DO-  
MITIUS ÆNO-  
BARBUS, Con-  
suls.

App. in Syriac.  
N. 92.

Liv. B. 35.  
c. 17.

Livy, *ibid.*

Liv. B. 35.  
c. 18.

Livy, *ibid.*

<sup>161</sup> Cyzicus was one of the most considerable Cities in Mysia, towards the Mouth of the *Helispus*, upon the Coast of *The Propontis*. *Corradus* calls it *Spiga*. The Mariners call it *Spinga*, and the neigh-

bouring Promontory *The Cape of Spinga*. *Leunclavius* thinks its Situation agrees better with that of *Palormo*.

*Antiochus,*



Year of *Antiochus*, were *Alexander's* Motive to say these last Words. But be that as it will, the King of *Syria*, from that time, resolved to declare War with the Romans.

DLXI.

L. QUINCTIUS  
FLAMININUS,  
CN. DOMITI-  
US AENOBAR-  
BUS, Consuls.

§. XLIX. IN the mean time, *Hannibal* plainly saw, by the King's Behaviour to him, that he had taken Umbrage at his Conduct; and it was necessary to undeceive him. To this End, the *Carthaginian*, in a private Audience, which he obtained with Difficulty, gave him the following Account of his Life, from his Infancy. *I was scarce nine Years old*, said he, *when I began to be an irreconcilable Enemy to the Romans.* *Hamilcar my Father made me swear upon the Altars, that I would never lay aside my Hatred to Rome, but with my Life; and I have ever acted suitably to those Oaths.* *I have made War with these Republicans for thirty Years together; and had not now left my native Country, but to keep up the more strictly to those Engagements.* *It was the earnest Desire of fighting with the Romans, that brought me to you.* *If you disdain my Assistance, I will go and offer myself to any King upon Earth, that will but employ me against the Republick I detest.* *I will be gone from you, my Lord, and leave the Place I ought to have near you, to Courtiers, who seek my Ruin, only to aggrandize themselves.* *But at the same time, I swear by the Gods, and by the Manes of Hamilcar my Father, that I most sincerely hate the Romans, and they me.* *If you want a Flatterer, who will advise you to Peace, you must not consult me.* *I seek for nothing but War; and if I cannot find it here, I will be gone.* These Words in a great measure reconciled *Antiochus* to *Hannibal*; but not to such a Degree as to make him implicit to him. And then the *Carthaginian* told the King, that he did not approve of the Advice that *Alexander of Acarnania* had given. *No, my Lord*, said he, *the Place where they advise you to make War, is not a proper one.* *It is not in Greece, but in Italy itself, that you ought to make yourself formidable.* *The Romans are invincible every where, but in the Continent where they live.* *You must employ the Forces of the Italians, against the Masters of Italy.* *Indeed, any other Nation but the Roman would find it difficult to transport their Troops into the East.* *But this Republick will tire you out, even here, with her Constancy.* *The Romans will come hither in Crowds, and over-run these Countries, like a Torrent, in a few Months.* *This Philip knows too well, by Experience.* *You will at first take Cities, and lay Countries waste.* *But this transient Success will, in the End, cost you dear.* *It signifies little to begin well, unless you end with Glory.* *It is in Italy only, that you can fight Rome with her own Forces.* *The Inundation of a River is most easily stopped at the Spring-head.* *I have already taken the Liberty, my Lord, to demonstrate this to you in private; and now I am not afraid to repeat the same things in publick, in the Face of your Court.* *Have I not some Right to teach your Generals how they ought to make War with the Romans? They are invincible out of their own Country; but they may be overcome in their own Continent.* *Witness the Gauls, who made themselves Masters of their City, and to this Day harass them with perpetual Hostilities.* *And perhaps it may be pardonable in me, if I mention myself, as an Instance of it.* *The Romans could never reduce me, as long as I kept my Footing in their Territories.* *But Carthage recalled me; and I met with a Conqueror in Africa, who would not have been able to have done me so much Mischief in Italy.*

THIS Discourse would have made a lasting Impression on *Antiochus*, if the many Flatterers about him had not stifled it. Not that *Hannibal's* Enemies themselves could deny his Scheme to be better than theirs. But these selfish Courtiers were afraid of seeing the *Carthaginian* at the Head of a *Syrian* Army. This Distinction and Superiority would have made them uneasy. Besides, the King had long harboured in his Breast, a Dislike to *Hannibal*. Thro' some strange Fit of secret Jealousy, he was afraid his Glory would be lessened, by the Success of a Foreigner. And well was it for the *Romans*, that this ridiculous Fear of *Antiochus*, or any thing else, could overturn *Hannibal's* Design of carrying the War into *Italy*. He would there have found some *Bruttii*, *Salentini*, *Lucani*, and *Sammites*, very ready to join him. The greatest Part of the East of *Italy* would have followed his Standards; whilst the *Gauls* in the West would, by continual Attacks, have obliged the *Romans* to divide their Forces. So that the Republick would have relapsed into the same Dangers from which *Scipio* had delivered her. And who knows, whether *Carthage* would not have recovered from her low State? It is very probable

Syria



*Syria* would have supplied *Hannibal* with Succours more seasonably, and constantly, than *Africa* had formerly done. But Providence averted the Storm that threatened *Rome*. Tho' the *Romans* were a little degenerated from their ancient Probity, yet, all things considered, they were still the most virtuous People in the Gentile World.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXI.  
L. QUINCTI  
US FLAMINI-  
NUS, CN. DO-  
MITIUS ÆNO-  
BARBUS, Con-  
suls

S. L. It was resolved in the East, to declare War with the *Romans*; but it was not yet known at *Rome*, what Part *Antiochus* would take. And this Uncertainty made the *Romans* secure. They made no Preparations for the War in the *Levant*; till at length *Scipio* and the three Ambassadors returned, and made them take some Measures to prevent the Evils that threatened *Rome*, on the Side of *Greece*. The two *Prætors* lately ordered for *Spain*, were <sup>162</sup> countermanded. These were *M. Bæbius Tamphilus*, and *A. Attilius Serranus*. By an Order of the Senate and People; the former was put at the Head of two *Legions* <sup>163</sup>, which he led towards the Country of the *Bruttii*, to guard the Eastern Parts of *Italy*. And the second was made Admiral <sup>164</sup> of a Fleet which was ordered to guard the Coasts of *Greece*, against the Hostilities of the Tyrant *Nabis*. This King of *Lacedæmon* was then busy in re-taking *Gythium*, a City formerly subject to him, but taken from him by *Flaminius*. Besides, Rumours were spread, that *Antiochus* would perhaps begin the War in *Sicily*. All these Considerations put the Republick in Motion. She ordered that *Attilius* should immediately cause thirty *Quinqueremes* to be built, equip those old Gallies which were fit for Service, and furnish them with Rowers. At the same time, Orders were sent to *Bæbius*, to march towards *Tarentum* and *Brun-  
dium*, there to be in a Readiness to embark his Troops for the *Levant*, if there should be Occasion. Thirty Ships were sent to *Valerius*, the *Prætor* in *Sicily*, to defend his <sup>165</sup> Island; and with them, Orders to raise twelve thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, with all Expedition, to guard the Coasts of *Sicily*. And lastly, the Great *Flaminius*, who had pacified *Greece*, set out for that Country. Three Collegues <sup>166</sup> embarked with him, with no other Quality but that of Envoys of the Republick. And *Rome* was soon sensible of what Advantage it was to her to have made these prudent Regulations so early. During these Transactions, *Attalus*, the Brother of the King of *Pergamus*, came thither; confirmed the publick Reports; and brought the News, That *Antiochus* had passed the *Hellepont* with an Army, That the *Ætolians* were waiting for him under Arms, and That the War was just going to begin. The *Romans* thought themselves obliged to *Eumenes* for his Intelligence, and received his Brother with Honour. *Rome* furnished him with Lodgings, and a Table, during his Stay, at her own Expence; and made him very fine Presents <sup>167</sup>.

WHEN *Flaminius* arrived in *Greece*, he found *Nabis* yet engaged in the Siege of *Gythium*. And not content with endeavouring to recover his ancient Dominions, he made continual War with the *Achaëans*. The Tyrant could not forgive them the Injury they had done him, in putting *Achaean* Garrisons into the Places which he had been forced to deliver up. He ravaged their Lands, and plundered the Country. The *Achaëans* therefore, in a general Diet held at *Sicyon*, judged it necessary to have Recourse to *Flaminius*, and desire his Advice. The Diet was for taking up Arms immediately, and repulsing the *Lacedæmonians* by Force. But *Flaminius* advised them to tarry till the *Roman* Fleet arrived, and the Troops were landed, which the *Prætor* *Bæbius* was ordered to bring to their Assistance. Nevertheless, the Diet was still in Suspence what Part to act. *Philomenes* presided in it; and the *Achaian* Lords were of different Opinions. Some

<sup>162</sup> So that the Command of the Troops in *Hither and Further Spain*, were again given, by an extraordinary Commission, to *Caius Flaminius Nævius*, and *Marcus Fulvius Nobilior*, for this Year 561.

<sup>163</sup> Besides these two *Legions*, *Bæbius Tamphilus* obtained of the Senate and People fifteen thousand auxiliary Foot, and five hundred Horse.

<sup>164</sup> The Republick assigned *Serranus* only one thousand *Roman* Soldiers; and the *Latin* Confederates were obliged to furnish him with two thousand Foot, for their Contingent.

<sup>165</sup> The Care of assembling the Fleet which was to guard the Coast of *Sicily*, was committed to

*Marcus Fulvius Centumalus*, then *Prætor Urbanus* at *Rome*: And *Lucius Oppius Salinator*, who had been *Ædile* the last Year, was ordered to conduct this new Armament to the *Prætor* *Valerius*.

<sup>166</sup> *Caius Octavius*, *Cneius Servilius*, and *Publius Villius*, were the three Deputies which were joined with *Titus Quinctius Flaminius*.

<sup>167</sup> Among these Presents, *Livy* reckons up two Horses, with their Furniture, Arms, and all Sorts of Necessaries for equipping two Horsemen; several Vases of Silver, which all together weighed an hundred Pounds; and several Cups of Gold, which weighed in all twenty Pounds.



Year of R O M E DLXI. L. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS, CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS, Consuls. *Plut. Life of Philopæm. Liv. B. 35. c. 15*

were for following *Flamininus's* Advice; others, for falling on those perfidious Aggressors, the *Lacedæmonians*, without Loss of time: And they waited for the Decision of *Philopæmenes*. But this prudent General was not in Haste to give his Opinion. *It is a wise Institution of ours*, said he, *that our Prætors shall not declare their Opinions, when the Assemblies are deliberating about a War. It is your Business to determine what to do; mine, to execute your Orders. And I will take all possible Care that you shall not repent of your Choice, whether it be for War, or Peace.* However, these Words more powerfully inclined the Diet to a War, than if the President had openly declared for it; and they made a Decree, ordering Troops to be immediately raised, and leaving the Care and Conduct of the Armies to *Philopæmenes*.

§. LI. AND now, the Brave *Achæan* made it his whole Business to oppose the Insults of *Nabis*. On one hand, he thought it would be of Advantage to tarry for the Arrival of the *Roman* Fleet, according to the Advice of *Flamininus*: And on the other, he judged it might be dangerous to tarry too long, and expose the *Achæan* Garrison in *Gythium* to the Rage of the Tyrant. He therefore took the middle Way, which was to assemble together the *Achæan* Ships, and keep them in a Readiness for Action. With these, he hoped to have given the Besieged some Relief, and suspended the Attacks on *Gythium*, at least towards the Sea. But this Design, tho' well concerted, required a Man better experienced in maritime Affairs than the *Achæan* General was, to put it in Execution. *Nabis* also had his Fleet. An inconsiderable one indeed; but strong enough to keep off the Convoys which were to be sent into *Gythium*. The few Ships he had were of a moderate Size, and well filled with Rowers, and Soldiers used to Sea-fights. Whereas *Philopæmenes*, tho' an incomparable Land-Officer, had had no Experience at Sea. Having been born in an Inland-Country, he had never been on board a Ship, but in order to go over to *Crete*, as a Passenger. He remembered, that there was in the Port of *Corinth*, an <sup>168</sup> old Ship, formerly said to have been excellently well built, and the best in the Naval Armaments. And tho' she was quite rotten, he ordered her to be re-fitted, and put her at the Head of the *Achæan* Galleys. *Tiro* the Admiral went on board her. But *Philopæmenes* himself had the Caution to embark only in a light *Felucca*. Then they sailed for *Gythium*; and a Battel was fought in Sight of the City. One of the strongest Ships in *Nabis's* Fleet came first, and fell on the *Achæan* Admiral; and upon the first Attack, the old Galley was shattered, and leaked in many Places. It was therefore necessary to strike to the Enemy, and prefer Captivity to Death; and after the Loss of the most fightly Ship in the *Achæan* Fleet, the rest dispersed. *Philopæmenes* himself fled, and did not stop till he reached the Port of <sup>169</sup> *Patræ*. An useful Lesson for great Land-Officers! It is often a Rashness in them, to desire an equal Command at Sea, when they have had no Experience in Sea-Affairs.

*Livy, B. 35. c. 27.*

HOWEVER, the Shame of an ill-concerted Expedition did not discourage, but animate, the Brave *Philopæmenes*. In order to wipe off the Stain of this ill Success, he longed to have his Revenge. Whilst *Nabis*, flushed with his late Advantage, thought that no more Attempts would be made to throw any Succours into *Gythium*; and therefore he turned the Siege into a Blockade, and left only one third of his Army round the Place. With the rest he seized the Places through which Succours might be most easily brought to the besieged City; and particularly a Port called <sup>170</sup> *Pleia*, very near the Sea.

<sup>168</sup> This old Ship was a *Quadriremis*, which, according to *Plutarch*, had not been of any Use for forty Years. *Livy* says, she had been at Sea eighty Years. She then sailed from *Naupactus* to *Corinth*, and carried thither *Nicea*, the Wife of *Craterus*. If this *Craterus* was the same who was the Son of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, and the Brother of *Antigonus*, King of *Macedon*, surnamed *Gonatas*, it would be easy to account for the eighty Years mentioned by *Livy*. *Antigonus* reigned about the Year of *Rome* 480; and from that time to this Year 561, is eighty Years.

<sup>169</sup> *Patræ*, an ancient City of *Achaia*, in *Peloponnesus*, was called *Aroe*, immediately after its Foundation. But it retained that of *Patræ*, which

the *Greeks* gave it afterwards. According to *Leucavius*, the *Turks*, who conquered it, now call it *Badera*, and *Balubatra*. It stands on a Hill, on which the People of the Canton had formerly erected a Temple to *Diana*, according to *Pausanias*. It is near the Gulph and Promontory of *Lepanto*, which was therefore called likewise, *The Gulph of Patræ*, and lays about ninety thousand geometrical Paces, West of *Corinth*. This City is but a thousand Paces from the Sea-coast. The *Italians* call it *Neopatria*, and under the *Greek* Princes it had the Title of a Duchy. The Ancients also mention another City of *Patræ*, which stood at the Foot of the Mountains of *Locris*, pretty near *Thermopylae*. <sup>170</sup> *Polybius* gives the Name of *Bææ* to the Port called



BUT the Tyrant's Soldiers were not sufficiently furnished with Tents. Most of them made Barracks of Branches of Trees, to cover them. And it was in this new Camp, that *Philopæmenes* resolved to attack the *Lacedæmonians*. In order to succeed in it, he gathered together some Boats and Sloops, which he filled with *Achèans*, armed with Darts and Slings to throw burning Matter; and these advanced, by Sea, towards *Pleia*. *Philopæmenes* himself, with his Troops, kept along the Shore, and in the dead of the Night, came and attacked the Enemy by Land. They were fast asleep; and thinking themselves in a secure Place, they kept no Watch. Upon the first Signal, Firebrands were thrown from the Sea; and the *Achèan* General drew up his Troops round the *Lacedæmonian* Camp, to fall on those who endeavoured to escape. So that the Fire destroyed some of them, the Sword others, and some retreated with Difficulty to the Camp before *Gythium*. From thence, *Philopæmenes* marched into *Laconia*, laid the Fields round *Tripolis* <sup>171</sup> waste, and carried off Men and Cattel, before *Nabis* had time to pursue him. And then *Philopæmenes*, having recovered his Glory, which was a little lessened by his maritime Expedition, assembled the Diet of his Nation. The *Acar-nanians* also assembled with them; and it was there resolved to advance near to <sup>172</sup> *Lacedæmon*, as if with Design to lay Siege to it. This was thought the only Means to make a powerful Diversion, and force *Nabis* to raise the Siege of *Gythium*. But in the mean time, the Place was hard pressed, and was taken the Day the *Achèan* Army appeared before *Lacedæmon*. *Nabis* <sup>173</sup> therefore, without Loss of time, turned towards the Enemy; and he found the *Achèans* marching in a Line, in a narrow Pass, and at a pretty great Distance from one another. *Philopæmenes* had posted his Cavalry in the Rear of his Army, to prevent his Auxiliaries from disbanding themselves. And he thought that if *Nabis* came upon him, he would begin his Attack in the Rear. But, to his great Surprise, he saw the *Lacedæmonians* ready to attack him in Front; and the Narrowness of the Place increased his Danger. Nevertheless, he, by his Address alone, extricated himself out of this Difficulty. *Philopæmenes* had from his Infancy studied all Cases that could happen, in the Command of Armies, and was prepared for them. Wherever he came, he examined the Nature of the Ground. If he was in Company, he asked the Advice of his Companions; and if alone, he always considered with himself, where he should post his Troops, in case he was to meet an Enemy there. And then he took his Measures as if he had been forced to give Battel. By these continual Reflections, it was become habitual to him to draw up his Army so artfully in all Places, that he was in no Fear of being very suddenly surprized; and he was never more sensible how necessary this kind of Study was for him, than at this time. He all at once, without shewing any Confusion at the Sight of *Nabis*, drew up his Men in the most artful Manner possible. He posted his *Achèans* in the first Line. Behind them he placed his *Cretan* Auxiliaries, and those which were called *Tarentines*, because they had come from *Tarentum*, during the Wars in *Italy*. As for his Cavalry, he drew them up by the Side of a Brook, for the Convenience of watering their Horses. And lastly, he put all his Baggage on the Top of a Rock, with a Detachment to guard it. In this Disposition, he waited for the Beginning of the Battel, without fearing the Consequences of it. The Enemy was but five hundred Paces from him. Both Parties drew Water out of the same Brook. But in the mean time Night drew on, and it was too late to begin an Action. Early the next Morning the Affair began, between the Horsemen who were leading their Horses to Water.

IN the Night-time, *Philopæmenes* had hid as many of his best Troops as he could in a Valley; and his Horse had Orders to retire, till they drew the Enemy

called *Pleia*, which *Livy* says was near to *Acræ*, and *Leuce*. *Sigonius* thinks, without any Reason, that the *Latin* Historian meant *Elia*, another City in the Territory of *Lacedæmon*.

<sup>171</sup> *Tripolis* was a little District in *Laconia*, which probably contained three Cities, or Towns; whence it had its Name. It was the Western-part of this Province, between the Rivers *Eurotas* and *Alpheus*, towards the Confines of the Territory of *Megalopolis* in *Arcadia*.

<sup>172</sup> *Philopæmenes* encamped in sight of *Carie*, a City belonging to *Lacedæmon*, of which we have already spoken. From thence this General advanced to a Mountain, which *Livy* calls *Barbosthenes*. It was but about ten thousand geometrical Paces distant from the Capital of *Laconia*.

<sup>173</sup> *Nabis*, to prevent the Designs of the Enemy, made himself Master of an advantageous Post which was then called *Pyrrhus's Camp*: Probably because this Prince had formerly encamped there.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXI.

L. QUINCTIUS  
FLAMININUS,  
CN. DOMITI-  
US AENOBAR-  
BUS, Consuls.

into the Ambuscade he had prepared for them. This first Attack was commanded by two Officers of Horse, one of which was <sup>174</sup> *Lycortas*, the Father of *Polybius* the Historian. At first the Dispute was warm, and the Advantage equal. Afterwards the Mercenaries of *Nabis* gained Ground, according to the Orders the *Achaean* General had given his Troops; and they crossed the Brook and pursued them. In the Plain the Loss of the *Lacedaemonians* was considerable; but when *Nabis's* Cavalry were got between the Infantry which lay in Ambush, these fresh Troops fell with Fury on the *Lacedaemonians*, who were fatigued, and covered with Wounds; and then the Victory was no longer doubtful. The Troops of *Nabis* fled, and there would have been a great Slaughter made of them, if the *Achaean* General had not sounded a Retreat. He feared the narrow Roads more than he did the Enemy. And he added Artifice to his Valour. He suborned one of his Soldiers to go as a Defter to *Nabis's* Camp, and there spread a Report, That the *Achaean*s would go the next Day and seize the Passes of the *Eurotas*, to hinder the *Lacedaemonians* from returning to their City, and to raise a Sedition there, if possible. Upon this News, *Nabis* took the Road to *Lacedaemon*, with Part of his Troops, and left his Son-in-law *Pythagoras* to guard his Camp.

*PHILOPOEMENES* watched the Steps of the Enemy; saw *Nabis* file off with his Detachment, and *Pythagoras* enter the Plain with his Squadrons; and came and fell upon the latter. *Pythagoras* first thought of recovering his Camp; but he was afraid it would be forced by *Philopæmenes's* Army, which all advanced in good Order. The safest Way was to follow *Nabis*, and leave the Camp to be plundered. And then the *Achaean*s divided themselves into two Bodies. One went to seize the Camp, while the other pursued the *Lacedaemonians*. The latter were already entered into a narrow Pass, and *Philopæmenes* attacked their Rear-Guard, and made a great Slaughter of them. The Noise of the Combatants was heard from far, and the whole *Lacedaemonian* Army was terrified at it. The Soldiers threw down their Arms, in order to gain the Woods; so that all the Road was full of long Pikes, which lay cross it. But the light-armed *Achaean*s easily broke thro' this Sort of Barricade; and *Philopæmenes* led his main Body, who had heavy Arms, thro' a wider Road to the Banks of the *Eurotas*. There he waited for those of his Troops which were yet pursuing the Fugitives. The Sun was near setting; and about six in the Evening these Troops joined him. They reported that *Nabis* was entered into *Lacedaemon*, with a small Guard; but that the rest of his Army was yet rambling in the Woods, and could not recover the Road to the City, till the Middle of the Night. *Philopæmenes* therefore instantly detached a fresh Troop, with Orders to hide themselves in the Roads that led to the Gates of *Lacedaemon*; and the Design succeeded. Towards the Close of the Day, the Fugitives came out of the Woods, when they saw Fires lighted in the *Achaean* Camp; and took the great Roads to the City. But before they got thither, they were intercepted, and cut in Pieces by the Enemy in Ambush. Never was Action better conducted. The *Lacedaemonians* lost a fourth Part of their Troops. So that *Philopæmenes* acquired exceeding great Glory among his Countrymen. They were so greatly prejudiced in his Favour, that they even preferred him before *Flamininus*. But we, who judge only by Facts, and at so great a Distance, have Reason to doubt whether the *Achaean* would have commanded great Armies with as much Skill as the *Roman*. Nevertheless, it must be granted, that for the Conduct of small Bodies of Men, such as the Cantons of *Greece* were then able to furnish, *Philopæmenes* was an incomparable Officer.

§. LII. WHILEST the *Achaean*s were carrying on the War at *Lacedaemon*, the Envoys of the *Roman* Republick were busy in visiting the chief Cities of *Greece*. It was necessary to keep them steady in the Confederacy, and hinder them from entering into Engagements with *Antiochus*. *Rome* particularly depended on *Achaia*; this Canton having declared against *Nabis*. The Ambassadors came first to *Athens*;

<sup>174</sup> *Lycortas*, the Father of *Polybius*, was as considerable for his Probity, Valour, and Skill in the Management of Affairs, as for the first Employments which he filled with Dignity, in the Republick of the *Achaean*s. These People honoured him with the *Prætorship*; and sent him in Quality of

Ambassador, to *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*. If *Polybius* has not flattered his Father, he was in nothing inferior to *Philopæmenes*, whom the Historian acknowledges to have been the most accomplished *Greek* of his Age.



from thence to *Chalcis*; then to *Theffaly*; and last of all to *Demetrias*. And all these Provinces, except the last seemed well affected to *Rome*. But *Demetrias* seemed ready to desert her. Two pieces of News were spread in the Country, which made her waver. The first was, That the *Romans* were going to surrender up to the King of *Macedon*, his Son *Demetrius*, whom they kept as an Hostage. The second, That they would likewise restore to him the City of *Demetrias*, where this King had long resided, and of which he was very fond, it being a most delightful Place. And indeed, in order to prevent *Philip's* entering into a League with *Antiochus*, *Rome* had Thoughts of delivering up his Son to him, and had given him hopes of recovering *Demetrias*. But the Inhabitants of this great City thought themselves happier in that State of Liberty which *Rome* had procured them, than they should be under the Dominion of a foreign Prince. Hence their Distrusts of the *Romans*, and their Inclinations towards *Antiochus*. This was an Affair of a very nice Nature. It was equally dangerous, either to own that *Rome* had Thoughts of delivering up *Demetrias* to *Philip*, or to destroy the Hopes *Philip* had conceived of becoming Master of it again. And it was therefore with all possible Dexterity, that *Flaminius* managed the People of *Demetrias*. He assembled the Council of the Lords of the Country. *Eurylochus*, a Man of Power and Interest in the City, was President; and he was already determined. He chose rather to fall in with the Suggestions of the *Ætolians*, and go over to *Antiochus*, than to see his Country in the Hands of the *Macedonian*. *Flaminius* therefore well considered every thing he said, in his Harangue in the Council. *You have experienced*, said he, *Philip's Government*. *Some of the Monuments of his Magnificence are yet remaining here. He built a stately Palace in this City. Will you then suffer Antiochus to come and take that Place in Demetrias, which Philip has so long possessed? This will be only exchanging one Master for another; and ought not the Macedonian then to be more acceptable to you than the Syrian? By this Speech, he neither affirmed that Philip was to have Possession of Demetrias again, nor absolutely removed the Fear of it. Eurylochus heard it, and saw through the Disguise. And he cried out, with great Indignation, When then shall we be delivered from Slavery! There is a Report spread, that Philip will soon come and impose his Yoke upon us. And are we now free? Are we not kept in Slavery by the Romans? These last Words raised different Passions in the Assembly. The Friends of Rome were enraged at them; and those of Antiochus applauded them. As for Flaminius, he lifted up his Hands to Heaven, and called the Gods to witness the Ingratitude of the Demetrians. The Concern that appeared in his Countenance, made the whole Assembly tremble; and Zeno, a Lord of great Might in the Assembly, and who was well known to have always favoured Rome, endeavoured to appease the Anger of the Roman. What, my Lord, said he, shall the Words of a Madman, be imputed to the whole Body of a faithful People? Demetrias bears no part in his mad Actions. She owes to you her all; Life, Liberty, and Estate. And her Attachment to Rome, will last as long as the Walls that surround her. Thus spake Zeno, with Tears in his Eyes, and all the Assembly applauded him. As for Eurylochus, he escaped out of the City, and fled for Refuge to the Ætolians.*

ALL *Ætolia* had already declared openly for *Antiochus*. The Ambassador 175 she had sent to *Ephesus*, to draw the *Syrian* into *Europe*, was returned; and he had brought with him an Ambassador from the King of *Syria*, to the *Ætolian* Diet. Nothing was now talked of, but the prodigious Army *Antiochus* was bringing with him. The People exaggerated, after the *Grecian* manner, the Number of Foot, Horse, and Elephants, which would come into *Ætolia*. And above all, it was reported, that the *Syrian* would bring with him Gold and Silver enough to purchase all the Lands belonging to the *Roman* Republick. The Minds of the *Ætolians* were full of these Prejudices, when they assembled their Diet on pur-

175 Livy had said a little before, that *Dicæarchus*, the Brother of *Thoas*, then *Prætor* of *Ætolia*, had been sent Ambassador to *Antiochus the Great*. But here he says, that *Thoas*, and not *Dicæarchus*, was the Man sent. And in this he agrees with Ap-

pian, though he contradicts himself. We can no otherwise solve the Contradiction, than by saying, that the *Prætor* went with his Brother to give the greater Weight to the Embassy.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXI.  
L. QUINCTI-  
US FLAMINI-  
NUS, CN. DO-  
MITIUS ÆNO-  
BARBUS, Con-  
suls.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXI.

L. QUINCTI-  
US FLAMINI-  
NUS, CN. DO-  
MITIUS ÆNO-  
BARBUS, Con-  
suls.

pose, to give Audience to the King's Ambassador. Nevertheless, the Envoys of Rome got Intelligence of these Proceedings; and they suborned some of their own Party, to thwart as much as possible the Designs of the factious *Thoas*, the chief Instrument of the *Ætolian* Revolt. *Flamininus* also engaged the *Athenians* to send Deputies to the Assembly of *Ætolia*, and there to undertake to maintain the Interests of his Republick. *Thoas* introduced *Antiochus's* Ambassador into the Diet. His Name was *Menippus*. He first gave the *Ætolians* to understand, that if his Master could have joined his Troops with those of King *Philip*, during the late War, *Greece* would not have suffered so much by the Tyranny of Rome. Then he added, that let her Slavery now be what it would, her Case was not incurable; and he promised her a Deliverer, in *Antiochus*. The *Ætolians* were ready to have accepted the Offer. But the *Athenian*, suborned by *Flamininus*, supported the Interests of Rome, with Zeal; and by the Dignity of the City he represented, and his Eloquence, obtained a Resolution, that nothing should be determined, till after the *Romans* had been heard.

*FLAMININUS* therefore was introduced into the Diet; there represented to them the Changes of the *Ætolians*, since their first Alliance with the *Romans*; exhorted them rather to carry their Complaints to the Senate of Rome, than fill *Asia* with them; and concluded in this manner. *Ætolians, will you be some of those Incendiaries, who will bring a Fire into all these Countries, which it is much easier to kindle, than extinguish? Will you arm the Eastern Nations for their mutual Ruin? What a Tempest are you bringing upon your selves! You are the first upon whom it will break.*

BUT in spite of all *Flamininus's* Address, in captivating People's Minds, the angry Discourses of *Thoas* prevailed over the Reasons of the Roman. A very bold Decree was immediately passed, and in *Flamininus's* Presence. It was this; *Let Antiochus be invited to come into Europe, and recover the Liberty of Greece, which is oppressed by the Romans. Flamininus* demanded a Copy of the Decree; but the *Prætor* of the *Ætolians* refused it him, with Pride and Insolence. *We will communicate it to you*, said he, *on the Banks of the Tyber, with all the Forces of Syria.* So express a Declaration therefore made the War unquestionable. *Flamininus* returned to *Corinth*. In the mean time the Diet took proper Measures for beginning Hostilities. The *Ætolians* thought three Cities the Bulwarks of Greece; and that to seize them, before *Antiochus* arrived, would be to open the Way for a rapid Conquest. They therefore cast their Eyes on *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*, and *Lacedæmon* in the Heart of *Peloponnesus*; and the Design of making themselves Masters of these, was the greater, in Proportion to the Difficulty of putting it in execution. Generally speaking, the Nobility there were well affected to the *Romans*, and the common People only inclined to change. Nevertheless, a Resolution was taken to surprize these three Cities all at once, and almost on the same Day. The Diet gave Commissions for it to three Men, of known Valour and Ability in War. *Thoas* was ordered to take *Chalcis*; *Alexamenes* to make the Attempt on *Lacedæmon*; and *Diocles* to invade *Demetrias*. With the latter was joined that *Eurylochus*, who had voluntarily banished himself from *Demetrias*, and kept up a Correspondence there. The three *Ætolians* set out without Delay for their respective Places. Every one took a different Method to execute his Commission; and their Success was not equal.

§. LIII. *DIOCLEES* pretended to have no other Design upon *Demetrias*, but to carry *Eurylochus* back thither, and restore him to his Country. It was necessary however to prepare the *Demetrians* to receive their old Head, who had voluntarily banished himself. *Eurylochus* therefore wrote to his Wife to go and present herself to the Assembly of the People, in Mourning; and in a suppliant manner, to offer a Petition, desiring her Husband's Return. Accordingly she executed his Orders, and appeared in the publick Market-place, accompanied by her Children, and guarded by her Relations; and when she offered her Petition, the People were moved with Compassion for a Woman of her Rank. Besides, many were but too well inclined, to receive into their City a factious Man, who was attached to the *Ætolians*. In short, the *Demetrians* consented to recall *Eurylochus*. Nothing therefore now remained, but to introduce him into his native City, with Honour; and this *Diocles* undertook to do. He put himself at the Head



Head of almost all the *Ætolian* Cavalry that he commanded; and advanced without Noise, but with great Marches, towards *Demetrias*.

AT break of Day, *Eurylochus* and his *Ætolian* General appeared at the Gate of the City, conducted in all Appearance by a weak Guard. The rest of the *Ætolian* Cavalry followed slowly. To prevent giving Umbrage to the *Demetrians*, *Diocles* ordered his Horse to dismount; and they entered the City without Difficulty, leading their Horses by the Bridles. There was left only a Brigade at the Gate, to receive the rest of the Squadrons that followed; and whilst *Diocles* was leading *Eurylochus* by the Hand, to his House, the whole Body of the *Ætolian* Cavalry arrived. Then he instantly made himself Master of some Posts in the City; detached several of his Men to kill the Heads of the *Roman* Party, who had declared against *Eurylochus*: And thus the whole City became entirely *Ætolian*.

§. LIV. BUT *Lacedæmon* was not to be so easily surprized. The Tyrant *Nabis*, was a suspicious and cautious Prince. It was difficult to surprize him, and more so to attack him openly. *Alexamenes* therefore made use of Treachery to invade his Capital. *Nabis* had long demanded of the *Ætolians* a Reinforcement of their Troops, to increase his Army against the *Achaïans*. *Alexamenes* was the Leader of those *Ætolian* Auxiliaries; and his cruel Design was to assassinate him, whom he pretended to assist. The secret Council of *Ætolia* had laid the Plan for this monstrous Perfidiousness. *Alexamenes* set out with a thousand Foot, and some young Horsemen, who were determined blindly to follow the Will of their Commander. *Nabis* graciously received the *Ætolian* Succours, and designed to incorporate them in his Armies. The Tyrant also heard with Joy the false News, That *Antiochus* had already passed the *Hellespont*; That he was in *Europe*; and That he would soon penetrate into the West of *Greece*. *Ætolia*, said *Alexamenes* to him, *would have sent you all her Troops, if she had not thought herself obliged to shew the King of Syria her Power, at his Arrival. And it will be for your Honour, my Lord, and for our common Interest, if you shew him your Phalanxes finely equipped, and well disciplined.*

THE *Lacedæmonian* placed too much Confidence in *Alexamenes*'s Discourse. He exercised his Soldiers every Day in a Plain near the Capital; and the *Ætolian* Auxiliaries also appeared under Arms, at the *Rendezvous*, and their Commander with them. And whilst *Nabis*, finely mounted, was riding through the Files of his Army, to order their Motions, *Alexamenes* always kept close by his side; but not so much out of Respect to him, as to find out the most proper Opportunity to give the Blow he designed. He had observed, that *Nabis* was guarded by only three or four Persons at these Reviews; and this was enough to make him form a Design of assassinating him, in sight of his Troops, when under Arms. It was a bold Resolution; and *Alexamenes* put it in execution, with more Success than Prudence. In the Day which he designed should be the Tyrant's last, he told his Horsemen, that he should stand in need both of their Courage and Address. *Keep always close to me*, said he, *at the Review; keep your Eyes fixed upon me, and whatever I do, do you the same.* He said no more; but attended the King as usual. As if he had been only an *Aid-de-camp* to the commanding Officer, he fled sometimes from the left to the right, and sometimes from the right to the left, pretending to carry the King's Orders, to all the Troops. His own Troop of Horse kept always with him; and at length, finding *Nabis* with few about him, he seized the desired Opportunity. He, with a Stroke of his Lance, wounded the King's Horse, and the King fell to the Ground. Then the *Ætolian* Troop rode up, and dispatched the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, before any one could come to his Assistance. His Guards themselves were so surprized, that instead of seizing the Murderer, they stood gazing on the King's Body, which lay dead on the Sand. As for *Alexamenes*, he came to his *Ætolian Phalanx*, which was posted in the left Wing of the Army, hastened their Pace, entered *Lacedæmon* with them, and went to plunder the Tyrant's Palace. In all probability, if he had harangued the *Lacedæmonian* Troops, the Moment he had killed the Tyrant, he would have found them approve of this barbarous Murder. The Tyrant was equally hated by his Citizens, and Soldiers. But a love of Plunder prevailed in the *Ætolian's* Breast. Contrary to all Rules of Prudence, he spent the whole Night, in searching for the Treasures of

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXI.

L. QUINCTI-  
US FLAMINI-  
NUS, CN. DO-  
MITIUS A-  
NIBALUS,  
Consuls.



Year of of the murdered King; till at length, the *Lacedæmonians* recovered themselves from their first Surprize. They thought it unworthy of them, to suffer a perfidious Foreigner to plunder the Palace of their ancient Kings, as if their City had been taken by Assault; and therefore assembled together, and put a young Child at their Head, whom they acknowledged to be of the Blood Royal. Then they massacred all the *Ætolians* they met; and entering the Palace, killed the unfortunate *Alexamenes* there. The rest of the *Ætolians* either fled, or were condemned to Slavery. Upon this, the prudent *Philopæmenes* knew how to make his Advantage of the Death of the Tyrant, and his Assassin. He came immediately to *Lacedæmon*, assembled the People, and exhorted them to recover their Liberty. They followed the Advice he gave them; *Lacedæmon*, from being a Monarchy, was turned into a Republick; and became one of the Cantons of the *Achaian* Body.

DLXI.

L. QUINCTI-  
US FLAMINI-  
NUS, CN. DO-  
MITIUS ÆNO-  
BARBUS, Con-  
suls.

Plut. Life of  
Philopæm.

Livy, B. 35.  
c. 37.

§. LV. As for *Thoas*, he failed in his Attempt upon *Chalcis*. He joined with him in the Work, two Men, whom he thought able to promote his Design. One was a Lord of the Country, named *Euthymidas*, a great Enemy of the *Romans*, who had been driven out of *Chalcis* for Sedition; and the other was only a Merchant of <sup>176</sup> *Cium*; but his immense Riches had gained him a great Interest in *Chalcis*. His Name was *Herodorus*. *Euthymidas* was personally to assist in the Enterprize, and employ his Faction, which continued in the City. *Herodorus* was to raise Troops, and hire Ships, at his own Expence. And lastly, *Thoas* had for his part, the Conduct of the Affair. He had a Guard of two hundred *Ætolian* Horse, and had reserved thirty Transports for his Expedition. In the first Place, *Euthymidas* came from *Athens*, the Place of his Retreat, to *Thebes*; from thence to *Salganea* <sup>177</sup>, on the Banks of the *Euripus*; and there he waited for the Arrival of *Thoas*, and *Herodorus*. The latter advanced as far as to the Island of <sup>178</sup> *Atalanta*, with six hundred Foot; and left two hundred more at <sup>179</sup> *Thronium*, near *The* <sup>180</sup> *Maliac Gulph*. And as soon as the latter were got to the *Euripus*, *Herodorus* was to appear before *Chalcis*.

BUT all these Preparations were not so secretly made, as to be kept from the Knowledge of *Micthio* <sup>181</sup> and *Xenocrides*, two of the Chiefs of *Eubæa*. However, they at first despaired of being able to deliver *Chalcis* from this Invasion. But afterwards, the Remembrance of the Fidelity they owed the *Romans*, encouraged them; and in order to raise the Militia in their Island, they took the Opportunity of a Feast of *Diana* <sup>182</sup>, to which the *Ætolians* came in Crowds. Then these Troops were divided; and some were employed in guarding the Walls of *Chalcis*, whilst others passed the *Euripus*, and encamped at *Salganea*, in *Bæotia*. From thence they sent a Deputation to the Chief of the *Ætolians*, to know the Reason of the Hostilities, he was going to commit against *Chalcis*; and *Thoas* answered, That his only Design was to deliver *Eubæa* from the *Roman* Yoke, which was heavier than that of *Philip* had formerly been. But the Deputy remonstrated, that the Island did now enjoy perfect Liberty, and needed not an Avenger or Deliverer; and this disconcerted the Measures of the *Ætolian*. He had wholly depended on making his Attack unexpectedly; whereas he now found,

<sup>176</sup> *Livy*, to shew *Herodorus's* Country, calls him *Cianus*. *Herodorum Cianum Monatorum*. A Term, which may either signify an Inhabitant of the Island of *Cia*, or of the City of *Cium*. But be that as it will, the Ancients gave the Name of *Cia* to a little Island near *Crete*, and to one of the *Cyclades*. The latter is now called *Zea*. *Pliny* assures us, that it was formerly sixty Miles in Circumference; but the Sea having since swallowed up a great part of the Land, it was now reckoned to be but forty. As for the Name of *Cium*, there were two Cities so called in *Asia Minor*; one belonging to *Phrygia*, the other to *Bithynia*.

<sup>177</sup> *Salganea*, now *Salganico*, was the usual Rendezvous of those who designed to go into the Island of *Eubæa*. The Passage over the *Euripus* was shortest, and most convenient, over against that City. It stood on the Confines of *Bæotia*, between *Anthedon*, and the Mouth of the *Ismenus*.

<sup>178</sup> The Island of *Atalanta* is now known by

the Name of *Talanta*, or *Taland*. It lay very close to *Eubæa*, over against *Locris*.

<sup>179</sup> *Thronium* was a City of *Locris*, towards *The Maliac Gulph*. We have spoken of it already.

<sup>180</sup> We have already observed several times, that *The Maliac Gulph* is now called *The Gulph of Zeiton*. It divided *Theffaly*, from the Island of the *Negropont*.

<sup>181</sup> Instead of *Micthio*, others, upon the Credit of some MSS. read *Micithio*.

<sup>182</sup> The Inhabitants of *Eretria*, a City of *Eubæa*, were then celebrating a Feast, according to *Livy*, in honour to *Diana Amarynthis*. The Goddess was so called, according to *Strabo*, from a Quarter of the City, which the *Eretrians* called *Amarynthæ*. There was a Temple in it, where the People assembled to pay their Homages to the Goddess. The People of *Carystus*, another City of *Eubæa*, joined in the Solemnity.



that proper Preparations were made for his Reception. *Thoas* therefore retired, much dissatisfied, at his having failed of taking a City, which would have made him Master of the whole Island, and opened a Way for *Antiochus* to enter into *Attica* <sup>183</sup>.

AND whilst *Ætolia* was giving these violent Shocks to *Greece*, the Romans began to appear again in the East, to support their Dominion there. The *Prætor Attilius* had already appeared with his Fleet, and landed before *Gythium*. This City, which had been retaken by *Nabis*, had changed Sides since the Tyrant's Death. It now chose to act the same part as *Lacedæmon*, which being become a Member of *Achaia*, was consequently attached to the Interest of *Rome*. So that *Attilius* was favourably received at *Gythium*; and the Presence of a *Roman Prætor*, and the Sight of his Fleet, a little revived the Courage of those *Greeks*, which held out for the *Roman Republick*.

§. LVI. IN the mean time nothing kept *Antiochus* in *Asia*, but an Expedition begun against the Cities of *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, and <sup>184</sup> *Alexandria* in *Troas*. The *Syrian* thought it dangerous to leave these Cities unsubdued behind him; but when *Thoas* had joined him after his fruitless Attempt upon *Chalcis*, *Antiochus* followed his Advice. The *Ætolian* persuaded him to drop the Design of reducing these Places, and not to delay going into *Europe*, one Moment. So that the only remaining Question was, where the War should be begun; and this was several times debated. *Hannibal* revived this Dispute. He again pressed the King to furnish him with a Fleet, and a Body of Troops, which he boasted, that he would soon lead, into the very Heart of *Italy*. And this was doubtless, the best Method *Antiochus* could have taken. But *Hannibal*, says an ancient Historian, was the *Cassandra* of his time. He gave the wisest Advice, and yet it was always rejected.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXI.

L. QUINCTI-  
US FLAMINI-  
NUS, CN. DO-  
MITIUS Æ-  
NOBARBUS,  
Consuls.

183 In the mean time *Euthymidas* was soon informed, that the *Chalcidians* had sent a Body of Troops to *Salganea*, to defend it against the Invasion of the *Ætolians*. And having likewise heard of the ill Success of *Thoas's* Enterprize, he resolved to return to *Athens*. On the other hand, *Herodorus* in vain waited for the Signals agreed on between him and the *Ætolian* Commander. And being impatient at so long a Delay, sent out a Sloop to make Discoveries. Then he was soon told, that the Inhabitants of *Chalcis* had prevented *Thoas's* Designs. He therefore returned to *Thronium*, with his little Army. *Quinctius Flaminius* being informed of the Steps the *Ætolians* had taken to corrupt the Cities in Alliance, and draw them off from the Republick, set out with all Diligence from *Corinth*, where he then was, in order to go over to *Eubœa*. In his Passage he met the King of *Pergamus's* Fleet, which was cruising along the *Euripus*; and *Quinctius* drew out of it five hundred Men, with whom he reinforced the Garrison of *Chalcis*. As for King *Eumenes*, it was resolved that he should march to *Athens* without Delay, in order to keep that City in Awe, and watch the Steps of the Citizens. And then *Quinctius* took it upon himself to recover *Demetrias* to the *Roman* Party. He first wrote to *Eunomus*, *Prætor* of *Thessaly*, to desire him, to put all the young Men in the Country, under Arms. Then he charged *Villius* to go to *Demetrias*, and inform himself upon the Spot, of the present Disposition of the Inhabitants. Accordingly, the latter went on board a *Quinqueremis*, and came in sight of *Demetrias*. The Report of his Arrival raised a great Commotion among the People; and they ran in Crouds to the Port. But *Villius*, without any Concern at seeing such Crouds about him, applied himself to *Eurylochus*, then *Prætor* or *Magnetaribes*, in this manner. Can the Romans yet reckon the People of *Demetrias* and *Magnesia*, among their Allies, or no? Am I received here as a Friend, or not? To which the Magistrate, with some Confusion, answered only in general Terms, That his fellow-Citizens were attached to the Republick. But at the same time, he gave him to understand, that his

Presence would disturb the Repose of a Nation jealous of their Liberty. Which was in effect declaring to him, that he did not care to admit him into *Demetrias*. And indeed, the *Prætor* had already entered into Measures with *Antiochus*; and the Inhabitants, seduced by his Councils, had just then made a League with the *Ætolian* Confederates, against *Rome*. *Villius* understood by *Eurylochus's* Discourse, that he could not, without Danger, appear among a People, who were Enemies to the *Roman* Name; and the Conversation ended with severe Reproaches. The Deputy called the Gods to witness the Ingratitude of a City, which wholly owed her Liberty to the Republick; and foretelling the future Desolation of the Province, said, *I plainly see the Storm that will fall upon your Heads. Your Misfortunes will convince you, when it is too late, that none who provoke the Romans, escape with Impunity.* The assembled People only answered these Reproaches and Menaces, with angry Shouts, and bitter Complaints, as well of the Injustice of the *Roman* Senate, as the ill Proceedings of *Flaminius*. *Villius* therefore was obliged to put to Sea again, and return to give an Account of his Success; and *Quinctius*, upon his Report, despaired of bringing the *Demetrians* back to their old Alliance. So that he sent an Express to the *Prætor Eunomus*, requiring him to disband the new Troops he had raised to guard *Demetrias*, against any Attempts of the *Ætolians*; and *Quinctius* returned himself to *Corinth*.

184 The City of *Alexandria* in *Troas*, is called by the Ancients *Alexandria Troy*, to distinguish it from many other Cities of that Name. It gloried in having been founded by *Alexander the Great*. *Quintus Curtius* tells us, that this Conqueror built it, on the Coasts of the *Ægean* Sea, at a little Distance from the Ruins of *Troy*, and almost in the middle, between *Abydos*, and *Antandros*. From thence to *The Sigæan Promontory*, was seventeen thousand geometrical Paces. The Remains of this City are now known by the Name of *Santa Maria*. The *Turks* call this Place *Carasia*, according to *Leunclavius*.



Year of Nevertheless, it seems probable, that the King of Syria, had been prevailed on by  
 R O M E the Carthaginian, and had consented to send him into Italy. But when *Thoas* arrived, he opposed *Hannibal's* Scheme; and the Ships which were to transport him were not equipped in time. *Is it possible*, said he to *Antiochus*, *that any Man could have the Presumption to persuade you to divide your Forces between Greece, and Italy? Who can give Advice so pernicious to the common Cause, and to your Glory? It is said to be Hannibal; that is, a Carthaginian, an Exile, and a Man ready to sacrifice, even his own Country, to any ridiculous Scheme for aggrandizing himself. To what Dangers will you expose us, my Lord, if you put him at the Head of an Army? He will assume to himself all the Benefit, and all the Reputation of the Enterprize. What Share will the World give you in it? If he should become the Conqueror of the Romans, will he deign to pay you Homage for his own Conquests? He has long been carrying on ambitious Projects in several Places. His Aim is to find a Country, of which he may make himself Sovereign. But what am I saying? The whole World is scarce sufficient to satisfy his Desires. Keep him always near you, my Lord, to assist you with his Arms. Let him follow you, and always attend you. But never suffer him to be so far from you, as may enable him to act independently of you.* *Antiochus* was of a suspicious Temper, and jealous of his Glory. He was sensible of *Hannibal's* Superiority to him, and dreaded it. So that the Design of sending the Carthaginian into Italy, was entirely dropped.

DLXI.  
 L. QUINCTIUS  
 FLAMININUS,  
 CN. DOMITI-  
 US AENOBAR-  
 BUS, Consuls.  
 App. in Syriac.

Livy B. 35.  
 c. 44.

§. LVII. GREECE became the only Seat of the War, *Antiochus* began against the Romans; and he pitched on *Demetrias* for the Place where he would first land. This City had lately withdrawn from the Roman Confederacy; and it would, in all probability, prove faithful to the new Enemies to Rome. *Antiochus* therefore prepared every thing for his Departure. His Army then consisted of only ten thousand Foot, five hundred Horse, and six Elephants. He therefore sent *Polixenidas*, one of his Officers into Asia, to fetch the rest of his Troops from thence, and to lead them into Europe. *Antiochus* himself, with a Body of Men, very unsuitable to the Majesty of a great King, crossed over into Europe, with forty Gallies<sup>185</sup> with Decks, and attended with a great Number of Frigates, and two hundred Transports. First he sailed to<sup>186</sup> *Imbros*, thence to<sup>187</sup> *Scyathos*, and at length landed at<sup>188</sup> *Pteleum*, a City in *Phthiotis*. Thither *Eurylochus* came to receive him, and invited him to *Demetrias*. As for the *Ætolians*, they resolved in Council, to bring the King among them; and *Antiochus* therefore left *Demetrias*, and came to *Lamia*, one of their Cities. At his Entrance into it, the Greeks shewed all those Demonstrations of Joy, which were common among a People, whose Expectations always made them very profuse of their Flatteries. In order to receive him, an *Ætolian* Diet was called; the Syrian was admitted into it; and there spoke thus. *My Earnestness to satisfy your Desires, has made me leave Asia, before I had made the necessary Preparations for the War, to which you invite me. If I have been more negligent than I ought to have been of my own Dignity, it is to be imputed to my Zeal in hastening to your Deliverance. The next Spring will answer all your Expectations from me. As soon as the Sea is passable, you will see your Continent covered with Syrians, and your Ports filled with my Fleets. I will spare neither Expences, nor Fatigues, nor Dangers, to re-establish you in perfect Liberty. Rome has enslaved you. Syria offers you an Avenger. Let us then share the Trouble between us. Do you furnish Magazines of Provisions; I will find Men, and Arms.*

THIS Speech was received with Applause; and when the King was withdrawn, the only Question was, what Title they should give the Syrian, and under what Character he should act in *Ætolia*. *Pheneas*, a leading Man, was for having *Antiochus* act only as a Mediator between Rome and *Ætolia*. But the seditious *Thoas* contended, that he ought to be nominated Generalissimo of the Grecians.

<sup>185</sup> *Antiochus*, says *Livy*, had put in at *Ilium*, a City of *Troas*, or *Little Phrygia*, situated between Mount *Ida*, and the Coasts of the *Ægean* Sea; and there offered Sacrifices to *Minerva*, and used all Means to secure the Protection of the Goddess.

<sup>186</sup> *Imbros*, an Island in the *Ægean* Sea, of

which we have already spoken, is now called *Lembro*.

<sup>187</sup> See what we have already said of *Scyathos*, now *Sciato*, an Island in the *Ægean* Sea.

<sup>188</sup> The Place where *Pteleum* formerly stood, is now called *Fiteo*.



Armies against *Rome*; and his Opinion prevailed. Then a Council of thirty Persons was appointed, to whom the King might have Recourse, when he pleased, and as Occasion required; and this Council judged it necessary to begin with a Negotiation with *Chalcis*, a City which obstinately adhered to the *Roman* Faction. Nothing was said of attacking it openly, or leading a great Army before it; it was thought that the King's Presence would be sufficient to reduce this important Place. *Antiochus* therefore took with him only a thousand of the *Syrian* Troops, which he had landed, marched towards *Phocis*, and came to <sup>189</sup>*Cheronea*. There a small Body of *Ætoli*ans, brought thither in ten Vessels, joined him; and they all encamped at *Salganea*, on the side opposite to *Eubœa*. Then they invited the *Chalcidians* to a friendly Conference on the Confines of *Eubœa*, and *Mictio*, came thither, with a Guard. The King passed the *Euripus*, and continued on board his Galley, during the Conference; and the *Ætoli*ans made great Efforts to persuade the *Chalcidians* to enter into the Confederacy. *We don't insist*, said they to *Mictio*, *that you should renounce the Friendship of the Romans. But can you withstand the Advances which a powerful Monarch makes to you? He is come purely to relieve Greece, and deliver us from Slavery; not in Word only, as the Romans did, but in Fact. He is not come to bring War, but Peace. Receive then the Deliverer of Greece as a Friend at least, if you do no more.* To which *Mictio* replied, with an Air of Astonishment; *What Slavery do you speak of, and what are the Evils, from which you promise us Deliverance? Eubœa enjoys the Benefit of her own Laws, in Tranquillity, and is under no foreign Yoke. We look on the Roman Republick, the King of Syria, and the Ætoli*ans, *as so many powerful Friends, with whom we keep up a faithful Correspondence. The Romans have delivered us from the Slavery to which Philip had reduced us; and we shall ever retain a grateful Remembrance of so great an Obligation.* These Words were brought to the King on board his Ship; and he was then sensible, that the first Step they had made him take, was a fruitless and inglorious Attempt.

§. LVIII. BUT *Thoas* appeared *Antiochus*, with the Hopes of bringing *Amyntas*, the King of the *Athamanes*, into his Interest, as well as *Bœotia*, and *Achaia*. And certainly, if that Scheme had taken Place, the *Roman* Interest would have been ruined in *Greece*. The King of *Syria* was informed, That the *Bœotians* were much troubled at the Death of *Brachyllas*, and That time had not worn out their Resentments against *Rome*. To which it was added, That *Philopœmenes*, that formidable Chief of the *Achaïans*, still harboured in his Breast a secret Jealousy of *Flaminius*. And lastly, with Respect to the King of the *Athamanes*, *Antiochus* was made to believe, That a private Intrigue was on Foot, for drawing him off from the *Roman* Party. So that the *Ætoli*ans began their Negotiations with these three Cantons. In the first Place, they sent an Embassy to *Achaia*. The *Achaïan* Diet, which was held at *Ægium* <sup>190</sup>, where *Flaminius* then was, gave Audience to the Envoys from *Antiochus*, and the *Ætoli*ans. The *Syrian* Ambassador, who spoke first, greatly extolled the irresistible Power of his Master. He spoke of nothing but *Cuirassiers*, in impenetrable Armour; and Horsemen, who threw their Darts with as much Skill, when they turned their Backs, as when they faced the Enemy. He talked of a prodigious Assembly of warlike Nations, whose Names had scarce been ever heard of in *Greece*. He represented the Fleets of *Antiochus* as so numerous, that all the Ports of *Greece* could not contain them. He amplified the Riches of the King of *Syria*, and said, That it was needless to mention his Wealth, since they knew how much *Asia* abounded with Gold. The *Romans*, said he, *will not now have to do with Hannibal, and Antiochus only. All Asia, that is, the richest and most populous part of the World, will declare against them. Not that we insist, Achaïans, on your taking up Arms against Rome your Ally. If you stand neuter only, that shall be sufficient to screen your Regions from the Inundation of the Asiaticks, which threaten you.* As for the *Ætolian* Envoy, whose Name was *Archidamus*, he scarce did any thing more, than repeat

<sup>189</sup> *Cheronea* was formerly a famous City of *Boeotia*, after *Philip* of *Macedon* had gained a signal Victory over the *Greeks*, in the adjoining Fields; but it now scarce retains any Traces of what it formerly was.

<sup>190</sup> *Ægium*, a City of *Achaia*, stood on the South-Coast of *The Gulph of Corinth*, between *Patrae* and *Sicyon*. It is now almost buried in Ruins. The few Remains of it that are left, are called *Vostiza*, according to *Niger*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXI.  
L. QUINCTIUS  
FLAMINIUS,  
CN. DOMITI-  
US ÆNOBAR-  
BUS, Consuls.



Year of the emphatick Terms and moderate Demands of the Syrian. *Be ye, said he, the Spectators of a War, which must swallow up Rome, and avenge the Cheat Flaminius has put upon you. Unfortunate Achaia! How many Calamities has this Roman brought upon thee! But could the pretended Conqueror of Philip have subdued him without us? What great Action has he done during the War? His whole time has been spent in Victims and Sacrifices. He was offering up his Vows at the Altars, when I was exposing myself to the Darts of the Enemy for his sake.* *Flaminius* heard all these Reproaches with Patience, and answered them with Pleasantry, in this manner. *Attempts have now been made, Achaians, to dazzle your Eyes, with an Enumeration of these Nations of Asia, which are to pour in, like a Torrent, upon Greece. Which is much the same Case that happened to me, when I was visiting a Chalcidian, my Friend. He had invited me to an Entertainment, in a Season, when Game was most scarce; and yet there seemed to be a vast Plenty of it at his Table. But my Friend desired me not to be guilty of a Mistake; I have nothing, said he, sent up to my Table, but common Bacon; though my Cook has indeed disguised it several Ways, and given it different Tastes, and different Names. Such is this pompous Enumeration of all the Nations that are said to be arming against you. In one Word, they are all Asiaticks. Whatever Disguises may be put upon it, they are all but one sort of Men. Let the Sauce be what it will, the Meat is the same. And as for the Ætolians, they are brave only in Words. Could any one have thought it possible, that they should have the Insolence to impute solely to themselves, the War we made with them against Philip? What, Ætolians, do you pretend to impose upon Achaia, which knows you? These Discourses are fit only to amuse Syrians. You may flatter them, and they you; that is, you may mutually use one another ill. The Asiaticks speak with great Ostentation of that Deluge of Soldiers, which it is said will soon fall upon these Countries. The Ætolians magnify their late Feats of Valour, beyond Probability. The former feed upon Hopes; the latter upon Smoke. You may judge of it, by the Figure this powerful King of the Syrians is come to make in these Parts. All his Army is scarce equal to two of the smallest of our Legions. And where are the Riches which he promises you? He is forced himself to live upon Credit, to borrow Money to buy Provisions for his Army, and to pay a great Interest for it. What a Figure did he make in Eubœa, on the Banks of the Euripus? What a shameful Refusal was he forced to receive from the Chalcidians! But he only demands of Ætolia a Neutrality. That is, he invites you to become a Prey to both Parties; and to suffer all the Evils of War, without sharing the Advantages of Victory.*

THIS Discourse, though spoken with a familiar Air, had a better Effect, than a studied Harangue. The *Achaians* discovered a Fund of good Sense in it, which convinced them. They, without Hesitation, declared for the *Romans*, and adhered to their first Confederacy. Nor was this all. By *Flaminius's* Advice, they immediately sent five hundred Men to strengthen the Garrison of *Chalcis*; and five hundred more to the Port of *Pyræus*, to encourage the *Athæniens*, who began to <sup>191</sup> waver.

§. LIX. THUS the Embassy of *Antiochus*, and the *Ætolians*, had succeeded ill in *Achaia*; and that which they sent to *Bœotia*, was scarce any better received. In a national Council, the *Bœotians* coldly answered, That they would come to no Resolution, till *Antiochus's* Army was on the Frontiers of *Bœotia*. This Answer did not please the Syrian, or his Friends, the *Ætolians*. However, they might still engage *Amynder* in the League. This King of the *Athamanes* had married at *Megalopolis*, a Woman named *Apamia*, a Native of *Macedon*, who was said to be descended from *Alexander the Great*. The Father of *Apamia*, who also bore the Name of *Alexander*, gave out among the *Megalopolitans*, with whom he chose to live, that he was the true Heir of the Kingdom of *Macedon*. The Brother of *Apamia*, whose Name was *Philip*, governed the Kingdom of *Athamania*, under *Amynder*, who was a weak Prince, and very unfit for Business: And *Antiochus*

*Apamia* Syrian.  
N. 93.  
*Lib. B. 35.*  
47

<sup>191</sup> Several of the Citizens of *Athens*, being seduced by *Antiochus's* Promises, declared openly in favour of that Prince; and *Quinctius* being informed of the secret Cabals, and ill Designs, of a few

factious Men, came immediately to *Athens*. *Apamodorus* was cited to appear; was accused by *Leon*, as the chief Author of the Revolt; and was banished with Ignominy.



gained over *Philip*, to the *Syrian's* Interest. They told him, that by the Help of the King of *Syria* he might ascend the Throne of his Ancestors. This glimmering Hope brought him over to the *Ætolians*; and then it was easy for *Antiochus* to have subdued all *Thessaly* by his means. But the *Syrian* deliberated, whether he should presently seize it, or tarry till Spring. Upon which, *Hannibal* spoke to the King, with all the Freedom of a Soldier, and all the Penetration of an old Commander. *You have been imposed on, my Lord*, said he to *Antiochus*. *In order to draw you into Europe, you was made to believe, that the King of Macedon, and the Lacedæmonians, would join their Forces to yours. But neither one, nor the other, appear more ready to follow your Standards, than Achaia, and Eæotia. The King of the Athamanes, is but a weak Support to you; and as to Thessaly, it is an open Country, and was ruined in the late Wars. You may readily subdue it, when you please; and will perhaps as readily lose it again, upon the first Approach of the Romans. The Ætolians alone, and the few Troops you have brought hither, are not sufficient to support your Dignity here. Continue unactive therefore till you have, with the utmost Expedition, brought into Europe, all those prodigious Armies you maintain in Asia. Then divide them into two Bodies. Send me into Italy, to make a powerful Diversion there with one; and wait with the other for the first Opportunity that offers to signalize yourself. The first Man you treat with, ought to be Philip of Macedon. Gain him over to you. Or if he is untractable, send your Son Seleucus into Macedon through Thrace, and you will thereby hinder the Macedonian's giving any Assistance to your Enemies.* This was very sensible, and wise Advice. But it was *Hannibal's* Fate, always to speak Truth, and never to be believed.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXI.

L. QUINCTI-  
US FLAMINI-  
NUS, CN. DO-  
MITIUS ÆNO-  
BAREUS, Con-  
suls.

§. LX. THE King of *Syria* pursued the more narrow Views of his Courtiers. Indeed he sent Orders to his Officers in *Asia*, to bring all his Troops into *Greece*. And in the mean time, he engaged in an Expedition, which succeeded to his Wish. He had received Intelligence, that the *Achaians*, King *Eumenes*, and the *Prætor Attalus*, were each to send to *Chalcis*, through different Roads, five hundred Men to reinforce the Garrison. Those of King *Eumenes*, and the five hundred *Achai- ans*, had already passed the *Euripus*, and were entered into the City, under the Command of *Xenocrides*; but *Antiochus* resolved to intercept the *Romans*. With this View, he assembled nine thousand of his Troops; detached three thousand of them, under the Command of *Menippus*; and at the same time ordered *Polixenidas* to bring up all his Fleet towards the *Euripus*, to stop up the Entrance into it. A few Days after the two Generals were gone, the King began his March, at the Head of the six thousand Men he had left with him, and a small Number of *Æto- lians*. The five hundred *Romans* were commanded by *Mittio* the *Chalcidian*, who having been sent by his Countrymen, on a Deputation to *Quinctius*, had obtained the Succours he was conducting. When he came near *Salganea*, with this new Reinforcement, in order to cross the *Euripus* to go to *Chalcis*, he was immediately informed, that *Menippus*, with his three thousand Men, was encamped within sight of that City: And at the same time he saw the Canal covered with *Syrian* Ships. He therefore found it necessary to march towards a Temple of *Apollo*, about five Miles from <sup>192</sup> *Tanagra*; from whence it was but about four Miles over to *Eubæa*. And there the *Romans* waited for a convenient Passage, and amused themselves, either with considering the Beauties of this Temple, or walking about the neighbouring Fields. But their Leisure was interrupted, by the Detachment of the *Syrian* Army, led by *Menippus*, who fell upon them, killed many of them, and took fifty Prisoners of War. Few of them escaped; but *Mittio* retired in a Skiff, and got safe to *Eubæa*. This was the first time *Antiochus* drew his Sword in these Parts; and by thus spilling *Roman* Blood, which was first done at *Delium* <sup>193</sup> (which was the Name of the Temple) the King of *Syria* made himself the Aggressor. He thereby gave the *Roman* Republick a new Right to declare War with him. However, this slight Advantage made him more enterprizing. He had a second Conference with the Inhabitants of *Chalcis*. His Army was

Liv. B. 35.  
c. 50.

<sup>192</sup> *Tanagra*, a City of *Boeotia* on the Banks of the *Asopus*, and five Miles from the *Euripus*, is now called *Anatoria*.

<sup>193</sup> This Temple, consecrated to *Apollo*, was

built on the Sea-Coast of *Boeotia*, between the City of *Anlis*, and the Mouth of the *Asopus*, five Miles from *Tanagra*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXI.

L. QUINCTI-  
US FLAMINI-  
NUS, CN. DO-  
MITIUS AENO-  
BARBUS, Con-  
suls.

Livy B. 36.  
c. 5.

Polyb. in Le-  
gat. N. 12.  
and from him  
Livy.

stronger than formerly, and his Fleet threatened the City; and notwithstanding the Oppositions of *Mistio*, and *Xenocrides*, the *Chalcidians* opened their 194 Gates to him. Then the Reduction of the Capital was followed by the Surrendry of the whole Island; and all *Eubœa* became subject to the *Syrian*. This unfortunate Prince did not then foresee, that *Chalcis* would prove a fatal Place to him. He did not foresee, that he should there suffer himself to be captivated, and unmanned by Pleasure, as much as *Hannibal* had been at *Capua*; and thereby lose the best part, both of his Successes, and his Glory.

*ANTIOCHUS* from that time made *Chalcis* his Place of Residence. He spent the Winter there; and sent from thence to sollicite the several Cantons of *Greece* to revolt. Some Nations, of their own accord, sent their Ambassadors to the King of *Syria*, whose Power began to be formidable. The *Elians* and *Epirots* in particular, sent Deputations to him; the former from *Peloponnesus*, and the latter from the Coasts of *Epirus*, which were nearest to *Italy*. The *Elians* demanded Succours against the *Achaïans*, who, enraged at their having embraced the *Ætolian* Party, contrary to their Advice, had carried the War into their Country. But the *Epirots* treated with more Caution. Their Design was to gain the Friendship of *Antiochus*, without coming to a Breach with the *Romans*. *We are*, said they, *the nearest Nation to Italy, of any in Greece, and the most exposed to the Invasion of the Romans. Their first Fire will fall upon us. Either therefore send us Land-Forces, and Ships enough to guard us against them, or give us Leave to keep up a good Intelligence with Rome.* The *Epirots* had two Points in view; first to guard themselves against the Arms of the *Syrian*, if he extended his Conquests to them; and in the next Place, not to exasperate the *Romans* against them. As for *Antiochus*, he granted the *Elians* a thousand Men to guard their Country; and promised the *Epirots* to send Deputies to them, to examine into the Situation of their Affairs on the Spot. After this, the King set out for *Bœotia*. This Republick was now much degenerated from what it had formerly been. The Dissentions among the Great Men, had even made the People desirous of a Change in the Government; and as soon as *Antiochus* appeared, the *Bœotians* granted him more than he asked. They knew that the *Roman* Blood shed near the Temple of *Apollo*, was an open Declaration of War. But nevertheless, they joined with *Antiochus*, and renounced their Confederacy with *Rome*.

§. LXI. AND now, the time approaching for assembling the Armies to take the Field, *Antiochus* came into the Territory of *Larissa*, and sent from thence to summons his Allies, to bring their Troops near *Pheræ*, where the general Rendezvous was to be. And whilst he was waiting for the Arrival of the *Ætolian* Troops, and the *Athamanes*; the *Syrian* took *Philip*, the Regent of *Athamania*, and Pretender to the Crown of *Macedon*, with him to *Cyncephalæ*. There the Bones of the *Macedonians* killed in the Battel, in which the King of *Macedon* had been vanquished, still remained unburied: And he thought, that if *Philip* the *Megalopolitan* procured Obsequies to be performed for them, he would thereby gain the Affection of a People, to whom he had some Pretentions. Whereas, this Step served only to irritate the true King of *Macedon*. He immediately applied himself to the *Romans*, and gave them Advice of the Progress *Antiochus* was beginning to make, in *Greece*. *Bæbius* promised him, That he would soon take the Field; and That they would concert Measures together, to put a Stop to the Invasions of *Antiochus*. This Prince having yet no Enemies to resist him, besieged

194 Those of the Citizens of *Chalcis*, who persisted in their Attachment to the *Roman* Republick, marched out of the City, upon *Antiochus's* Arrival; and whilst this Prince was reducing *Eubœa*, *Mennippus*, one of his Generals, besieged *Salganea*. The Garrison which consisted of some Soldiers of the King of *Pergamus*, and a little Body of *Achaïans*, could not hold out long against the Power of the Besiegers. They were forced to deliver up the Place; but obtained the honourable Terms of being suffered to march out of the City, with their Arms and Baggage, and retire to what Place they pleased. In the mean time, the *Romans* were busy

in defending a considerable Fort, on the Banks of the *Euripus*, near *Chalcis*. *Antiochus* could not think his Dominion sufficiently established in the Island, as long as this advantageous Post continued in other Hands, and therefore resolved to besiege it by Sea and Land. The Besieged sustained the Attacks of the Enemy, with an Intrepidity, that surprised *Antiochus*; and he had recourse to his Machines. Upon this terrible Sight, the few Soldiers in the Castle thought it needless to make any longer Resistance, and therefore surrendered. And this Conquest drew after it the Reduction of all the Cities, that yet adhered to the *Romans* in *Eubœa*.

*Pheræ* 195



*Pheræ* 195, and forced it to surrender. From thence he marched four thousand Men into the Neighbourhood of *Scotussa*; and this City, intimidated by the taking of *Pheræ*, opened her Gates to him. *Antiochus* entered into it, and gave the *Larissans*, which defended the City, their Lives, in hopes of drawing *Larissa* over to him. Then he appeared before *Larissa*; but this City seemed ready to sustain a Siege with Constancy. The King of *Syria* in vain marched up his Army in Battalia, very near to the Walls. He in vain shewed a great Number of Elephants, of which his first Line consisted. The *Larissans* were indeed moved at it, but not discouraged. *Antiochus* therefore deliberated, whether he should lay siege to it, or leave it; and during his 196 Irresolution, a Body of *Romans* arrived, under the Command of *Appius Claudius*. The *Prætor Bæbius*, after he had had an Interview with King *Philip*, sent these Succours through *Macedon*. They came to *Gonni*, a City about twenty Miles from *Larissa*, near a Pass, which leads to the delicious *Valley of Tempe*. There *Claudius* encamped, in a much larger Camp, than was necessary for the Troops he commanded; and kindled so many Fires in it, that *Antiochus* was deceived by it. He thought all the *Prætor's* Forces, joined with those of *Macedon*, were coming to fall upon him; decamped; came to *Demetrias*; and from thence returned to *Chalcis*. There this Prince, though advanced in Years, for he was above fifty, suffered himself to be captivated by the Charms of a fair *Chalcidian*. She was the Daughter of one of the most considerable Citizens of *Chalcis*, named *Cleoptolemus*, who lent the King his House to lodge in. The *Chalcidian's* Family was regular, and his Daughter prudent. The Prince was therefore forced to divulge his Passion to the Father, and to desire his Consent to his marrying his Daughter. And *Cleoptolemus* seemed at first untractable. The Disproportion of her Age and Condition to that of the King, made him fear, she would long repent her Advancement to this glittering Station. But at last *Antiochus* himself began to exert the Authority of a Sovereign; and then there was a Necessity of acquiescing. The Marriage was celebrated with regal Magnificence, and with as much Security, as in the most peaceable times. *Antiochus* was so wholly taken up with his new Wife, that he seemed to forget *Rome*, *Greece*, and *Syria*. Neither the Support of this important War, nor the Defence of his Allies, nor the Preservation of his Glory, at all affected him. His Love for the new Queen engrossed the whole Man. He spent the rest of the Winter in Feasts, and Rejoicings. This ill Example at Court spread itself among the Officers of the *Syrian* Army, and even infected the common Soldiers: They dispersed themselves

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXI.  
L. QUINCTI-  
US FLAMINI-  
NUS, CN. DO-  
MITIUS Æ-  
NOBARBUS,  
Consuls.

*Appian in Sy-  
riac. N. 96.  
Livy, B. 36.  
c. 1.*

195 The Inhabitants of *Pheræ* in vain remonstrated to *Antiochus*, by their Deputies, that he could not, without Injustice, turn his Arms against a free People, who had given him no Offence. *Pausanias*, the Chief of the Envoys, in vain conjured him to withdraw his Troops, and grant them a Conference, wherein he might freely declare his Pretensions. The Deputy received no Answer, but hard Words, and the most terrible Threatnings, in case the Inhabitants persisted in shutting the Gates of their Cities against the *Syrian*. And upon *Pausanias's* Report of the ill Success of his Commission, the Citizens resolved to run all the Hazards of a Siege, rather than be wanting in the Fidelity they had promised the *Romans*, their old Allies. On the other hand, the King of *Syria* immediately invested the Place. He took it for granted, that the taking of *Pheræ*, would strike Horror into all *Thessaly*, and that the Conquest of the whole Province depended on the Reduction of this City; and therefore ordered a general Assault to be made upon it. The Besieged sustained the first Attack of the Assaultants, with Constancy enough; but their Courage soon failed. They were terrified at the Sight of the Dead and Wounded, and began to give way. Nay, they would immediately have fled, if the chief Men of the Garrison, had not had recourse to Threatnings and Blows, to make them keep their Ground; and notwithstanding these, they were so much overpowered by the Enemy, and reduced to so small a Number, that they were forced to

leave the Walls. They were obliged to retire within their second Trenches, which were much narrower than the first: and then, after they had performed wonderful Exploits, in point of Valour, the bravest of them were sensible, That a longer Resistance, could not secure the City, against so numerous an Army; and That they were rashly exposing themselves to certain Death, without any Hopes of Success. Upon which they immediately surrendered. By their Surrendry, they appeased the Wrath of *Antiochus*, and preserved their City from the usual Fury of a victorious Enemy, in Cities taken by Assault. This is *Livy's* Account of the Siege and Reduction of *Pheræ*.

196 Whilst *Antiochus* was subduing the finest Countries in *Greece*, King *Amynder*, at the Head of his *Athamanian* Troops, was reducing *Pellina*, a City of *Æstiotis*, situated near the Banks of the *Peneus*. As for *Menippus*, he was making a Progress at the Head of three thousand *Ætolian* Foot, and two hundred Horse, in *Perræbia*; and there made himself Master of *Mallæa*, and *Cyreticæ*. From thence his Troops went, and dispersed themselves in the Fields of *Pelagonia*, and destroyed every thing with Fire and Sword. In the mean time, the King of *Syria* was still pursuing his Conquests. He had, in ten Days time, reduced the Cities of *Crano*, *Cypara*, *Metropolis*, and all the Places in that Neighbourhood, except *Atrax*, and *Gyrto*. All these Places were in *Thessaly*, except *Gyrto*, which *Pliny* says, stood in *Magnesia*.

about



Year of about *Bæotia*. Discipline was neglected, Debauchery supplied the Place of Duty, *ROME* their Bodies were weakened, and they began to love Idleness.

DLXI.  
L. QUINCTI-  
US FLAMINI-  
NUS, CN. DO-  
MITIUS ÆNO-  
BARBUS, Con-  
suls.  
*Livy*. B. 36.  
c. 2.

*Livy*, B. 35.  
c. 22.

§. LXII. THUS *Antiochus* was lost in Pleasure at *Chalcis*; but at *Rome*, the People were very watchful of his Steps. After the Massacre of the five hundred *Romans*, in the Temple of *Apollo*, the Senate and People had made a Decree, that a War should be carried on with the King of *Syria*, with the utmost Fury. He had actually made himself the Aggressor; and *Rome* was well pleased to be able to throw on him the Blame of beginning a War, with which she had threatened him, upon Grounds not very lawful. Every thing seemed quiet in *Italy*, and *Spain*. In *Italy*, the two *Consuls* for the Year, were gone into *Cisalpine Gaul*, through different Ways, and there laid waste the Country of the *Boii*, and forced the Senate of that Nation, and almost all the Nobility of the Country, to become subject to the Republick. Nevertheless, the Fury <sup>197</sup> of the *Gauls* was not yet abated. In *Spain*, in *The Hither Province*, the *Pro-Prætor Flamininus* had taken from the Rebels the City of <sup>198</sup> *Litabrum*, and made *Corribilo*, one of the chief Kings in the Country, Prisoner of War. In *The Further Province*, *M. Fulvius* had defeated the *Spaniards*, in two pitched Battels, and made himself Master of several Cities of Importance. Among these Conquests were *Vescelia* <sup>199</sup>, *Holo* <sup>200</sup>, *Noliba* <sup>201</sup>, *Cusibi* <sup>202</sup>, and *Toledo* <sup>203</sup>; which was then only a Village, but strong by Situation. All these Successes in the West, made it the more easy for the *Romans*, to execute their Design, of sending the best part of their Forces to the *Levant*. The Republick had commanded the two *Prætors*, who continued at *Rome*, to build, or equip, a hundred *Quinqueremes*, to scour the Eastern Seas. And in order to hasten the Preparations for the next Year, the Election of new *Consuls* had been anticipated. Ambition had raised almost as great Contests in these last *Comitia*, as in those of the last Year. Two *Scipio's*, the one Brother, the other Cousin German to *Africanus*, and one *C. Manlius Vulso*, had canvassed for the *Patrician Consulship*; and the Contest was great between them. But the People thought it indecent to exclude the Relations of the Great *Scipio* a second time. The Dislike the Publick had conceived to this great Man, was a little worn out by time, and his Absence from *Rome*; and upon his return, he had the Confidence to offer his Brother *Lucius Scipio*, and his near Relation *P. Scipio*, for

<sup>197</sup> *Quintus Minucius Thermus*, the *Consul* for the last Year, had cut in pieces the *Ligures*, in the Fields of *Pisa*. Nevertheless, the Loss of nine thousand Men, killed on the Spot, and of their Camp, and the Devastation of their Cities, and Towns, were not sufficient to reduce to their Duty, this untractable People, who were always ready to shake off the Yoke. It was necessary that *Lucius Quinctius Flamininus* should go into *Liguria*, with a new Army. This rebellious Nation had lately taken up Arms again. But every thing gave way before the *Consul*. The Rebels dispersed themselves. Nevertheless, they were punished for their Revolt, by the Ravages of their Country. The *Roman* Troops destroyed it with Fire and Sword. Most of their Forts and Castles were razed; and the *Consul* returned to *Rome*, loaded with the Spoils of the Enemy, and followed by a great Number of Captives. He had also the Glory, in this Campaign, to deliver several *Romans*, whom the *Ligures* had condemned to Slavery.

<sup>198</sup> The City of *Litabrum* belonged to *Hither Spain*, which was fallen to *Caius Flamininus*. It is strange, that *Morales* should place it near *Segovia*, in the Country of the *Arevacæ*. If that had been its Situation, we must have concluded that it belonged to *Further Spain*, notwithstanding what *Livy* says of it. It is certain, that *Toledo* belonged to the last mentioned Province. We have a plain Proof of it in *Livy*. *Fulvius*, says he, the General of the *Roman* Army in *Further Spain*, gained a famous Victory over three *Spanish* Nations, in sight of *Toledo*. Nevertheless, it is certain, that this ancient Capital of *New Castille*, stands on this side the Canton which the *Arevacæ* formerly possessed, and was nearer to the Banks of the *Ebro*, than *Segovia*. And

if then it is certain, that the first of these two Cities was in *The Further Spain*, we must conclude, that *Segovia* was so too, or be guilty of a manifest Contradiction. So that it is probable, that *Litabrum* stood further Eastwards towards the Banks of the *Ebro*, than *Segovia*. *Father Briet* conjectures, that it stood near *Marcotea*.

<sup>199</sup> So far as we can judge by the Resemblance of Names, *Vescelia* seems to be the same Place, that *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* call *Vescis*, or *Vesci*. Most modern Geographers place it in the Country of the *Turduli*, on the Eastern Confines of *Bæotia*. *Niger* takes it to be the same Place as *Velas*. Others will have it to be *Huesca*. *Sanson* pretends to find it near *Vergix*.

<sup>200</sup> *Holo*, which is thought to be the same Place as *Alone*, stood, according to *Mela*, in the Country of the *Contestani*, a People of *Valencia*, pretty near *The Gulph of Alicant*. According to most Geographers, particularly *Ferrarius* and *Brietius*, it is the present *Alicant*. But some confound it with *Xixime*.

<sup>201</sup> *Father Briet* thinks that *Noliba*, or *Nolebia*, stood in the Country of the *Oretani* near *Malaga*. But that Situation cannot agree with this latter City, which belonged to the *Bastuli*, who inhabited the Sea-Coast of *Bætica*. Some Moderns take it for *Almodovar*; others, for *Molina*.

<sup>202</sup> *Cusibi*, according to *Briet*, was near *Consuegra*, in the Country of the *Oretani*. Some place it near *Puebla de Alcocer*.

<sup>203</sup> As to *Toledo*, which underwent the same Fate as the Cities just mentioned, *Livy* says it was remarkable for nothing, but its good Situation, and strong Walls.



the *Consulate*. The Suffrages fell on *Scipio Nasica*, the Man whose Virtue had been so publicly recognized, and Valour so publicly approved; and his Collegue was one <sup>204</sup> *M' Acilius Glabrio*, a *Plebeian*, but worthy of the *Fasces*, with which he was honoured. But though these two *Consuls* were chosen before the usual time, they did not enter upon their Office, till the present Year was expired <sup>205</sup>.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXII.  
P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO NASI-  
CA, M' ACILI-  
US GLABRIO,  
Consuls.

THE first Days of the new *Consulship* were spent in religious Offices. Before the *Consuls* drew Lots for their Provinces, the Senate ordered the Temples in the City, where the Sacrifices were generally offered up, to be opened, and Victims of the first Sort to be sacrificed in them. Their Design was to consult the Gods concerning an Affair of Importance, which *The Conscript Fathers* had not yet made publick by any Decree: And the *Aruspices* having never found the Entrails of the Victims more sound, the *Romans* thought this a certain Prognostick of an important Conquest. The Senate took also another Precaution. That they might not seem to shew any personal Favour or Dislike to either of the *Consuls*, they regulated the Number of Troops each should have, before their Provinces were assigned them by Lot. He to whom *Greece* should fall, was to carry thither the great Army which *L. Quinctius* had raised the last Year, and take upon him the Command of those Troops upon the Spot, which the *Prætor Bæbius* had commanded, and were still there. Leave was also given him to raise five thousand Auxiliaries among the Allies, out of *Italy*; and *L. Quinctius*, the late *Consul*, was nominated Lieutenant-General of the Army designed for *Greece*. That *Consul* to whose Lot *Italy* should fall, was to carry on the War in the Country of the *Boii*; and had his Choice of either of the two Armies the *Consuls* his Predecessors had commanded the last Year; but was ordered to send back the other to the City, to march wherever the Republick should judge it necessary. After these prudent Regulations, War was formally declared with *Antiochus*. The Senate advised it; and the People, to whom it belonged, resolved upon it, and carried it by a Majority of Votes. Then the *Consuls* drew Lots; and *Italy* fell to *Scipio Nasica*; *Greece*, to *Acilius*. After which, the latter was ordered to make a Vow to *Jupiter*, for the Prosperity of his Arms in the *Levant*. The *Pontifex Maximus* settled the Form of it, and *Acilius* pronounced it. It was this. Great *Jupiter!* we promise thee, that if we make War with *Antiochus* with Success, we will celebrate The Great Games to thy Honour, for ten Days together; and will make Presents to all the Temples, of as much Money as the Senate shall appoint. The Magistrate for the time being, whosoever he shall be, shall discharge this Vow. Nor was this all. The two *Consuls* ordered publick Prayers to be offered up before-hand, in all the Temples, for two Days. In this manner did the *Romans* prepare for great Expeditions. In the midst of their Riches and Luxury, they did not forget the Usages of their Ancestors, in the Worship of the Gods. From the very Birth of *Rome*, her Religion had animated her *Legions* to the most desperate Enterprizes; and the Prejudices of Superstition still continued to render her Arms victorious, till she became Mistress of the whole World.

§. LXIII. THEN these first Cares gave way to others, which were at present necessary. The Provinces of the *Prætors* <sup>207</sup> were assigned them by Lot. *A. Cornelius Mammula* was sent into *Bruttium*, to guard the Coast as far as *Tarentum* <sup>208</sup>, against the Attempts of *Hannibal*, and *Antiochus*. *M. Æmilius Lepidus* set out for *Sicily*,

<sup>204</sup> All the *Roman* Historians give us Reason to believe, that the *Acilian* Family was *Plebeian*; and we have a convincing Proof of it in *Livy*, who mentions one *Acilius* among the *Tribunes of the People* for the Year 551. We have also observed, and it is well known, that these Magistrates could only be chosen out of the *Plebeians*.

<sup>205</sup> This Year 561 was remarkable, says *Livy*, for the great Overflowings of the *Tyber*. It overflowed with such Rapidity, that it beat down two Bridges, drowned some Parts of *Rome*, and threw down several Buildings, especially near the Gate *Flumentana*. And in the neighbouring Fields it did more Damage. Many Beasts were drowned, and Villages buried under Water. And the *Romans* were as much alarmed at the Sight of some Persons

who were crushed to Pieces by a great Piece of a Rock, which broke off from the Hill *Capitolinus*.

<sup>206</sup> We have, in several Places of this History, already observed what were the different Privileges of *The Comitia* by *Centuries*, by *Tribes*, and by *Curia*.

<sup>207</sup> *Marcus Bæbius*, *Cornelius Mammula's* Predecessor, had Orders to guard the Sea-Coasts of *South Italy*, from *Tarentum* to *Brundisium*, and keep himself in a Readiness to go into *Macedon*, in Case of Need. And this General came accordingly into *Epirus*, and landed his Troops in sight of *Apollonia*.

<sup>208</sup> Besides the Army that *Marcus Fulvius* had commanded in *Spain*, as *Pro-Prætor*, the Senate assigned *Paulus Æmilius* a Reinforcement of three thousand



Year of *Sicily*, with Orders to detain his Predecessor *L. Valerius*, to share the Government of that Province with him; and to give him the Command of twenty Ships, to guard the Island. A third *Prætor*, named *C. Livius Salinator*, was appointed Admiral of the Fleet which was to act against the *Syrian*, in the *Grecian Seas*. And lastly, *Oppius Salinator* was sent to *Sardinia*. Further *Spain* fell to *Æmilius Paulus*. The *Prætors* of *Sicily* and *Sardinia* had Orders to raise Corn in their Provinces, for the Subsistence of the *Roman Army* in the *Levant*. They were required to demand of the *Sicilians* and *Sardinians* a fifth Part of their Crops, in Kind; instead of only a tenth, which they used to pay. Agents were also sent to the Coasts of *Africa*, to *Carthage*, and to *Numidia*, to buy Provisions. And lastly, an Edict was passed, forbidding the Senators, and other Magistrates, to go farther than half a Day's Journey from *Rome*; and forbidding above five of *The Conscript Fathers* to be absent from the City at a time. The main Difficulty was, how to furnish the Fleet with a sufficient Number of Seamen. The maritime Colonies of *Ostia*, *Fregene*<sup>210</sup>, *Antium*, and<sup>211</sup> some other Places, pretended to be exempt from these Drudgeries. But a Decree of the Senate obliged them all, without Distinction, to furnish Mariners for the Fleet. *Acilius* was scrupulous about the Manner of declaring War with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*: and he consulted the College of *Feciales*, whether it was sufficient, to declare to the first *Ætolian* Garrison he came at, That he was coming to begin Hostilities; or whether it was necessary to declare this to the King in Person, and the *Ætolians* assembled in a Body. The *Feciales* answered him, that this Question had been already determined, in the War with *Philip*. *It signifies little*, said they, *whether Antiochus be present at the Declaration, or not. And as for the Ætolians, they have themselves sufficiently renounced the Alliance they had made with the Romans, by their late Conduct.* However, these Scruples of the Consul shew at least how religiously the *Romans* observed the Customs which had been transmitted to them from *Numa*.

EVERY thing was now ready, and *Acilius* appointed *Brundisium* for the general Rendezvous, from whence the Troops which were to follow him were to set Sail for the East; and before he sailed, he received Intelligence, that the Kings of *Macedon* and<sup>212</sup> *Egypt*, had offered the Senate, by their Deputies, Money, Provisions, and Troops, for the War the Republick was going to undertake. It ought not to seem strange, that *Ptolomy*, Son-in-law to *Antiochus*, should openly declare himself against his Father-in-law. Without doubt, his Wife *Cleopatra* had informed him of the villanous Plot the King of *Syria* had laid with his Daughter, before he sent her into *Egypt*. Some Envoys from *Carthage* and *Masiniſſa* also offered the Republick to contribute towards the Expences of the new War. The former promised to make a Present of Wheat and Barley, engaged to fit out a Fleet at their own Expence, and desired the *Romans* to accept in ready Money, the rest of the Tribute *Carthage* was obliged to pay, in equal Portions, but in the Space of some Years only. The latter, besides Wheat and Barley, offered to send into *Greece* five hundred *Numidian* Horse, and twenty Elephants, to serve in *Acilius's* Army. The Senate returned all those Princes Thanks for their good Will, and gave them different Answers. They let King *Philip* and King *Ptolomy* know, That *Rome* had no Occasion for their Money, or Troops, at present; but desired them to assist the Consul upon all Occasions, if he should apply to them for Succours. They answered the *Carthaginians*, That they would not accept of their Corn, but by way

thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, two thirds of which had been raised among the *Latin Confederates*. The other Third consisted of *Roman Citizens*. The same Number of Troops was assigned *Caius Flaminius*, who was again continued in the Government of *Hisber Spain*, for this Year 562.

<sup>209</sup> *Marcus Junius Brutus*, the *Prætor*, had the Jurisdiction of determining all Causes in *Rome*, as well between Foreigner and Citizen, as between Citizen and Citizen.

<sup>210</sup> *Fregene*, which some have, very improperly, confounded with *Fregella*, a City of the *Volsci*, stood on the Coast of *Hebruria*, at a little Distance from *Pala*; as we have Reason to conjecture, from the ancient *Itineraries*. This City had already the Ti-

tle of a *Roman Colony*, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, and *Livy*.

<sup>211</sup> *Livy* reckons among those Cities which pleaded an Exemption, *Ostia*, *Tarracina*, *Minturne*, *St. Nessia*, *Castrum Novum*, and *Pyrgi*. We have shewn the Situation of the four first already. And one of the two last belongs to *The Patrimony of St. Peter*, and seems to have stood near the Place where *Santa Marinella* now does; the other to *Hebruria*; and is said by modern Geographers to have stood near *Santa Severa*, between *Pala*, and *Santa Marinella*.

<sup>212</sup> *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, the King of *Egypt*, offered the Republick a thousand Pounds Weight of Gold and twenty thousand of Silver.



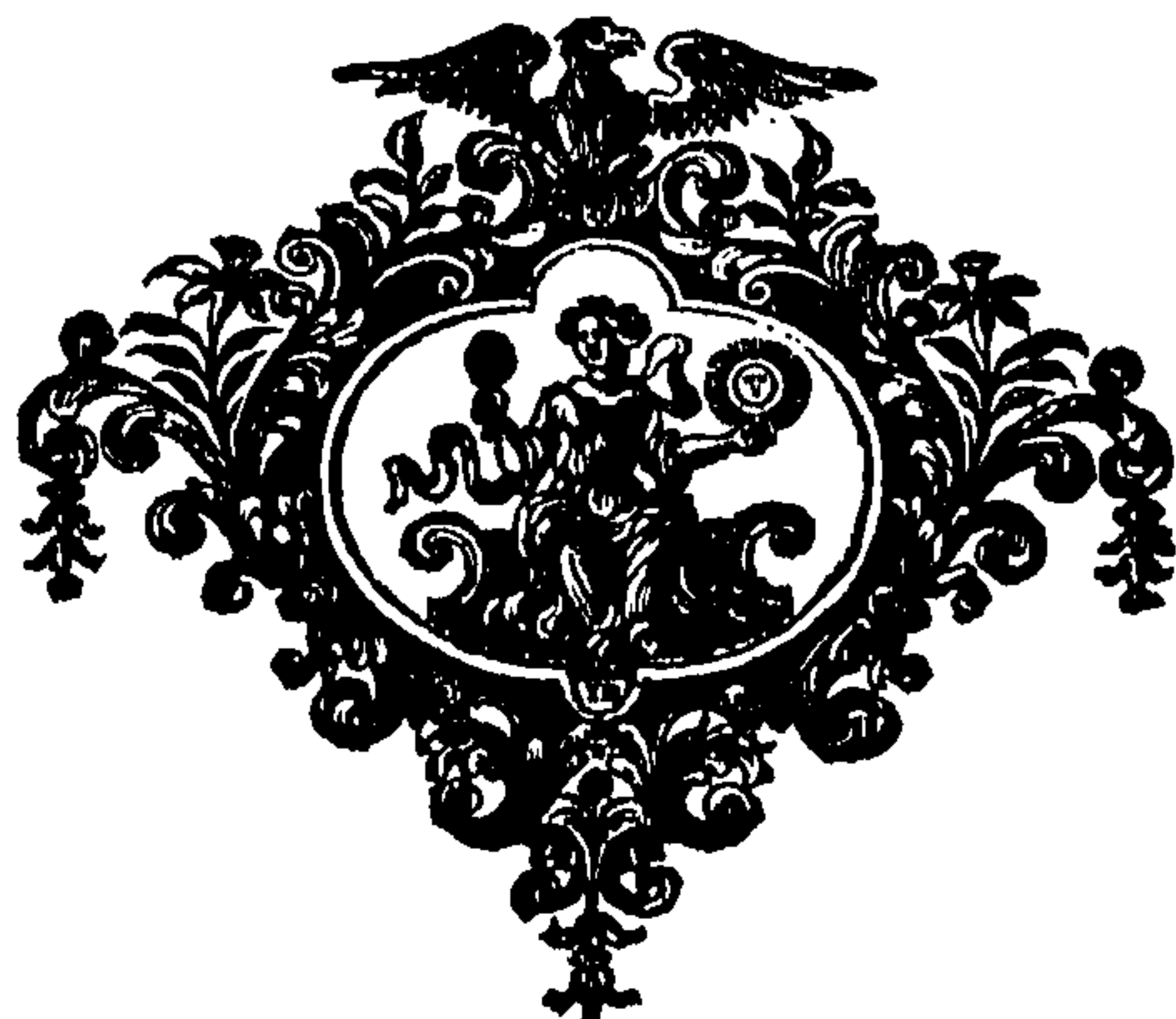
of Payment; and That they would excuse them from fitting out any more Ships than they were obliged to do by their Conventions; since the Finances of Rome were not so exhausted, as to make it necessary for them to discharge at once, what they were only obliged to pay at different Payments. And as to *Masinissa*, Rome bought of him all the Corn she fetched from his Dominions; and probably accepted his Offer, of his *Numidians* and Elephants. And now, nothing any longer detained the *Consul Acilius*. He set out for *Greece* in the Month of *May*, in the Year of *Rome* 562; and two Great Men attended him in his Expedition to the East. The first was *L. Quinctius*, the Brother of the illustrious *Flaminius*, whom the Republick herself appointed to command under the *Consul*, in Quality of Lieutenant-General. And the second was the famous *Cato*. Being tired with a Life of Tranquillity in the City, after a *Consulship* and Triumph, he roused his martial Spirit, which had gained him so much Glory in *Spain*. He preferred the Use of Arms to the wrangling Disputes of the Bar, and the Exercise of his Eloquence, in which he excelled. He embarked to serve in the Troops in the *Levant*, in no higher a Station, than <sup>213</sup> that of *Legionary Tribune*; and we shall see him distinguish himself there by his Merit, and superior Genius for War. But we shall afterwards see the *Consul* give him the Title and Office of a Lieutenant General in his Army.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXII.

P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO NASI-  
CA, M' ACILI-  
US GLABRIO,  
Consuls.

<sup>213</sup> It is very true that *Cato* served in the *Levant* in Quality of *Legionary Tribune*, under *Acilius Glabrio*, the *Consul*. But we cannot say, with *Plutarch*, that he went into *Thrace*, on the Banks of the *Danube*, and there served as Lieutenant-General to the *Consul Tiberius Sempronius*, three Years before this; that is, in the Year of *Rome* 559. This is absolutely false: 1<sup>st</sup>. Because the *Romans* had then no Thoughts of carrying their Arms into these distant Provinces. 2<sup>dly</sup>. Because, according to *Livy*, *Sempronius* had no Province, but that of *Italy*, and spent his *Consulship* in reducing *Cisalpine Gaul*. And this manifest Blunder leads us to rectify another, which is more remarkable. According to *Plutarch*, *Scipio Africanus* was no sooner nominated *Consul* a second time, but he found Means, by his Interest and Intrigues, to get the Command of the *Roman Armies* in *Spain*; and immediately set out for that Province, resolving to rob *Cato*, his declared Enemy, of the Glory of settling it in Peace. The lat-

ter, when informed of the Arrival of his Successor, went to meet him with several Battalions, and five hundred Horse, to escort him in his March. And as he was on the Road, adds *Plutarch*, *Cato* subdued the Country of the *Lacetani* to Rome, and took six hundred Deserters, which he executed, all but one. *Scipio*, naturally inclined to Clemency, was grieved at the News of this bloody Execution, publicly owned his Concern, and openly condemned *Cato's* Severity. This whole Account of *Plutarch*, and all its Circumstances, are entirely groundless. It is certain, That *Scipio* desired *Spain* for his Province, but could not get it; That he did nothing in his second *Consulship* but commit some Hostilities in *Liguria* and *Cisalpine Gaul*; and That he did not then go out of *Italy*. Probably, the *Greek Historian* was deceived by the Similitude of Names, and confounded the Great *Scipio* with his Cousin *Scipio Nasica*, who succeeded *Cato* in his Government of *Spain*.





# T H E

# Roman History.

## B O O K XL.

Year of §.I. **W**HILST the Consular Fleet was crossing the Ionian Sea, *Antiochus* was wholly taken up in *Chalcis*, with his new Amours. *Hannibal* attempted to rouse him out of his Lethargy, and said, *Will the Nations in Greece, with whom you have entered into a Confederacy, be able to support you against the formidable Legions a Consul is bringing against you? The Ætolians, Bœotians, and Thessalians, are all timorous Nations, whom your Presence has surprized, and whom Acilius will fill with as much Terror, at his Arrival. And then, they will with as much Readiness go over to your Enemies, whose Valour they have experienced, as they have now come over to you. If you would have believed me, the Eyes of the World should not have been fixed on a War in the East. Their Attention should have been wholly fixed on the Commotions in Italy, on Liguria, and on the Motions of Cisalpine Gaul; and, in a word, on Hannibal at the Gates of Rome, and ready to rob the Robbers of the rich Spoils which they have carried from Greece. But Fate would not suffer it! Have you then no Resource left? The King of Macedon, my Lord, could do you very substantial Services. Formerly, he alone was able to hold out against the Roman Forces, and keep the Victory in Suspence. You have been already told this. Philip is indeed a Lion in Chains; but it is yet in his Power to break them off. The Hatred the Conquered generally have for their Conquerors, and the Dependence he has Reason to have on the most powerful King in Asia, are sufficient Motives to rouse him. Press Philip then; solicit him to join you. Take him off from the Roman Interest, and bring him into yours. As for the Plan of the Campaign, it ought to be this. Bring all your Sea and Land Forces from Asia. Let a great Number of Boats laden with Provisions attend your Fleet. Your Troops will be numerous in these Parts, and Provisions will grow scarce, towards the End of the Campaign. Send one Part of your Fleet towards Corcyra, to oppose the Romans in their Passage; and the other to cruise between Italy and Sardinia. As for yourself, my Lord, go and encamp with all your Forces in the Territory of <sup>1</sup> Bullis, towards the Western Parts of Macedon. By this Step, you will make the Romans believe you have Thoughts of going over into Italy; and may actually go thither, if Occasion requires. This, Sir, is the Advice of a Man little versed indeed, if you please, in the Affairs of War; but a Man long used to make the Romans tremble. The Syrian Court could not but inwardly approve of Hannibal's Discourse, tho' they did not follow his Advice. They acted upon Motives very different from Hannibal's Maxims. So that *Antiochus* proposed to enter *Acarnania* in the Beginning of the Spring; and then he perceived how much Idleness and Debauchery had sunk the Courage of his Soldiers. But he had no Reason to complain of it. He had destroyed Discipline by his own Example.*

His first Endeavour was to render the Gods propitious. He offered Sacrifices at *Delphi*, in the Temple of *Apollo*; then came to <sup>2</sup> *Naupaëtus*; and from thence to *Leucas*.

<sup>1</sup> The Territory of *Bullis*, according to *Ptolomy*, or of *Byllis*, according to *Livy*, sometimes belonged to *Illyricum*, and sometimes to *Macedon*. It bordered upon *Epirus*, and the *Adriatick* Sea.

<sup>2</sup> At *Naupaëtus*, *Antiochus* consulted the chief of the *Ætolian* Nation, concerning his intended Expeditions. Then he took the Road to *Chalcis*, a City of *Ætolia*, and after he had joined his Troops



*Leucas*, whose <sup>3</sup> Reduction had been attempted by Artifice. But he found that City less ready to receive him, than he had imagined. The *Roman* Fleet which the *Prætor Attilius* had brought the last Year, was cruising near *Cephalenia* <sup>4</sup>, and kept the *Leucadians* steady. Nevertheless the King, assisted by the Artifices of *Mnesilochus*, one of the chief Lords of *Acarmania*, surprized some <sup>5</sup> Cities there in the Inland Country. Whilst, on the other hand, the King of *Macedon*, (whose Friendship the *Syrian* had not cultivated) and the *Prætor* <sup>6</sup> *Bæbius*, were making Conquests in *Theffaly*, in favour of the *Roman* Confederacy. Properly speaking, all these Steps, this taking and re-taking of Cities in *Acarmania*, ought to have been considered only as Amusements. But *Antiochus*, contrary to the wise Advice of *Hannibal*, laid great Strefs upon it. The only sincere Friends he had in all *Greece*, were the *Ætolians*, the *Athamanes*, and the *Eubæans*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXII.

P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO NASI-  
CA, M' ACILI-  
US GLABRIO,  
Consuls.

App. in Syriac.  
N. 96.

§. II. THIS was the Situation of Affairs, when the *Consul Acilius* landed his Troops, to the Number of twenty thousand <sup>7</sup> Foot, two thousand Horse, and fifteen Elephants. His first Business was to send his Infantry to *Bæbius*, who was encamped near <sup>8</sup> *Pellinea* in *Theffaly*. Then he marched himself with his Cavalry directly to <sup>9</sup> *Limnea*, another City of *Theffaly*, which the King of *Macedon* was besieging; and upon the Approach of the *Roman* General the Place surrendered. From thence *Acilius*, accompanied by the King of *Macedon*, went to attack *Pellinea*; and this City could not hold out against so many united Forces. The *Athamanes* who were in Garrison there, surrendered at Discretion; and among them was *Philip of Megalopolis*. This Pretender said he was descended from *Alexander*, and Heir to his Dominions. So that the King of *Macedon* had the Pleasure to see his Rival among his Prisoners of War. *Philip*, in Derision, ordered him to be saluted King, as he marched out of the City, called him Brother, and conducted him to the *Consul*. *Acilius* rejoiced to have this Incendiary in his Hands, who had, upon chimerical Pretences, debauched almost all *Athamania* from the *Romans*; and he put him in Irons, and sent him to *Rome*, as the first Pledge of good Success. The three thousand *Syrians* and *Athamanes* who were the Garrison of *Pellinea*, were delivered up to the King of *Macedon*; and this Prince extended his Clemency to them, and sent them back into their own Country. Which was indeed dispersing so many People to extol him, in all the Parts of *Athamania*; and he almost

Livy, B. 36.  
c. 14.

near *The Maliac Gulph*, he came to *Stratum*, one of the most considerable Cities of South *Acarmania*, near the River *Achelous*. There *Menippus* of *Macedon*, and *Alexander* of *Acarmania*, waited for him, with a Body of *Ætolian* Troops.

<sup>3</sup> *Mnesilochus*, one of the Chiefs of *Acarmania*, (having been gained by the Bounties of *Antiochus*,) used all Means possible to put this Prince in Possession of *Leucas*. *Clytus*, *Prætor* of the *Acarnian* Nation, joined with him in the same Design, and they both jointly laboured to promote the Interests of the King of *Syria*.

<sup>4</sup> *Cephalenia* is an Island in the *Ionian* Sea, which the *Italians* call *Cephalogna*. There is also a City of this Name situated on an Eminence, in a pretty barren Soil, but about twelve Miles from *Zacynthus*. It is computed to be twenty Miles long, fifty broad in the widest Part, and an hundred and sixty Circumference.

<sup>5</sup> Among the Cities which *Antiochus* surprized, he mentions *Medio*; which was situated near the River *Achelous*, towards the Confines of *Ætolia*. It is different from some other Cities of the same Name in *Bræotia*, and *Phocis*. But it was not with *Pyrium*, a City of *Acarmania*, as with *Medio*. The *Syrians* kept themselves upon their Guard against Attempts and Sollicitations of *Antiochus*, and prevented his Designs.

<sup>6</sup> *Bæbius* besieged *Phacium*, a City of *Pelasgiotis* situated between the River *Pamisus*, and Mount *Pierus*, which divides *Macedon* from *Theffaly*; and took it upon the first Assault. *Phæstum*, which belonged to *Æstiotis*, underwent the same Fate. *Alexandria*, *Ciretie*, and *Phricium*, a City of *Theffaly*, were forced to surrender, and receive *Roman* Garrisons. And after he had subdued all these Places,

*Bæbius* joined the King of *Macedon*, who was besieging *Melæa*, in *Perræbia*. Upon this, the Inhabitants not being able to hold out against two Armies, resolved to implore the Clemency of the Conquerors, and open their Gates to them. Their *Philip's* Troops, in Conjunction with those of *Bæbius*, over-ran *Theffaly*, and reduced the Cities of *Trica*, *Æginium*, *Gomphi*, *Ericinum*, *Silaza*, *Melibæa*, and *Phaleria*, of which the *Athamanes* had made themselves Masters.

<sup>7</sup> *Livy* gives the *Consul Acilius* only ten thousand Foot; but *Appian* twenty thousand. Indeed, according to the latter, *Acilius* had only two *Legions*. But he means exclusive of the *Latin* Auxiliaries.

<sup>8</sup> *Pellinea*, or *Pellina*, according to *Pliny*, stood in *Æstiotis*, on the left Bank of the *Peneus*, between the Cities of *Atrax* and *Tricca*. *Philip of Megalopolis* defended this Place, with a Garrison of five hundred Foot, and only forty Horse. At first, *Bæbius* and the King of *Macedon* jointly invested the Town; and before they begun their Attacks, summoned the Governour to surrender. The latter answered, with an haughty Air, That he would not have hesitated about delivering up the City to the Besiegers, if they had been *Romans*, and *Theffalians*; but could never resolve to surrender himself up at Discretion to King *Philip*. It was therefore necessary to come to open Force. And as *Bæbius's* Troops were more than sufficient to besiege the Place; the King of *Macedon* therefore, without losing time, separated from the *Roman* General, to go to lay Siege to *Limnea*, a City of *Theffaly*, whilst the latter was besieging *Pellinea*.

<sup>9</sup> The modern Geographers place *Limnea* in *Theffalotis*, between the *Peneus* and *Apidanus*.



Year of *R O M E* instantly reaped the Fruits of his Clemency. After the taking of *Pellinea*, the *Romans* and *Macedonians* separated, to spread the Terror of their Arms in different Places. The King turned his *Phalanx* towards *Acarnania*; and then the weak *Amynder* did Justice on himself. He surrendered up the Country to *Philip*, its old Master; retired to *Ambracia* with his Wife and Children; and chose rather to reside in *Epirus*, than defend his own Dominions. Thus *Philip*, in a few Days time, both became Master of a new Kingdom, and got rid of a Competitor whose idle Visions had perhaps prevailed enough, to have done *Antiochus* some Service.

DLXII.  
P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO NASI-  
CA, M' ACILI-  
US GLABRIO,  
Consuls.

As for the *Consul*, he did not leave *Thessaly*, but came and rested his Troops at *Larissa*. The Motions of the Sea had fatigued his Cavalry, and he gave them some Days Refreshment; and during his Stay the Cities of *Piara*<sup>10</sup> and *Metropolis*, sent Deputies to make their Submission to the *Roman* General. From *Larissa*, *Acilius* came down towards *Cranon*. There the Inhabitants of *Pharsalus*, *Scotussa*, and *Pheræ*, came to pay him Homage, and sacrificed to him the Syrian Garrisons they had received.<sup>11</sup> *Proerna* also, and the Castles in that Neighbourhood, followed their Example. The *Consul* continued his Rout towards *The Maliac Gulph*, and met with no Resistance, till he came near *Thaumacia*, a maritime Town. There the Burghers of that Place marched out of it under Arms, seized a Defile, and lay in Ambush, in the Woods, to intercept the *Consular* Army. From the Eminencies which they had seized, they fell down very suddenly on the *Romans*, and put them into some Confusion. As for *Acilius*, he first exhorted them to lay down their Arms; and upon their Refusal, the *Roman* General sent a *Legionary Tribune*, with two *Manipuli*, to seize the Town, which was evacuated by its Inhabitants; and his Orders were obeyed. *Thaumacia* was taken, upon the first Assault, and the Burghers in Ambush hearing the Cries of their Fellow-Citizens, left their Posts to assist them: and Death was the Reward of their Compassion. Then the *Roman* Army continued its March without Obstruction, and came and encamped on the Banks of the<sup>12</sup> *Sperchius*. From thence, the *Consul* sent his Troops into the Territory of<sup>13</sup> *Hypata*, an *Ætolian* City, and committed great Ravages there. And in short, all *Thessaly*, which was always prepared to join with the strongest Side, fell off from *Antiochus*, as readily as it had joined him.

App. in Syriac.  
N. 96.  
Livy, B. 36  
c. 15.  
Plut. Life of  
Cato.

§. III. It may indeed be thought scarce credible, that neither the Armies of the King, nor of the *Ætolians* his Allies, should oppose this surprizing Progress of the *Romans*. But *Antiochus* was either drunk with Pleasure at *Chalcis*, or astonished at the general Terror which the Arrival of the *Romans* spread in *Greece*. What a Revolution had happened since they had appeared! All the Predictions of *Hannibal* were already fulfilled. The King began to be sensible of the Cheat the *Ætolians* had put upon him; and of the Wisdom of the Advice which the *Carthaginian* had given him. He no longer looked upon him as a common General; but as a Man inspired by Heaven, to whom the Book of Fate was opened. Indeed it was a little too late, to undertake to remedy past Misfortunes. But the *Syrian* was not discouraged. His great Army was not yet come into *Europe* from *Asia*; and he expected it with Impatience. Besides, he did not think his Residence at *Chalcis* either safe, or honourable. He loved his new Wife *Eubia* to Adoration; but between whiles, his Reason would point out to him the Shame of so unequal a Match. He therefore proposed to leave *Eubæa*, and draw nearer to *Ætolia*. This made it necessary to assemble all the Troops he had dispersed abroad, all over *Greece*, and to join them all in one Army. And he imagined, that all together the *Syrian* Troops in *Greece* might perhaps amount, at most, to ten thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse. Then, in order to augment these

<sup>10</sup> In the Text of *Livy* the City of *Piara* is called *Pieria*. But the latter was the Name of a Province in *Macedon*, which was so called from its Neighbourhood to Mount *Pierius*. It is therefore probable that the Copyists took one Name for the other. At least it's certain, that *Piara* was a City of *Thessaly*, near the Springs of the River *Pamissus*. *Stephen of Byzantium* mentions it.

<sup>11</sup> *Proerna*, or *Proarna*, as *Stephen of Byzantium* calls it, was a City of *Æstiotis*, in *Thessaly*, near

Mount *Othrys*, and in the Neighbourhood of *Thaumacia*.

<sup>12</sup> The River *Sperchius* rises in Mount *Pelias*; and after it has run thro' the Country of the *Æniænes*, and Part of *Phthiotis*, falls into *The Maliac Gulph*. Some now call it *Selambria*, others *Agriomela*.

<sup>13</sup> *Hypata*, which had declared for the *Ætolian* Confederacy, stood at the Head of the *Apidanus*, between Mount *Pindus* and Mount *Othrys*. Forces,







Forces, which were so little able to make Head against the *Roman* Army, he wrote to the *Ætolians*, to bring him to *Bæotia*, those numerous Squadrons which they had promised to raise, in Defence of the common Cause. But, to his great Surprise, he received this Answer. *We have done our utmost Endeavours to raise Soldiers in the Cities and Towns in our Cantons. But the Youth refuse to take up Arms, and neither our Orders nor Threatenings are regarded by them.* Indeed the chief Lords of *Ætolia* came to the *Rendezvous* which *Antiochus* had appointed; but they did not bring with them above four thousand Men, who were for the most part their own Clients, or Vassals. Then the *Syrian* was sensible of the bad State, to which the Desertion of his Allies, or his own Subjects, had reduced him. Since his coming into *Greece*, the *Asiatics* had sent him but few Troops, and the *Ætolians* refused to join him. But notwithstanding all these Disappointments, *Antiochus* pursued his Measures. He knew that the *Roman* Army had passed the *Sperchius*, and was ravaging *Phthiotis*. In order therefore to hinder them from entering into *Achaia*, thro' *Locris*, and at the same time to secure himself against the Attacks of the Enemy; the King of *Syria* came and seized a Pass, already famous in Story, called *Thermopylae*. Three hundred brave <sup>14</sup> *Lacedæmonians* had formerly seized it, under the Command of *Leonidas*, and for three whole Days together, had there stopped a Million of Men, which *Xerxes* was bringing to conquer *Greece*. And indeed, this Defile of *Thermopylae*, if ever so little defended, was not to be passed, by the Body of an Army. On one Side, it was bounded by the Sea, whose Overflowings upon a pretty low Strand made deep Marshes, but very muddy, where even Barks could not ride. On the other, it was shut in by *Oeta*, a long Chain of Mountains, which divide *Greece* in two Parts, almost in the same manner as the *Apennines* do *Italy*. Between these terrible Rocks and the Sea, Nature had left a pretty long Pass, but not above twenty five Foot broad; and this Neck of Land was what the *Greeks* called *Thermopylae*. It was an Entrance into *Locris*, from *Phocis*; and at the Foot of Mount *Oeta*, rose several hot and wholesome Springs. This Post *Antiochus* chose; and added Art to Nature, for its Defence. He threw up such Trenches in the Woods which covered the Foot of the Mountain, as were in a manner impregnable. He surrounded his Camp with a double Ditch, and a double Rampart, strengthened at proper Places, by a dry Wall, built of the Flints he found in great Plenty in the Hollows of the Rock. In this Camp the King shut up his *Syrian* Troops, and thought them safe. As for the four thousand *Ætolians* which were come to assist him, he sent them to the Cities of *Hypata* and *Heraclea*, which still adhered to him. Without doubt, he was afraid the *Consul* would besiege them. Whereas *Acilius* had very different Views. His Design was to force the *Syrian* Camp, even in these Defiles. As soon as *Antiochus* perceived it, by the Motions of the *Roman* Army, his first Concern was to recall the four thousand *Ætolians* he had sent to *Hypata* and <sup>15</sup> *Heraclea*. He was not ignorant, that formerly *Xerxes* would not have been able to have forced the *Lacedæmonians*, in the Valley of *Thermopylae*, if he had not first caused some of his Troops to climb up the Mountains, and fall down on the Enemy from thence. And therefore he judged it necessary to seize the Summits of *Oeta* which were nearest his Camp. One of them was called *Callidromus*, another *Rhoduntia*, and the third *Tichius*. And he thought his *Greek* Troops very proper to guard these Eminencies. But, only one Part of them obeyed his Orders. The other would not stir out of *Heraclea*. However, the *Syrian* caused his two thousand *Ætolians*, to encamp on the three Summits, and thought himself very safe. The Historians don't say that *Hannibal* advised these regular Dispositions; but it is probable that he was the chief Person concerned in them; tho' his Name is not mentioned in any of the Accounts which the Ancients have given us of the Battle of *Thermopylae*.

§. IV. THE *Roman* General was informed of the prudent Precautions the *Syrian* had taken, to guard himself against his Attacks; and it embarrassed him. To endeavour to force the Enemy in Passes where scarce ten Men armed could march

<sup>14</sup> *Herodotus* and *Valerius* say, that there were but three hundred *Lacedæmonians* killed in defending the Pass at *Thermopylae*; but *Justin* makes them six hundred.

<sup>15</sup> The City here spoken of is *Heraclea Trachynia*, which stood between the Rivers *Sperchius* and *Asopus*, near *The Gulph of Zeiton*. See Vol. 3.



Year of a-breast, was indeed a very dangerous Attempt. To follow the Example of *Xerxes*,  
**R O M E** and climb over the Mountains, and fall on the *Syrian* Entrenchments that way,  
 DLXII. was a stale Project. Besides, *Antiochus* had very prudently guarded against this Ac-  
 P. CORNELIUS cident, which alone he had Reason to fear. In this Perplexity therefore, the Con-  
 SCIPIO NASI- sul had Recourse to <sup>16</sup> *Cato*; and this brave and prudent Warrior extricated him  
 CA, M' ACILI- out of his Difficulty. He voluntarily offered to lead a Detachment up to the three  
 US GLABRIO, Summits, and dislodge the *Ætolians*. It was a difficult Enterprize; and therefore  
 Consuls. *Acilius* joined L. <sup>17</sup> *Valerius*, one of his Lieutenants, with *Cato*, in the Execution  
 of it. *Valerius* had Orders to march to *Tichius*, and *Cato* to *Callidromus*; and  
*Valerius* was unsuccessful in his Attack; the *Ætolians* repulsed him. But *Cato*  
 took more proper Measures. He chose out one of the Inhabitants of the Coun-  
 try, who had been made Prisoner of War, for his Guide; and tho' the Guide un-  
 fortunately led *Cato* and his Men out of the Way, this did not disconcert him.  
 He commanded his Detachment to halt; and attended only by one <sup>18</sup> active Sol-  
 dier, who was skilful in climbing Rocks, he went to discover the Enemy. It  
 was a very dark Night, there being no Moon; and *Cato* and his Companion  
 mounted steep Rocks together, and descended into Bogs, without being disheartened.  
 Till at length, they found a narrow Path, which seemed to lead to the Enemy;  
 and after they had broken Holes to mark the Way they had gone, they returned  
 to their Men, who waited for them at the Place where *Cato* had left them. Then  
 all the Body marched on, in as good Order as the Ground would permit, and came  
 at length to the Path, but found it ended in a Precipice. The Day began to break;  
 and whilst they were halting here, without being able to advance further, they  
 heard confused Voices of Men. From thence they inferred, that the *Ætolian*  
 Camp was not far off; and then *Cato* took a very prudent Step. He chose out  
 an Handful of faithful Men, and sent them likewise to discover the Enemy; whilst  
 he, with his Company, waited in Silence for their Return. These ran along the  
 Slope that led to the Bottom of the Precipice, and found Means to come up to the  
*Ætolians* who guarded *Callidromus*. The unexpected Sight of this small Number  
 of *Romans*, gave the Alarm among the Watch, who were placed round the  
 Camp; and the *Roman* Soldiers seized one *Ætolian*, and brought him to their  
 Leader. *Cato* examined the Prisoner, and learnt of him, that the Enemy <sup>19</sup> were  
 not far off; and upon these Assurances, the brave Commander drew up his Men  
 in Battalia, took a Compass, and advanced at the Head of them, Sword in hand.

AND whilst *Cato* was falling on the *Ætolians* like a Torrent, the Consul *Acilius*, on the other hand, was beginning the Attack of *Thermopylae*. But before he  
 led his Army into so dangerous a Pass, he addressed himself to them thus. I see,  
*Fellow-Soldiers*, a great Number of those among you who forced Philip's Entrench-  
 ments. Will you then refuse to do at *Thermopylae*, what you formerly did on the  
 Banks of the *Aous*? The Pass we are to force is not more impregnable than that  
 of which you made yourselves Masters. Nay, it may be affirmed, That Philip's  
 Trenches were much stronger than those of *Antiochus* are. The Macedonian Army  
 was more formidable than that of the King of Syria. We have now none but ef-  
 feminate Asiatics to fight with. Their King did nothing, during the Winter, but  
 indulge himself in Pleasure. Can he then, who is dissolved in effeminate Delights,  
 withstand so many brave Men inured to military Labours? And what have  
 we to fear from the *Ætolians*, his Allies? There are but few of them here, and  
 the Division of them forebodes their Ruin. Upon those high Mountains, they seem  
 to be fled up to Heaven, only to escape us. And yet perhaps, at this very Instant,  
*Cato* is tumbling them down to the Bottom of the Pit where *Antiochus* hides him-  
 self. The cowardly King dares not face you in the open Field. Go then, unkennel  
 him, and drive him out of the Den, where he thinks himself safe. It is not only  
 the Liberty of Greece that depends upon it. This Pass will open you a Way into

<sup>16</sup> According to *Plutarch*; *Cato*, before he had Recourse to Arms, had gone a great way in per-  
 suading, by his Discourses, the Cities of *Patrae*,  
*Ægium*, *Corinth*, and *Athens*, (where he had made  
 a pretty long Stay,) to adhere to the *Roman* Confe-  
 deracy.

<sup>17</sup> This *Lucius Valerius*, surnamed *Flaccus*, was  
 doubtless the same Person, who had been Consul with

*Cato*, in the Year of Rome 556. Thus *Livy* says  
 that the Affair was committed to the Conduct of  
 two Consular Men. *M. Porcius Catonem* & *L.*  
*Valerium Flaccum*, *Consulares Legatos*.

<sup>18</sup> *Plutarch* gives this Guide the Name of *Lucius*  
*Mellius*.

<sup>19</sup> The Prisoner deposed, according to *Plutarch*,  
 that the *Ætolians* were but six hundred in Number.  
 Locris,



Locris, and soon afterwards, into the richest Part of the World. When you have conquered at Thermopylæ, you will soon see all Asia subject to the Republick. All the Nations from Gades to The Red Sea, will reverence the Roman Name.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXII.

P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO NASI-  
CA, M<sup>r</sup> ACILI-  
US GLABRIUS,  
Consuls.

THUS spake *Acilius*; his Soldiers had prepared themselves for the Fight, by flattering themselves That they should certainly be victorious; and the *Consul* formed them according to the Nature of the Attack. His first Line terminated in a Point, and made a right Angle. The light-armed Soldiers marched at the Head of it. And as soon as *Antiochus* saw the Enemy advance in Order of Battel, he also drew up his *Syrians*, on his first Rampart, to oppose the Enemy. The Pikemen of his Camp, armed after the *Macedonian* Manner, defended it. They were, perhaps, descended from those *Macedonians* which *Alexander the Great* had led into *Asia*, and had settled there, ever since the first *Seleucus* had made himself King of *Syria*. But if so, the Descendants were much degenerated from their Ancestors. In his left Wing, on the Declivity of Mount *Oeta*, the King had posted his *Syrian* Troops, which threw Darts and Stones, from the upper Ground, on the *Roman* Infantry. And lastly, at the End of the Pass, *Antiochus* had drawn up his Elephants in a Line, with his Cavalry behind them. The rest of his Troops were behind all, as it were for a *Corps de reserve*. At first, the *Syrians* who were under Covert of the Rampart, and armed with their long Poles with Iron Heads, sustained the Shock of the *Romans* pretty valiantly. They were assisted by their Archers and Slingers, who poured down Showers of Darts and Flints on the Assailants. However, the *Romans*, by widening, gained a little Ground on the Mountain, and made a broader Front; and in this manner attacked the first Rampart, and at length forced it. Then the *Syrians* retired behind the second Entrenchment, which was that which, strictly speaking, surrounded their Camp. And it may likewise be added, that the *Syrians* with their Pikes made a third Rampart, which was likewise to be broken through. Besides, their General had raised this second Wall only Breast high, that the Pikes which were held over it might make it the more impregnable. And indeed, the *Romans* with all their Valour could not break thro' this Line which was every where so thick set with Pikes. All those that approached it were killed, or received great Wounds. So that the Affair was yet undetermined, till *Cato* came to put an End to it. After having driven the *Ætolians* from *Callidromus*, he pursued them closely, and forced them to fly for Refuge to the Valley. The Sight of these Fugitives, did not at first alarm the *Syrians*, who yet sustained the Attacks more with their long Arms, than by close fighting. They in the besieged Camp thought that the *Ætolians* were coming of their own accord to assist them. Nor was *Antiochus* himself undeceived, till he saw *Cato* half way down the Hill, followed by the *Roman* Standards; and then he despaired of Victory. Nevertheless, he still made some Resistance; but receiving a Blow in the Mouth with a Stone, which broke his Teeth, he then turned his Horse about, and withdrew. And when *Cato* drew near to attack the Camp in its weakest Part, the *Syrians* threw down their Arms, and fled. Yet still their Elephants covered them. So that a great Number of them saved themselves by dispersing, and scarce any perished in the Defiles, but those who fell into the Marshes, and were there drowned. The Narrowness of the Roads, and their Rear-Guard of Elephants, saved the Lives of a considerable Part of the *Syrian* Army. The *Romans* were taken up with plundering the Enemy's Camp, and few of the *Legionaries* followed the *Syrians* as far as <sup>20</sup>*Scarphia*. Nevertheless, they killed a considerable Number of Men, Horses, and Elephants, in the Rout, and brought back some to their Camp. *Acilius* was much transported with his Victory, and did Justice to him whom he looked on as the Author of it. He embraced *Cato*, and said these Words to him, which he never forgot, but often repeated afterwards, in Honour to himself. *The Service you have done the Republick is greater than the Favours she has ever done you.* This was saying a great deal of a *New Man*. *Cato* owed to *Rome* his Rise, all his Grandeur, a *Consulship*, and a *Triumph*. Nevertheless, it must be owned, that this Action at *Callidromus* can never be enough commended. It was the last Exploit by which he signalized himself in War. He dedicated the rest of his Life to civil Affairs. He was an inexorable *Censor*, and severe Reformer; and applied

Plut. Life of  
Cato.

<sup>20</sup> *Scarphia* was a maritime City which belonged to *Locris*.



Year of himself wholly to regulate the Manners of his Countrymen, which began to be  
 R O M E corrupted, by their Commerce with the Eastern Nations.

DLXII.

P. CORNELIUS  
 SCIPIO NASI-  
 CA, M' ACILI-  
 US GLABRIO,  
 Consuls.  
 Liv. B. 36.  
 c. 19.

§. V. THE next Day after the Battel, at three in the Morning, the *Consul* march-  
 ed his *Legions* towards <sup>21</sup> *Elatia*, whither *Antiochus* had first retired. But tho' the  
*Roman* Cavalry which went before the Infantry made great Haste, the fugitive  
 King was got too far before them to be overtaken. However, all the *Legions* fell  
 on the greatest Part of the *Syrian* Troops, who had been too much tired to follow  
 the King, or who had rambled out of the Way, in a strange Country; and they  
 were cut in pieces. It may be affirmed, that *Antiochus* lost his whole Army in  
 the Action at *Thermopylae*. The *Romans* took and killed ten thousand <sup>22</sup> of his  
 Men. As for him, he escaped to *Chalcis* with about five hundred Horse. In this  
 dangerous Enterprize, *Acilius* reckoned that he had not lost above two hundred  
 Men, at most. As soon as the Action was over, the *Consul* dispatched *Cato* to  
*Rome*, with the News of the Victory; and the Wind and Sea favoured his Passage  
 to *Brundisium*. From thence he came to the City, by Land, in five Days. The  
 Joy of the *Romans*, at this compleat Success, in a doubtful War, is not to be ex-  
 pressed. They did not now despair of seeing the whole World, in a little time,  
 subject to the *Roman* Laws. So that the Senate ordered Thanks to be returned  
 to the Gods, in a solemn Manner. The *Prætor* was directed to sacrifice forty of  
 the largest Victims to their Honour; the Temples were opened; and the People  
 crowded to them.

As for the Conqueror, he was wholly intent on making the best Use of his Vic-  
 tory. Thro' *Phocis*, he entered <sup>23</sup> *Bæotia*, with a Design to drive *Antiochus* from  
*Chalcis*, and recover *Eubæa*. During the *Consul's* March, many *Bæotian* Cities,  
 which had gone over to the *Syrians*, were seized with Terror. The Inhabitants of  
 these faithless Towns came in Crowds to meet the *Consul*, in the Habits and Pos-  
 tures of Suppliants; and *Acilius* gave Instances of his Clemency, and of *Roman*  
 Moderation, wherever he came. His Army spared the Lives and Lands of the *Bæo-*  
*tians*, as they passed thro' *Bæotia*. Discipline was admirably well preserved in the  
 Army, during its March; and the *Romans* were not suffered to commit any Hosti-  
 lities, but at *Coronea*. There, in a Temple <sup>24</sup> of *Minerva*, the *Bæotian* Diet had, by a  
 publick Edict, ordered a Statue to be erected in honour to King *Antiochus*; and at  
 this Sight, the *Legionaries* could not govern their Passions. The Territory of *Coronea*  
 was plundered. Nevertheless, *Acilius* considered that the City was not more to  
 blame than the rest of *Bæotia*. The Statue was not erected by the *Coroneans* only,  
 but by a general Diet. The *Consul* therefore ordered his Troops to put a Stop to  
 their Ravages, and contented himself with reproaching the *Bæotians* with their In-  
 gratitude and Revolt. Then the *Consular* Army advanced, without Delay, towards  
 the *Euripus*, and soon appeared within Reach of *Chalcis*. *Antiochus* did not ex-  
 pect the *Consul* there; and upon his Approach embarked with his new Queen;  
 set sail for *Asia*; and retired to *Ephesus*. After his Departure, *Chalcis* opened  
 her Gates to the *Romans*; and all *Eubæa* followed the Example of the Capital.  
 The Reduction of this fruitful Island, was the Work but of a few Days; and then  
*Acilius* set out for *Thermopylae*. In his March, he kept up the same Discipline in  
 his Army which had done him so much Honour. And at length, from *Thermo-*  
*pyla*, *Acilius* came and encamped before *Heraclea*, which two thousand *Ætolians*  
 still kept for *Antiochus*. Before he besieged it in Form, the *Consul* summoned the  
 Place to surrender; and shewed the Inhabitants, that they could expect little from  
 a fugitive and vanquished King. He represented to them, That all *Greece* was re-  
 turned to the *Roman* Interest; and That he had pardoned the Rebels, because they

<sup>21</sup> *Elatia*, or *Elatea*, was the second City in *Phocis*. See Vol. 3.

<sup>22</sup> *Valerius* of *Antium*, according to *Livy*, considerably magnified *Antiochus's* Loss. According to that Historian, forty thousand of the *Syrians* were killed upon the Spot, and the *Romans* took five thousand Prisoners, and two hundred Standards. So that *Valerius* supposes, without any Proof, that the King of *Syria's* Army consisted of sixty thousand Men.

<sup>23</sup> In some Copies, we read that the *Consul* *Acilius* led his Troops into *Æolis*; and this Reading does not contradict that which we have followed in

the Text. The ancient *Greeks* often gave the Name of *Æolia*, or *Æolis*, to *Bæotia*, after *Æolus* the Son of *Hercules* had settled in this Country. *Strabo* affirms, that even in his Time, the *Bæotians* were called *Æolians*.

<sup>24</sup> The Inhabitants of *Coronea* had dedicated this Temple to *Minerva*, under the Title of *Itonia*. The Goddess took this Surname from the City of *Iton*, situated on the Banks of the *Parnissus* in *Thessaly*. The *Itonians* had erected a stately Temple to this Goddess; and the *Bæotians* built this here spoken of, after their Example.



had not added Obstinacy to their Revolt. And lastly, he offered to treat them as well as he had done the *Ætolians*, if they would submit. But neither the *Ætolian* Garrison, nor the Inhabitants of *Heraclea*, were moved with the Hopes of Impunity. So that it was necessary to reduce this untractable City to Reason by Force; and it was not without Difficulty, that the *Roman* made himself Master of it. This *Heraclea* was both strong by Situation, and well fortified. It stood at the Foot of Mount *Oeta*; one Part of it extended into the Plain; and the other was defended by a Citadel built half way up the Mountain, which was difficult of Access every Way. The River *Asopus* <sup>25</sup> covered it on the Part next the Plain; and another little River, called <sup>26</sup> *Melana*, watered the Side of it. The *Roman* General ordered four Attacks to be begun, by four of his General Officers. *L. Valerius* commanded on the Side of the *Asopus*. *Tib. Sempronius* prepared the Machines for battering the Citadel. *M. Bæbius* commanded in the Attack on the Side next the Sea; and *App. Claudius* invested it on the Side towards the *Melana*. The *Movable Towers*, *Rams*, and *Mantelets*, were built in few Days. In the Valley which surrounded the Place, the *Romans* found a great Number of great Trees, of which they made their Machines; and the Houses in the Suburbs which were deserted, supplied the Besiegers with Beams, Bricks, and cut Stones. All these Materials helped towards the Works; and the *Romans* harrassed the Besieged more with the Darts thrown by the *Catapultæ* and *Ballistæ*, than by personal Attacks. Whilst the Besieged defended themselves against the *Rams*, more by making Sallies and endeavouring to set Fire to them, than by letting down Hooks from the Wall, to weaken their Strokes. In the Beginning of the Siege, the *Ætolians* did Wonders for some Days. They often sallied out thro' Postern-Gates made in the Middle of the Wall; and whilst they were amusing the *Romans* Without, others Within repaired the Breaches made in the Wall. This Activity of the Besieged lasted for some time; but afterwards it abated. Watchings and Want of Sleep overcame them. The great Number of the Besiegers made their Fatigues the less. But the Besieged were Day and Night on their Feet; and the whole Garrison was scarce sufficient for the constant Defence of the Place. Forty Days were spent in these painful Fatigues; and at length, the *Consul* thought fit to give the Enemy some Relaxation. But it was only the more effectually to deceive them. He commanded a Stop to be put to the Attacks, exactly in the Middle of the Night, and ordered them not to be renewed, till nine in the Morning. This he did for some Days. The Besieged were well pleased with the Rest this gave them; and accustomed themselves not to return to the Attacks, till after they had had a long Sleep. Then the *Consul*, all on a sudden, changed the Times of fighting and attacking; and ordered *Sempronius* to batter the Citadel, at Three in the Morning. *Acilius* took it for granted, that the Noise which would be heard there in the Night, would draw all the Garrison thither; and accordingly, the sleepy *Ætolians*, being suddenly awaked, ran hastily to the Castle. But at the same time, the other Generals made an Assault upon the Town; and then the Garrison divided themselves, to repulse the Assailants. Only one Part of the *Courtine* continued unattacked, and undefended; which was that which joined to the demolished Suburbs. And at break of Day, some *Legionaries* who had hid themselves under this Part, mounted the Walls which were half thrown down, without any Opposition; and the Besieged hearing a Shout on the Ramparts, thought the City taken. Instantly therefore, Soldiers, Citizens, Women and Children, all fled for Refuge to the Citadel. The insolent *Damocritus*, who had daringly told *Flamininus*, that he would not give him any Account of the Declaration of War, till he came to the Banks of the *Tyber*, was Governour of it. But before *Acilius* besieged it in Form, he delivered up the City to be plundered by his *Romans*. These Spoils were in some Sort due to them, to make them amends for having got so little in a Campaign, wherein the Enemy's Country had been spared with as much Moderation as if it had been deemed a religious Duty. The Pillage of the City lasted till Noon; after which, the *Consul* ordered an Assault to be made on the Citadel. It stood

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXII.

P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO NASI-  
CA, M<sup>r</sup> ACILI-  
US GLABRIUS,  
Consuls.

<sup>25</sup> There are two Rivers in Greece called *Asopus*, or *Asopo*. One, which waters *Thessaly*, rises in the long Chain of Hills which are called Mount *Oeta*; and after it has watered the Territory of *Heraclea*, falls into *The Gulf of Zeiton*. The other rises at

Mount *Cytheron*, runs thro' Part of *Boeotia*, and falls into *The Euripus*.

<sup>26</sup> The *Greeks* gave the Name of *Melana*, to several Rivers, whose Waters were of a blackish Colour.



Year of on the Declivity of an Hill, and was at some Distance from the City. In order  
 R O M E to make the Assault in two Places, *Acilius* divided his Troops into two Bodies.  
 DLXII. He put himself at the Head of that Part which was to attack it from the lower  
 P. CORNELIUS Ground, on the City Side; and ordered the Detachment which was to attack it  
 SCIPIO NASI- from the Ridge of the Mountain, to take a Compass, thereby to gain the Top of  
 CA, M<sup>r</sup> ACILI- it with the less Fatigue. The Top of *Oeta* was divided into two forked Summits,  
 US GLABRIC, one of which so overlooked the Citadel of *Heraclea*, that Darts might be thrown  
 Consuls. into it from thence. As soon as the *Romans* gave a great Shout, at the Top of  
 the Mountain, the Attack began on both Sides; and the Besieged immediately  
 thought of surrendering, as soon as they saw Showers of Darts thrown down up-  
 on them from above. How could they sustain a long Siege? The Place was desti-  
 tute of Provisions; and so great a Multitude of Men and Women as fled thither  
 for Refuge, could not possibly subsist there long. The safest Way was to throw  
 themselves upon the Clemency of the *Romans*. The *Ætolians* therefore surren-  
 dered at Discretion; and by way of Preliminary, delivered up into the Consul's  
 Hands the proud *Damocritus*, who had been so fierce in Words. The *Romans*  
 were doubtless as much rejoiced at having this factious Man in their Hands, as at  
 taking so important a City and Castle; and, tho' the Historians say nothing of it,  
 it is probable, *Damocritus* was sent to *Rome* among the illustrious Captives which  
 were sent thither from the conquered Nations.

Livy, B. 36.  
 c. 25.

§. VI. THE Reduction of *Heraclea* was a terrible Blow to the *Ætolians*; and  
 the Loss of another City, almost as considerable, doubled their Anxiety. *Lamia*  
 was thought a very strong Place. It was about seven Miles distant from *He-  
 raclea*, and stood on a very steep Rock. The Troops of King *Philip* of *Ma-  
 cedon* had begun the Siege of it, at the same time that the *Romans* were busy be-  
 fore *Heraclea*. Indeed, *Philip* did not at first assist in Person, at the Siege of  
*Lamia*. He was prevented by an Indisposition. As the two Cities were near each  
 other, and *Lamia* stood on an Eminence, the *Macedonians* and *Romans* could each  
 see from their own Camp, what Progress was made in the other. Hence arose an  
 Emulation between the two Confederate Armies, which should advance their  
 Works with most Vigour, and take their City first. But the *Romans* first com-  
 pleted the Reduction of *Heraclea*. The two Nations carried on Sieges different  
 Ways. The *Macedonians* generally removed a great deal of Ground, and sapped  
 the Walls of besieged Places, in order to throw them down that way; and as  
*Lamia* stood on a Rock, the Hardness of the Ground increased the Difficulty of  
 the Siege. So that *Philip* had time to recover his Health. Which he no sooner  
 did, but he paid a Visit to the Consul *Acilius*, then encamped at *Thermopylae*, and  
 congratulated him on his Victory. In the mean time, the Siege of *Lamia* was still  
 continued; and *Philip* went thither to pursue it; but he had not the Satisfaction  
 to take the Place. As soon as the *Lamians* understood that the Citadel of *He-  
 raclea* was taken, they chose to surrender to the *Romans*, and thereby recover their  
 Liberty, rather than become subject to the *Macedonian* Yoke. So that *Philip* was  
 disappointed of the Conquest he had expected.

BUT before the Sieges of these two Cities were begun, the *Ætolian* Diet had  
 assembled at *Hypata*, and had resolved to send a Deputation to King *Antiochus*,  
 then at *Ephesus*. *Thoas* was charged with this Commission, and had Orders to  
 engage the King to assemble his Troops, and equip a Fleet in all haste, to go into  
*Europe*. The *Ætolians* entreated him, if his Armies were not ready, to send  
 his Allies large Sums of Money at least, to support the War. Their Deputy re-  
 presented to *Antiochus*, that it would be shameful for a powerful Monarch, to  
 abandon his Confederates to the Fury of the *Romans*. If, said he, the War is  
 but weakly supported in Greece, *Ætolia* will not put a Stop to the Rapidity of our  
 Conquerors, many Months. You will soon see them in Asia, carrying the War into  
 the Heart of your Dominions. There was an Appearance of Truth, in what *Thoas*  
 said, and that gained him Credit. *Antiochus* first sent the *Ætolians* considerable  
 Sums; and promised them, that he would soon bring a numerous Fleet, and pow-  
 erful Armies, into Greece. But in the mean time, he kept *Thoas* with him. The  
*Ætolian* was much pleased to continue his Negotiations in Asia, and to have it  
 in his Power still to sollicit *Antiochus* to perform his Promises; so that *Thoas*  
 with Pleasure fixed his Residence at the King of Syria's Court.

§. VII. THUS



§VII. THUS the *Ætolians* were exceeding zealous to renew the War, before the taking of *Heraclea*, and *Lamia*; but the Reduction of these two Cities abated their Fierceness. In their Diet, they no longer talked of War, or thought of any thing but Peace. They therefore sent an Embassy to the *Consul Acilius*, to make advances towards it; but the *Roman General* received it, with Haughtiness. *I have many other Affairs to do*, said he to the Ambassador, *besides hearing you. Your Negotiations tend only to distract me. Go back to Hypata. I will send Valerius Flaccus thither, to treat with you. The Ætolians may propose their Demands, and Offers to him; and in the mean time, I will grant you a Truce for ten Days.* The *Consul's Deputy*, and the Ambassador from the Diet, set out for *Hypata* together; and the Assembly paid extraordinary Honours to *Valerius*. The Sittings were held at his House; and to shew the greater Confidence in him, they desired him to advise them, in what manner they were to proceed with *Rome*. *Our Alliance with the Republick*, said they, *is ancient. By how many good Offices have we shewn our Attachment to her?* Here *Valerius* stopped them, and said, *Don't say any thing there of an Alliance. You have so often broke the Articles of it, that Rome will be enraged at the mention of it. The best Advice you can follow, is to acknowledge you have offended. An humble Supplication will have more Effect on the Consul and Senate, than a vain Ostentation of your Services, and Attachment. And if you will take this Advice, I will readily assist you with my Interest.* The Diet paid great Regard to the wholesome Advice of *Valerius*; and the *Ætolians* therefore consulted together, how best to put on an Air of Humiliation. *We will*, said they, *by that means, impose upon the Romans, and put them under a Necessity of shewing us some Regard. And if Fortune should afterwards change, we shall be at Liberty to change with her.* Full of this insincere Scheme, the *Ætolians* came and presented themselves before the *Consul*. *Phæneas* was their Speaker; and he said, *All Ætolia, laid waste by her late Conduct, throws herself upon the Honour, and Clemency of the Romans. But Acilius received these Protestations with the Distrusts of a prudent Man. Take care*, said he, *how you engage yourselves. If your Promises are sincere, perform them. You say Ætolia surrenders herself up to the Romans. If so, deliver up the Head of the Nation, who was the Author of the Revolt. Put Menetas the Epirot into my Hands; that seditious Man, who stirred up the City of Naupactus to desert us. And lastly, surrender up King Amynder, and the Athamanian Lords, who drew you into the Revolt.* The *Consul* had scarce finished, before *Phæneas* briskly replied; *You demand more of us, my Lord, than we have promised. We threw ourselves upon your Honour; but we did not deliver ourselves up to Slavery. What you demand, is neither consistent with the Honour of the Ætolian Nation, nor with the Laws, or Customs of Greece. What is that to me*, replied *Acilius* haughtily, *whether my Demands are agreeable to your Customs and Laws, or not? They are agreeable to the Will of the Romans, and that is enough. The Vanquished, and the Suppliant, ought not expect more. Obey my Orders immediately, or you shall be put in Irons, this instant.* Then the *Lictors* appeared all on a sudden, and surrounded the *Ætolian*. His Collegues saw to what a Condition the Victory of the *Consul* had reduced them; and they represented to the Conqueror, That they could not obey his Orders, without the Consent of the Diet. *Give us*, said they, *another ten Days Truce, and we will bring you a positive Answer.* The *Consul* considered of it; and at length complied. The Suspension of Arms was granted.

WHEN the Ambassadors were returned to *Hypata*, they declared to the Privy-Council of their Nation, the hard Conditions the *Roman General* had imposed upon them, and the severe Treatment, with which they had been threatened. All were grieved at it; but what had they to do, but to submit? This was the Advice of the most prudent. Nevertheless, they called a general Assembly, to which all the Cities of *Ætolia* sent their Deputies: And these all trembling at the bare Recital of the Preliminaries proposed, cried out, *We are then reduced to Slavery. Is the King of the Athamanes our Subject? Can we dispose of him as we please, and deliver him up to the Romans?* The Clamours which were made in all parts of the Assembly, exasperated all present. In a time of Peace, they would have cried out, *To Arms*; and it being the time of War now, the Uproar was



Year of much greater. The *Romans* were formidable indeed; but they had yet taken only two Cities of *Ætolia*. Besides, the *Ætolians* had a Resource in *Antiochus*. This King was very rich, powerful by Sea and Land, and was piqued. And during this Distraction of Mind in the Diet, a piece of News came, which determined the *Ætolians* to choose the worst part. One *Nicander*, an active and expeditionary Man, had gone from *Ætolia* to *Ephesus*, and returned back again, in twelve Days. He brought from the King of *Syria* great Sums of Money, which had like to have been intercepted by King *Philip*, after the Siege of *Lamia*. *Nicander* himself had been surprized by a *Macedonian*, and carried before the King. This Prince was at Table when the Prisoner was brought to him, and though an *Ætolian*, *Philip* received him very graciously, and made him eat with him. After their Repast, he took him aside, and accosted him thus. *Be in no manner of fear about your Life. Only acknowledge, that the Ætolians were the Authors of our Misfortunes. They first brought the Romans into Greece, and facilitated the Reduction of my Dominions. Then they grew weary of their new Masters, and drew Antiochus into these Parts. However, I overlook all that is past, and won't insult your Misery. Let the Diet at Hypata know, that it is time for them to lay aside their Hatred to me. As for you, Nicander, always remember, that I now give you your Life, and be grateful.* Accordingly, *Nicander* acquainted the Diet, with the favourable Reception he had met with at *Philip's* Camp. The *Ætolians* inferred from thence, That the King of *Macedon* sat very loose to the *Roman* Party; and That it would not be impossible to draw him off from it: and some Historians affirm, that it was now Policy only, or bare Decency, that kept him to it. But be that as it will, *Nicander's* Discourse, the Money he brought from *Asia*, and the Reports which he spread, that *Antiochus* was getting ready very great Armies by Sea and Land, made strong Impressions on the Assembly. They determined for War, and all Thoughts of Peace vanished. The *Ætolians* therefore hastened to *Naupactus*, cantoned themselves there, and drew all their Forces thither. They thought it of the utmost Importance to preserve this maritime City, till *Antiochus* returned. So that all the Lords of the Nation fled thither for Refuge, and resolved to sustain a Siege, to the last Extremity.

*Zonaras, B. 9.  
Polyb. in Legat. N. 13.*

§. VIII. *ACILIUS*, on the other hand, looked on the taking of *Naupactus*, as the most fatal Stroke he could give the *Ætolian* Nation. To make himself Master of it, would be for ever to enslave the most restless, and most turbulent Nation, in *Greece*; and he therefore resolved to attempt it. In the first Place he sent four thousand Men, under the Command of *Appius Claudius*, to guard the Roads through which the Army was to pass. Whilst the *Consul* himself, being at the Foot of Mount *Oeta*, thought it his Duty to consecrate his Departure by an Act of Religion. The Ridge of *Oeta* was dedicated to *Hercules*. There was an old Tradition in the Country, that this Hero ended his Life, and labours there. So that this Summit of the Mountain was called *Pyra*, that is, *A Funeral Pile*; because *Hercules*, as was pretended, had here burnt himself alive, and had been translated from hence to the Immortals. The Fame of the Place drew the *Consul* to it, and he first offered Sacrifices to the God worshiped there, and then departed for *Naupactus*. He thought his Road not bad, till he came to Mount <sup>27</sup> *Corax*. But this was the highest Mountain in *Ætolia*, and it was necessary to climb over it, with all the Baggage of a numerous Army. Great Numbers of Beasts of Burden were killed there, and Multitudes of the common Soldiers tumbled down the Precipices. So that nothing could have been easier to the Enemy, than to have stopped the whole *Roman* Army. But not one single *Ætolian* appeared to dispute this dangerous Passage with the *Consul*. At length the *Romans* got over it, and arrived, much fatigued, before *Naupactus*. Then the *Consul* first invested the Place, and took care to raise a *Cavalier* over against the Citadel, and build a wooden Tower upon it. It must be owned, this was a more difficult Siege to carry on, than that of *Heraclea*.

*App. in Syriac.  
N. 99.  
Livy B. 35.  
c. 30*

<sup>27</sup> *Livy* places Mount *Corax* between *Naupactus*, and *Callipolis*. We must take care not to confound this last City with another of the same Name, situated on the Coast of the *Hellepont*. *Ptolemy* says, this Mountain lay between Mount *Callidromus*, and Mount *Parnassus*.



§. IX. WHILST the *Roman* Army was busy before *Naupactus*, *Flamininus*, who had conquered *Philip*, and settled *Greece* in Peace, was residing at *Chalcis*. *Rome*, who knew his Address and Skill in Negotiations, kept him long in the *Levant*. *Flamininus*, without any Title of *Consul*, *Pro-Consul*, or *Prætor*, was respected in all the Country, as the Arbiter of all Differences, and the Agent General for the Republick. He was mightily pleased to reside at *Chalcis*. He was adored there. The *Chalcidians* owned him for their Deliverer. When their City last surrendered, after the Departure of *Antiochus*, the *Consul Acilius* was resolved to sack this Capital. But *Flamininus* had Interest enough with him, to appease his Anger, and save the Lives and Estates of the Inhabitants. And from that time the *Greeks* carried their Gratitude to him, to excess. Not content with honouring him with flattering<sup>28</sup> Inscriptions, they had in a manner deified him. They had built a Temple, instituted a Festival, and erected an Altar, for the Worship which they ever after paid him. In the Hymn that was solemnly sung to his Honour, his Name was inserted among those of the Gods. Sing, Girls, Sing the Glory of Jupiter, and celebrate Titus with repeated Shouts of Victory. But notwithstanding this Respect and Adoration, *Flamininus* left *Chalcis* to adjust some Differences that arose in *Achaia*. Two Affairs happened, which it was necessary to settle.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXII.

P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO NASI-  
CA, M' ACILI-  
US GLABRIO,  
Consuls.

Plut. Life of  
Flaminin.

*MESSENE* and *Elis*, two Cities of *Achaia*, had gone over to *Antiochus*, and refused to come to the *Achaian* Diet, as usual. In order to bring them to their Duty, *Diophanes*, the *Prætor* of *Achaia*, had raised some Troops, without the Consent of the *Romans*, and advanced with them towards the Territories of the two rebellious Cities. All the Neighbourhood of *Messene* was already destroyed with Fire and Sword; and then the unfortunate Inhabitants had recourse to the Clemency of *Flamininus*. They represented to him, That they had rather surrender themselves up to the *Romans*, than live under the Dominions of the *Achaians*. *Flamininus*, moved with Compassion, came to the Place, made some stay at *Megalopolis*, and sent Orders from thence to *Diophanes*, to put a Stop to his *Messenian* Expedition, and come and meet him. The *Achaian* General instantly obeyed (such Terror had the *Roman* Name then spread in *Greece*!) And as soon as he came into *Flamininus*'s Presence, endeavoured to excuse this Step, as done out of Zeal for the publick Good. *Flamininus* gently reproved him for having disturbed the Peace, reproached him with having begun Hostilities before he had any Orders for it, and immediately directed him to disband his Troops. And on the other hand, *Flamininus* so settled the Affair of the *Messenians*, as tended most to the Advantage of *Achaia*. He subjected them to the *Achaian* Diet, and made them surrender the Exiles they kept in their Cities. And lastly, he ordered, that if any Differences arose between the Cities and the Diet, they should bring their Complaints to him at *Corinth*, where he was going to reside. As for the City of *Elis*, it was not so obstinate as that of *Messene*. As soon as the *Elians* were rid of the *Syrian* Garrison, they returned to their Duty.

Liv. B. 36.  
c. 31.

THE second Affair that *Flamininus* ended, turned to the Advantage of his Republick. *Zacynthos* was a pretty considerable Island in the *Ionian* Sea; and it long had been the Property of King *Philip*. The *Macedonian* had given it up to *Amynder*, and this King of the *Athamanes* had made that *Philip* of *Megalopolis* Governor of it, who pretended to be descended from *Alexander the Great*. From him, the Government of *Zacynthos* was transferred to *Hierocles*, originally a *Sicilian*; and he, after the Defeat of *Antiochus* at *Thermopylae*, had sold it to the *Achaens*. But to suffer Purchases and Sales of that kind, was contrary to the Rights, and Interest, of *Rome*. Was it just that an Island, which the Victory of *Thermopylae* had forced to change its Masters, should belong to any but the Conquerors? Nevertheless, *Diophanes* hesitated about restoring it to the *Romans*. Sometimes he excused his Nation for having bought it; and sometimes he endeavoured to keep Possession of it, by Chicanery. To end the Dispute, *Flamininus* ordered the Diet to be called; and there gave a signal Proof of his Abilities. This great Man laid aside the Pomp of *Roman* Eloquence, accommodated himself to

<sup>28</sup> According to *Plutarch*, in the Front of the *Gymnasium*, there was this Inscription. The People have consecrated this *Gymnasium* to Titus and Hercules. And that which the *Chalcidians* had cut over

the Gate of a Temple called *Delphinion*, put *Flamininus* upon a Level with *Apollo*. It was this. The People have consecrated this Temple to Titus, and *Apollo*.



Year of the Genius of the Greeks, and spake to them in such a manner, as did not at all  
 R O M E savour of the Roman Taste. *I look on Achaia, said he, as a sort of Tortoise, which*  
 DLXII. *Nature has guarded with its Shell. If it thrusts out its Head or Feet ever so*  
 P. CORNELIUS *little beyond its Armour, it is in Danger of being trod upon and wounded. The*  
 SCIPIO NASI- *frontier Cities, which surround you Achaians, are your Shell, and your natural De-*  
 CA, M' ACILI- *fence. But as to any Acquisitions of yours beyond the Continent, those are parts of*  
 US GLABRIO, *your State, which are exposed to Insults, and which you cannot secure without*  
 Consuls. *great Difficulty. The familiar Comparison was founded in good Sense; the Achæ-*  
*ans were convinced by it, and Diophanes acquiesced in it. Zacynthos*<sup>29</sup> *was*  
*unanimously delivered up to the Romans. And the natural Eloquence of the skil-*  
*ful Negotiator triumphed over the Prejudices of the Achæans.*

§. X. THE Siege of *Naupactus* was still carrying on; and King *Philip* had turned his Arms towards *Demetrias*. *Acilius* had given him leave to conquer the Cities that had gone off from the Roman Confederacy. The *Demetrians* were disposed to join with the strongest side; and the Assistance they had from *Antiochus*, and from the *Ætolians*, had both failed them at once. The Syrian Garrison they had received, was not very numerous at first; though it was afterwards increased by a Multitude of the Vanquished, who fled thither for Refuge. But these *Asiatics* lived there without any Restraint or Discipline. So that as soon as *Philip* summoned the Place to surrender, the Gates were opened to him. Then *Eurylochus*, the Author of the late Troubles, and Revolt, had nothing to do but to kill himself. The Syrian Garrison was conducted, under a Guard, through *Macedon* and *Thrace*, to the *Chersonesus*; and from thence it went to *Lyfismachia*. The other factious Men in *Demetrias* banished themselves. As for *Philip*, not content with being Master of a City, which was formerly the most agreeable part of his Dominions, he extended his Conquests in <sup>30</sup> *Dolopia*, <sup>31</sup> *Aperantia*, and <sup>32</sup> *Perræbia*. Thus the *Macedonian*, after his Alliance with *Rome*, recovered by Degrees all the Places which had been taken from him.

§. XI. BUT *Flamininus* was not pleased with the Progress, the Consul had suffered the King to make, contrary to the Interests of *Rome*. He came from *Corinth* to *Naupactus*, where *Acilius* was pursuing the Siege, with all the Activity of a great General. In two Months time, he had reduced the Place so low, that it could not hold out long; but the Interview between the Consul and *Flamininus*, saved it from utter Ruin. Though the latter had great Reason to complain of the *Ætolians*; both his own good Nature, and Policy, pleaded for saving them from Destruction. This Peace-maker affected to shew himself to the *Ætolians*, and to that end, often rode round the besieged City. As soon as he was seen from the Top of the Walls, a Report was spread in the City, that *Flamininus* was in the Army; and then the Inhabitants immediately ran in Crowds to the Ramparts, and by their Gestures and Cries, implored the Assistance of so compassionate a Protector. *Flamininus* at first gave Signs with his Hand, as if he would not hearken to their Entreaties. But this was only a Feint. As soon as he met the Consul, he said, *Have you well considered, my Lord, what prodigious Pains you take to ruin the Affairs of the Republick?* The General was surprized at these Words, and said, *Explain yourself. Do you see any thing blameable in my Conduct?* You see, continued *Flamininus*, *that since your Victory at Thermopylæ, you have spent your whole time, in taking two Cities; and your Consulate is just ready to expire. Whilst Philip, who sees no Generals, or Armies come to oppose him, has not only taken so many Cities, but Nations; and has recovered Athamania, Perræbia, Aperantia, and Dolopia. You are endeavouring to lessen the Forces of Ætolia; and at the same time suffer a real Enemy, who pretends to be an Ally, to increase his. Consider better the true Interest of Rome. Raise this troublesome Siege. Leave Naupactus; and go and re-establish the Liberty of the Greek*

Livy, B. 36.

c. 34.

Livy, *ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *Zacynthos*, and its capital City, are now both called *Zante*. This Island is said to be twenty five Miles long, twenty broad, and sixty in Circumference. See Vol. 1.

<sup>30</sup> *Dolopia* belonged to *Epirus*, and bordered upon *Thessaly*, near Mount *Pindus*.

<sup>31</sup> *Aperantia* was a little Canton of *Epirus*, to-

wards the Head of the *Arhelous*. It was bounded to the East of *Thessaly*.

<sup>32</sup> The *Perræbi* spread themselves in *Thessaly* and *Epirus*. Hence the Name of *Perræbia* was common to two little Cantons, which were divided from one another, by that Tract of Ground, which reaches from Mount *Pindus*, to the Mouth of the *Peneus*.



*Flamininus* had the Gift of Persuasion. Besides, his Interest at *Rome* was greater than that of the *Consuls* themselves. And *Acilius* both feared his Power, and was convinced of the Force of his Reasoning. So that only a Point of Honour now kept the latter before the Place. He was afraid of the Disgrace of raising a Siege, which had held him out two Months. But at last he gave way, and referred it to the Prudence of *Flamininus*, to justify his Conduct. Upon this Declaration, the wise Peace-maker immediately went and appeared in sight of the Besieged; who redoubled their Clamours, when they saw him. *Have Compassion*, cried they, *on an unfortunate People, who fly to you for Protection; and deliver them!* At which Words *Flamininus* gave the *Ætoli-ans* to understand, that they should nominate some Deputies to come and confer with him. Then *Phæneas* came in Person, threw himself prostrate at the Feet of the *Roman*, and could not speak to him without Tears. *I will not insult you in this Condition*, replied *Flamininus* to him, *or confound you with Reproaches. Your Misfortunes are indeed affecting; but I forewarned you of them. And you have therefore the further Mortification to know, that you have wilfully brought them upon yourselves. But after all, can I resist my Destiny? Flamininus is fated to do Good, even to Ingrates. Go, throw your selves at the Consul's Feet, and promise to submit to his Will. Demand a Suspension of Arms, till such time as your Ambassadors can arrive at Rome; and I will intercede with him, on your Behalf.* They followed the Advice of *Flamininus*; Ambassadors were sent to the *Roman Senate*; and *Naupactus* had some Respite.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXII.  
P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO NASI-  
CA, M' ACILI-  
US GLABRIUS,  
Consuls.

THEN *Acilius* made the best use of the little time he had to stay in *Greece*; and first gave Audience to the Ambassadors, the *Epirots* sent to him, to excuse the Steps they had taken, with respect to *Antiochus*. Indeed, this artful People had not furnished any Troops for the *Syrian Army*; but they were suspected of having borne part of the Expences of the War. The *Consul* answered them, that he was in some doubt, whether he ought to call them Allies, or Enemies. *Your Conduct*, said he, *is mysterious. But the Senate of Rome know how to explain it; and in the mean time, I grant you a Truce for ninety Days.* Accordingly the Affair was brought before the Senate; and the *Epirots* in vain endeavoured to justify their Conduct. The Senators were convinced, that they had not committed any Hostilities against the Republick; but it did not appear, that they had not kept up a Correspondence with the *Syrian*. However, the Senate chose rather to shew them Favour, than to draw new Enemies upon themselves.

As to the Ambassadors of *Philip*, they were more favourably received, both by the *Consul*, and at *Rome*, than those of *Epirus*. The artful King of *Macedon*, demanded Leave of the Senate, to hang up in the *Capitol*, a Crown of Gold of a hundred Pounds weight, in Memory of the first Advantage the *Romans* had gained over *Antiochus*. The Republick accepted the present, and suffered the King to offer Sacrifices in the Temple of *Jupiter*. And some Historians falsely affirm, that, out of Gratitude, they restored him his Son *Demetrius*, then an Hostage at *Rome*. These were the Exploits, by which *Acilius* signalized himself in this Campaign. If he had not the Glory of finishing the War with *Antiochus*; he at least vanquished him, forced him to return to *Asia*, and settled the Divisions of *Greece*.

§. XII. WHILST the *Consul* was signalizing himself by Land, the *Prætor Livius*, Admiral of the *Roman Fleet*, was pursuing the War with Success at Sea. He had set out from *Naples* with fifty Ships of War, and a great Number of those Boats, with which the Allies on the Sea-Coast of *Italy* were obliged to furnish the Republick. From thence he sailed to *Messana*, where six *Carthaginian Gallies* joined him. When thus considerably reinforced, he appeared off *Corcyra*; and there informed himself of the Situation of Affairs in the *Levant*. He learnt, that *Antiochus* and the *Consul*, were in sight of each other, near *Thermopylae*; and that the rest of the *Roman Fleet* rode at Anchor, in the Port of *Piræus*. Then he thought it necessary to make all the Sail he could thither. Nevertheless, he pillaged the Islands belonging to the *Ætoli-ans*, as he passed; coasted along *Peloponnesus*; and touched at the Port of *Athens*. There three Gallies of the King of *Pergamus* joined him. This Prince had deliberated, whether he should not keep all his Forces at home, to defend his own Dominions, against the Menaces of King *Antiochus*, who was raising Troops in *Asia*. But at length, *Eumenes*, ever faithful



Year of to the *Romans*, resolved to share their Fate, and came in Person to join the Ro-  
 R O M E man Fleet. Then the *Prætor* had above eighty Ships of War under his Com-  
 DLXII. mand ; and this vast Armament, did not continue long unactive. *Livius* appeared  
 P. CORNELIUS off *Delos*, at the time that the *Consul Acilius*, was beginning the Siege of *Nau-*  
 SCIPIO NASI- pactus. The Road of *Delos* was subject to Storms; and high Winds forced the  
 CA. M' ACILI- Fleet to seek for Shelter. *Antiochus* was then returned to *Ephesus*; and lived there  
 US GLABRIO, in great Security. His Flatterers made him believe, that the *Romans* would never  
 Consuls. venture to come into *Asia*. *Hannibal*, who had regained his Credit with the King, was  
 Livy B. 36. the only Person, who spoke with Sincerity to him. *I am surprized, my Lord,*  
 c. 41. said he, *that I don't yet see the Roman Armies in Asia. They had a longer Pas-*  
*sage from Italy to Greece, than they now have from Greece to Asia. And it would*  
*be much more for the Interest of our Enemies to pursue us hither, than to amuse*  
*themselves with taking Cities in Ætolia. Their Fleet is as formidable as their*  
*Land-Forces. They have very lately received a new Reinforcement of Ships, with*  
*a new Commander. It is therefore a Jest to think of enjoying your Repose here. These*  
*Conquerors, whose Pretensions reach to the Ends of the World, will soon repent of*  
*their Delays. Either weaken them so much, as to make them lay aside their De-*  
*sign; or else depend on seeing them soon in Asia. Their Fleet has already appeared off*  
*Malea. The King of Syria was struck with this Discourse. It roused him out of*  
*his Lethargy, and he sailed to the Chersonesus, to be near enough, to stop up the*  
*Passes into Asia, if the Enemy attempted to go thither by Land. And in order to hinder*  
*them from coming thither by Sea, Antiochus ordered Polyxenidas to equip all his*  
*Fleet. The latter therefore sent out some light Barks to discover the Romans;*  
*and as soon as he had learnt that they appeared off Delos, he dispatched a Courier*  
*to the King, who was then endeavouring to pass the Hellespont. Upon this News*  
*he immediately turned back; and when he came to Ephesus, called a Council of*  
*War. The Question proposed was, whether it was proper to engage the Enemy at*  
*Sea; and Polyxenidas determined it. Let us, said he, immediately fight the Ro-*  
*mans, before the rest of Eumenes's Ships, and those of the Rhodians, join them.*  
*Your Fleet, my Lord, is complete, and superior in Number. The Roman Gallies are*  
*heavy, yours are light. And as the former come from a foreign Country, they are*  
*loaded and encumbered with Bales of Goods and Provisions. Ours carry only Men*  
*and Arms. Add to this, that we shall likewise fight on our own Coasts. And*  
*how great will be our Advantage, how many our Resources, upon that Account*  
*only?* All present appeared to be of his Opinion; and as *Polyxenidas* was the Au-  
 App. in Syriac. thor of the Advice, he was likewise to put in it execution. The Fleet, to the Num-  
 N. 99. ber of a hundred, or as some say two hundred Ships, weighed Anchor, and sailed  
 for <sup>33</sup> *Phocæa*, a City of *Æolis*. From thence it came under Shelter of <sup>34</sup> *Ery-*  
*thræ*, in the Port of *Cyffus*, and there waited for the *Romans*. As for *Livius*,  
 he left the Road of *Delos*, as soon as the Sea was passable, and the Wind abated;  
 arrived at the Point of *Chio*; there took <sup>35</sup> in Refreshments; and pursued his  
 Course towards *Phocæa*. In the mean time *Eumenes* left him for a few Days, to  
 go and fetch the rest of his Fleet, which he was to join with that of *Rome*; and  
 he came up with the *Roman* again, just as every thing was got ready for a Battel.  
 The twenty four Ships which the King of *Pergamus* added to the *Roman* Fleet,  
 was a considerable Addition of Strength to it. After this it struggled with some  
 Storms, occasioned by the North-Wind, which drove it on the Coasts; but ne-  
 vertheless sailed on in good Order. When the Sea was calm, it doubled the Cape  
 of <sup>36</sup> *Corycus*, pretty near *Cyffus*, where the Enemy's Fleet lay; and upon the

<sup>33</sup> *Phocæa* was a City of *Æolis* in *Asia Minor*. The River *Hermus*, now the *Sarabat*, watered its Territory. In the Place where this City stood, there is now a Port, and Town, which the *Italians* call *Pochia Vechia*, to distinguish it from another Place in that Neighbourhood, called *Pochia Nova*. We have elsewhere observed, that a Colony of the Inhabitants of *Phocæa* settled in *Provence*, and there first laid the Foundations of *Marseilles*.

<sup>34</sup> The City of *Erythræ*, formerly one of the chief Cities in *Ionis*, is now called *Colire*, and *Stolar*. It stood over against *Chio*, between the anci-

ent Cities of *Clazomene*, and *Teos*. *Livy* tells us, that the Port of *Erythræ* was called *Cyffus*.

<sup>35</sup> According to the *Roman* Historian, *Livius* had just put in at *Phanæ*, a Port in the Island of *Chio*. The Name of *Phanæ* was also given to a neighbouring Promontory, which is mentioned by *Stephen of Bysantium*.

<sup>36</sup> The Cape and Port of *Corycus*, were near *Erythræ*, and *The Ionian Gulph*. We must take not to confound it with another Port of the same Name, which belonged to *Cilicia*.



News that the Enemy approached, *Polyxenidas* leaped for Joy. He himself led out the left Wing of the Royal Fleet, into the main Sea; and ordered the Officers which were to command in the right, to draw it up along the Coast. So that the *Syrians* advanced towards the Enemy in two Lines: And when *Livius* saw this, he lowered his Sails to wait for the Gallies, which could not keep up with him. Then he first drew up thirty Ships in front, and posted them to the right, in his Line of Battel. And for a kind of left Wing, he ordered thirty others, to draw up in the left of the same Line, in a wider order than the other thirty. The Gallies that he designed for his second Line, were commanded to keep towards the Shore, and range themselves along the Coast. And lastly, the Fleet of *Eumenes* was placed in the Rear, by way of a *Corps-de-reserve*. Then the Attack began. At the Head of the *Roman* Ships were two *Carthaginian* Gallies, which were attacked by three *Syrian* Ships. So that the Number was unequal; and whilst one of the *Carthaginian* Ships, was engaging one of the Enemy's, the other two *Syrian* Gallies shut in the second *Carthaginian* Ship, on both sides, and keeping up close to her, broke her Oars. Then the *Syrians* boarded her, and she was taken. But if one Historian may be credited, the whole Crew leaped into the Sea, and saved themselves by swimming. This beginning exasperated the *Roman* Admiral, and he, in a great Rage, advanced with his own Ship against the Enemy. The two Ships which had taken the *Carthaginian* Galley, immediately came up with that in which *Livius* commanded; and the General ordered his Crew to rest their Oars and hold Water. This kept the *Roman* Ship steady; and her Crew, by the Admiral's Order, grappled with the two *Syrians*, and the Battel was fought, as if the Combatants had been ashore. The *Romans* remembered their usual Valour, and considered the *Syrians* only as cowardly Slaves, whom they were going to lay in Irons. And indeed, *Livius's* Men boarded both the Enemy's Gallies; and had no more Difficulty in taking them, than They had had, in taking one of the *Roman* Gallies. A valiant Action, which gave the *Romans* fresh Courage! The Ships engaged in all parts of the Fleet; they grappled, boarded, and threw their Darts at each other; and in short the Action was in some Places general, Ship to Ship, and in others two to one. So that it was a kind of confused Engagement. Upon which *Eumenes*, who had not yet engaged, came up. He saw that *Livius* had all the Advantage in the right; but that in the left, the Success was dubious; and therefore fell on the Enemy on that side, and determined the Fate of the Battel. The Rout of the *Syrians* began in their left. *Polyxenidas* became sensible, that notwithstanding the Advantage his Ships gave him, the *Roman* Bravery was insurmountable; and therefore hoisted his main Sail, and fled. *Eumenes* also created as much Disorder in the right Wing of the Enemy. After the Victory, *Livius* and he pursued the Fugitives, with all the Speed their Sails and Oars could give them, till their Rowers could work no longer. But the *Roman* Gallies were slow Sailors, and heavily laden; the *Syrian* ones light and swift. So that the former could not come up with the Rear of the Enemy; but were forced to be content with having sunk ten Ships, in the Engagement, and taken thirty. Whilst the *Romans* lost only that single *Carthaginian* Ship, which was first attacked. *Polyxenidas's* Fright was so great, that he stopped no where, till he came to the Port of *Ephesus*. *Livius*, after he had cast Anchor only one Day, in the Road where the Battel was fought, again pursued after *Polyxenidas*. In their Way, the *Roman* Fleet met twenty *Rhodian* Ships, which were coming to join them. They all went together, to invest the Port of *Ephesus*, whither the *Syrian* Admiral had fled for Refuge, and then the Inaction of the Enemy, was a Confession of their Defeat. The *Roman* therefore bid them Defiance a second time; but their Fleet durst not appear. So that *Livius* sent *Eumenes*, and the *Rhodians*, home; and spent some Days himself at *Phœnicus* 37, to refresh his Crews. From thence he came to *Canæ*, a City of *Mysia*; and Winter approaching, he laid up his Gallies there, after he had fortified the Port of *Canæ*, with a Ditch, and a Rampart.

§. XIII. So much good News could not but be very agreeable to the *Roman* Senate and People; and the Consul *Nasica*, had almost gained himself as much Glory against the *Gauls* in *Italy*, as *Acilius* had done in the *Levant*, against the

37 *Phœnicus* was a Port belonging to the Territory of *Erythræ*, according to *Livy*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXII.

P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO NASI-  
CA, M' ACILI-  
US GLABRIO,  
Consuls.

App. in Syriac.  
N. 100.

Liv. B. 36.  
c. 44.



Year of King of Syria. *Minucius* also, who had been making War with the *Ligures*, for these three Years, in quality of *Pro-Consul*, had signalized himself by Arms. But first of *Nasica*. The Piety of this great Man is well known. As soon as his Consulship began, he demanded of the Senate, a Sum of Money, for the Discharge of the Vow he had made in Spain; which was to celebrate Games in honour of *Jupiter*. But *The Conscrip't Fathers* thought the Proposal new. *Nasica*, said they, made this Vow of his own Head. The Senate was not at all concerned in it; and therefore the publick Treasury is not obliged to defray the Expences of it. If he has reserved any part of the Spoils for himself, let them serve for the Discharge of his Promise. If not, let him do it, at his own Expence. However, this Refusal did not deter the Consul from his Purpose. He bore the Expence of the Games, which he continued for ten Days. So true is it, that a Spirit of Religion prevailed at Rome, in the times of her greatest Prosperity! This plainly appeared by the Expiations which were now made there, to avert the ill Effects of certain <sup>38</sup> Prodigies, which were deemed fatal to the State. The *Sybilline Books* were consulted by the *Decemviri*; who pretended, that they had there discovered it to be necessary, to institute a Fast <sup>39</sup>, in honour to *Ceres*. Accordingly it was ordered, that it should

DLXII.  
P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO NASI-  
CA, M' ACILI-  
US GLABRIO,  
Consuls.

<sup>38</sup> Among these Prodigies, *Livy* mentions one, which doubtless had no Foundation; but in the Report of some Visionary, or of the Priests themselves, whose Interest it was to impose on the Credulity of a superstitious People. The Historian says, that in a Quarter of Rome called *The Carina*, two Oxen went up the Stair-case of an House, till they came to the Roof of it. The affrighted Spectators thought this Prodigy a certain forerunner of some approaching Calamity. The two Animals which were concerned in the ill Augury, were seized, and by order of the *Aruspices* burnt alive; and their Ashes thrown into the *Tyber*.

<sup>39</sup> That Fasting was used by the Pagans, at such times as they were labouring to avert the Anger of the Gods, is a Fact attested by the Ancients. *The Pagans*, says *Tertullian*, (*De Anima*), in a Year of Drought, fly to their Divinities, to obtain of them plentiful Harvests, and often pray to them for Rain. Then they order publick Processions, in which all who assist at them walk bare-Foot. The Magistrates appear in a State of Humiliation, without any Attendants, or Regalia. They make Vows to procure Fruitfulness to their Fields, and sacrifice Victims. In some Cities, the People appear every Year before their Idols, in Sackcloth and Ashes; and these external Acts of Repentance are accompanied with severe Fasts.

*Porphyry* tells us, that the *Egyptians* used to prepare for the Celebration of their chief Feasts, sometimes by fasting continually for six Weeks together. During this time, which was appropriated to Acts of Penance, the Priests, and Sacrificers, and after their Example, all those who professed to live very regularly, abstained from Flesh, Fish, Wine, Oil, and even Bread, and some of the richest and most nourishing sorts of Pulse. They carried their Austerity so far, that several of them made it matter of Merit, to mortify their Bodies with excessive Watchings, and strange kinds of Diet. According to *Herodorus*, Fasting was a Preparation that the Religion of the *Egyptians* required of them, when they were to sacrifice a Cow to *Iris*. And it was an indispensable Duty for those, who uttered or consulted Oracles. The Ceremony of initiating People into the Mysteries of *Ceres*, was always preceded by Fastings and Mortification. The *Athenians* were obliged to be fasting, when they sacrificed to *The Muses*, to shew, that of all Vices, Intemperance was most prejudicial, to that Understanding and Purity, for which they honoured the nine Daughters of *Apollo*.

That the *Greeks* had their religious Abstinences, *Aristotle* proves in his *Oeconomicks*, by the People

of *Lacedæmon*. They had resolved to send Succours to a Town belonging to their Allies, which was ready to surrender to the Enemy, for want of Provisions. But first, the Magistrates ordered a general Fast, not excepting even domestick Animals from the Observance of it. They thought by this means, to interest Heaven in their Enterprize, and merit the Protection of the Gods, in favour of the besieged City. We have elsewhere observed, that in some Festivals consecrated to *Ceres*, the Women fast the whole Day on the Ground, in mourning Habits, and ate nothing at all. It is well known, that in the Island of *Crete*, the Priests of *Jupiter* bound themselves by a kind of Vow, never to eat Flesh, or Fish, or any thing boiled, baked, or roasted.

The *Italians* also had their Fasts as well as the *Greeks*. *Ælian* observes, *Hist. B. 2.* That when the Inhabitants of *Tarentum* were closely pressed by the *Romans*, and reduced to the last Extremity, they had recourse to the *Rhegians* for Relief; and That the latter resolving to send them Succours, appointed a ten Days Fast to be kept, throughout all their Territory. And they experienced, says this Author, the Protection of Heaven, in the happy Success of their Enterprize. A new Convoy of Men and Provisions, was thrown into the besieged City, and the *Romans* were forced to raise the Siege. And the *Tarentines*, in Commemoration of their Deliverance, ordered a Fast Day to be ever after kept, in all their Dominions. According to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, the Inhabitants of *Alba*, fasted for a great while together, after the famous Combat of the *Horatii*, and *Curiatii*.

As for the *Romans*, they seem to have kept several Fasting-days in honour to *Jupiter*. At least *Horace* gives us Reason to believe so, in these Lines,

*Frigida si puerum quartana reliquerit, illo  
Manc die quo tu indicis jejunia, nudus  
In Tiberi stabit.* Sat. 3. B. 2.

The Poet puts these Words in the Mouth of a Mother, who was uneasy about the Recovery of her Son's Health. After she has prayed to *Jupiter*, she promises to purify the sick Person in the *Tyber*, in the Morning of the Fast-day consecrated to this God, in case he recovers. *Julius Caesar* was never thought an over-scrupulous Prince, in the little Observances of Paganism. But nevertheless, *Suetonius* affirms, that he always made it matter of Duty, to deny himself one Meal every Month. *Julian the Apostate*, set up for great Fastings. Not to mention the Fastings of the *Pythagoreans*, *Gymnosophists*,



should be kept every five Years. At the same time a Day of publick Prayers was appointed; and Sacrifices were ordered, for nine Days together. And lastly, the People were commanded to assist at these Ceremonies with Crowns on their Heads. After these religious <sup>40</sup> Regulations, *Nasica* set out for the Army. His *Legions* entered the Country of the *Boii*, who were still obstinate in their Rebellion, notwithstanding their Losses; and in short, the *Consul* gave them the finishing Stroke. They ventured to take the Field, and offer him Battel; and they were defeated, put to the Rout, and forced to submit to the superior Strength of the *Romans*. Indeed, one of the Historians who deserves little Credit, here <sup>41</sup> exaggerates, as usual, the Advantage the *Consul* gained. But be that as it will, it is certain, the Victory was complete. The Camp of the *Boii* was taken and plundered, and the whole Nation, submitted to the Dominion of *Rome*. *Nasica* determined the Fate of the Conquered, took part of their Estates from them, and forced them to suffer *Colonies* to come and share their Lands among them. A memorable Reduction, after the fighting of so many Battels, and the Loss of so much Blood!

§. XIV. As soon as *Nasica* had settled *Gaul* in Peace, he disbanded his Troops, and came to *Rome*. A Triumph was due to him; and he demanded one. The Senate assembled in the Temple of *Bellona*, to consider of his Request, and it met with Opposition. A *Tribune of the People*, named *Sempronius Blasus*, acknowledged indeed, that the *Consul* deserved a Triumph; but pretended, that it ought to be postponed, that the two Victors might triumph at the same time. *Thermus*, said he, *who has long made War in Liguria, with Success, has deserved the same Honour. He has very lately gained a signal Victory over the Ligures.* These People, obstinate in their Revolt, had entered into a new League, and forced their Subjects to take up Arms under the severest Penalties; and these Troops, which were privately raised, had come to besiege *Thermus's* Camp, in the Night. The prudent *Pro-Consul* had kept himself upon the defensive, till Day-break; and then had made a Sally at two Gates of his Camp. The *Ligures* had sustained his Attack, and kept the Victory doubtful, for two Hours; but at last, they had been put to flight, after the Loss of four thousand Men, and left him all the Glory of the Action. So that he was now continually expected to return and triumph. The *Tribune Blasus* therefore pretended, that the Triumph of the *Consul* ought to be deferred, in order to their triumphing together. But the Name of *Nasica* was revered in *Rome*, and had great weight in the Senate. He pleaded his own Cause, and gained it. *Blasus* in vain represented, That the Wars with the *Gauls* and *Ligures* were indeed but one and the same War; That those two Cantons mutually assisted each other; That it had belonged only to the *Consul*, to go into *Liguria* himself, or send Reinforcements thither to *Thermus*, to finish the Con-

*Josephists, Brachmans, Apollonius of Tyana, &c.* Their whole Lives were, according to the Ancients, one continued Abstinence.

These voluntary Mortifications, must doubtless have seemed very strange to Persons bred up in Paganism. Their Religion did not look beyond the Pleasures of Sense. It was in this, very agreeable to corrupt Nature, and Self-love. Besides, the scandalous Accounts they had of their Gods, were much stronger Authorities in favour of Pleasure, than the austere Maxims of some Philosophers were against it. It is not to be conceived, how a Pagan could hope to render himself acceptable to the Gods by such Acts, as openly condemned their Disorders. This Contradiction between their Sentiments, and Conduct, is a Mystery which affords ample Matter for Reflection.

<sup>40</sup> To these religious Acts, the *Romans* added another. There was yet no Temple erected for the Statue of *Cybele*, which had been brought from *Pessinus* to *Rome*, eleven Years ago, and placed on the Hill *Palatinus*. Nevertheless, *Marcus Livius*, and *Gaius Claudius*, the *Censors* at that time, had provided for the Expences of the Building, which had been left to some Undertakers to erect. The Temple was not finished, till this Year 562; and it was necessary to dedicate it, according to the Rites of Paganism. See *Vol. I.* The Honour of pro-

VOL. IV.

nouncing the Form of Consecration, was given to *Marcus Junius Brutus*. After this Ceremony, followed *The Scenic Games*; that is, several dramatical Performances. These *Games*, according to *Valerius of Antium*, as quoted by *Livy*, were at first called *Megalestia*, or *Ludi Megalenses*, from *Megale*, the Name of *The Mother of the Gods*, to whose Honour they were celebrated. Much about the same time, *Caius Licinius Lucullus*, consecrated a Temple newly built, to *Hebe*, the Goddess of Youth. This Temple was consecrated in discharge of the Vow, the *Consul, Marcus Livius*, had made sixteen Years ago, to erect a Temple to this Goddess. The Festival was celebrated with *Games*, and several religious Ceremonies. The *Romans*, says *Livy*, flattered themselves, that they should by these extraordinary Shews of Devotion, interest their Gods, to protect the Republick against the Enterprizes of *Antiochus*.

<sup>41</sup> *Valerius of Antium* reckons, that there were twenty eight thousand of the *Boii* killed on the Spot, and three thousand four hundred taken Prisoners. He also pretends, that the *Romans* took from the Enemy a hundred and twenty four Standards, twelve hundred and thirty Horses, and two hundred and thirty Chariots. Whilst *Cornelius*, according to him, lost but fourteen hundred and eighty four Men.

C c c

quest

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXII.P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO NASI-  
CA, M'ACILI-  
US GLABRIO,  
Consuls.  
*Val. Antias*  
*apud Liv.*



Year of quest of that Country; That *Nasica* had disbanded his Army, purely in order  
 R O M E return the sooner to *Rome*, and triumph; therefore, That he ought to be sent  
 DLXII. *Liguria*, to assist *Thermus* in finishing his Conquest; and lastly, That they both ought  
 P. CORNELIUS to be recalled together to triumph the same Day. *Nasica* answered him in the  
 SCIPIO NASI- Words. *Liguria was not my Province: What then have I to do with it? It neither  
 CA, M'ACILI- ther fell to me by Lot; nor have I conquered the Ligures. Would it then become  
 US GLABRIO, me to triumph jointly with another General, on account of having conquered them  
 Consuls. I have overcome the Gauls. Their Country is entirely subdued, and become Roman.  
 Liv. B. 36. This is the Effect of my Victory; and I desire to reap the Fruits of it, not so much  
 c. 40. on my own account, as that of my Troops. They are come hither to share my Glory  
 with me. Would it be any Encouragement to them to perform new Exploits, to  
 sent into *Liguria*, without the honourable Rewards due to their Valour? The Desire  
 of a Triumph is what has made them conquer. Will it not then discourage them  
 to frustrate their Expectations? Yes; they will be more affected with the Honour of  
 Triumph, than I shall be. As for myself, ever since the Decree that you passed  
 my Favour; ever since the time, that I was adjudged worthy to receive The Most  
 of the Gods, I have been very little desirous of Triumphs. I am satisfied with  
 Glory. The Title you gave me will be sufficient to be put under my Picture, without  
 those of Consul, and Triumphant Victor. By this Speech, so agreeable to *Nasica's*  
 Character, he charmed The Conscript Fathers. They observed in it, a Moderation  
 in the pursuit of Honours, a Zeal for the Interest of his Troops, a commendable  
 Preference of the Character of a good Man, to the Titles that Valour gives; and  
 in short, an Assemblage of all the Virtues that Reason can inspire. Could they  
 then refuse him a Triumph, which he had likewise on other Accounts, deserved?  
 The Tribune dropped his Opposition; and the Senate decreed P. Cornelius *Scipio*  
*Nasica* a Triumph, for having subjected the *Boii* to the Republick. His Procession  
 was set off with all sorts of Spoils. There were seen, Chariots made after the  
 Gallic Fashion, Standards, Vases of Brass made in a very different manner from  
 those formerly used by the *Gauls*, fourteen hundred and seventy Collars of Gold,  
 twelve hundred and twenty Horses taken from the Enemy, two thousand three  
 hundred and forty Pounds weight of Silver in <sup>a</sup> Bars, two hundred thirty three  
 thousand pieces of Silver Money, two hundred and forty five Pounds weight of  
 Gold <sup>b</sup>, and lastly, a great Number of Captives, several of which were of the chief  
 Nobility of the Country. The triumphant Victor distributed to each of his Soldiers  
 a hundred and twenty five <sup>c</sup> *Asses* of Brass, to every *Centurion* twice as much,  
 and to every Horseman in his Army, three times that Sum. And it may be  
 affirmed, that in the Person of *Nasica*, *Rome* did honour, both to Probity, and Valour.*

§. XV. A few Days before the Triumph of *Nasica*, *Rome* had seen another Pro-  
 cession, but of an inferior Kind. The Senate had granted an *Ovation*, to the  
 Pro-Prætor *Fulvius Nobilior*, for having conquered the <sup>42</sup> *Vedtones*, and <sup>43</sup> *Oretani*,  
 in *Spain*. The Spoils he had brought from the Place of his Victory were  
 considerable. There was among them, a hundred and thirty thousand pieces of  
 Silver Money, ten thousand Pounds weight of Silver <sup>d</sup> in Bars, and a hundred and  
 twenty five Pounds weight of Gold <sup>e</sup> in Ingots. These Riches, which *Rome* gathered  
 together from all the Places whither she carried her Arms, put her into a Condition  
 to make War with the most powerful Monarchs of the East. *Acilius* also had  
 well deserved to triumph, in his turn. By the great Overthrow he had given  
 King *Antiochus*, he had merited the greatest Honours; but he still continued  
 in *Greece*. His Triumph was therefore postponed till his Return. The Pomp of  
 his Procession with which he was then honoured, was greater than that of his  
 Collegue *Nasica*. In it were carried many valuable Spoils of *Greece* and *Asia*,  
 a great Number of Silver Vases, carved after the *Greek* Fashion, all the Silver  
 Plate of the King of *Syria*, and all his Moveables, which were the finest *Asia* could  
 afford. There were carried two hundred and thirty Standards, three thousand Pounds  
 weight of Silver in Bars, a hundred and thirteen thousand Attick <sup>f</sup> *Tetradrachms*,  
 and two hundred and forty eight thousand <sup>g</sup> *Cistophori* <sup>44</sup>, pieces of *Asian*  
 Money.

P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO NASI-  
CA, M'ACILI-  
US GLABRIO,  
Consuls.  
Liv. B. 36.  
c. 40.

Liv. ibid.

Tabulæ Tri-  
umphales.  
Liv. B. 36.  
c. 40.

<sup>a</sup> Worth  
7120 l. Sterl.  
at 5 s. per  
Ounce.  
<sup>b</sup> Worth  
11760 l. Sterl.  
at 4 l. per  
Ounce.  
<sup>c</sup> 8 s. 6 d.  
3 q. 1/2. Dr-  
bathmet.

Liv. B. 36.  
c. 39.  
Auth. of the  
Lives of Illust.  
Men.  
<sup>d</sup> 30000 l.  
Sterling.  
<sup>e</sup> 6000 l. Sterl.

Liv. B. 37.  
c. 46.

<sup>f</sup> 14505 l. 16 s.  
8 d. 1/2 bath-  
met.  
<sup>g</sup> 4700 l. 2 s.  
2 l. 1/2 Dr-  
bathmet.

<sup>42</sup> We have already spoken of the *Vedtones* and *Oretani*. The former inhabited part of the Kingdom of *Leon*, and of the Province of *Tralos Montes*.

<sup>43</sup> The *Oretani* possessed that Canton of New

*Castille*, called *La Mancha*, and the neighbour Country.

<sup>44</sup> The very Name of a *Tetradrachma*, sufficiently shews, that this ancient piece of Greek Money



Money. *Acilius* also brought Home with him forty five Crowns of Gold, which were Presents made him by the Cities of the *Roman* Confederacy. And lastly, There walked before his Chariot thirty six *Ætolian* <sup>45</sup> Lords, taken Prisoners in the War. As for the perfidious *Damocritus*, *Acilius* had not the Pleasure of seeing him Honour his Triumph. He had killed himself, to avoid the Shame of contributing to the Glory of the triumphant Victor. In short, there wanted nothing in the Solemnity of the Day, but an Army to follow the Victor's Chariot. That which had conquered, under *Acilius*, was left in *Greece*. In order to transmit the Memory of his famous Victory to Posterity, the Son of the *Consul Acilius*, caused a Statue of gilt Brass to be erected to his Father's Honour, in the Temple of *Piety*; which is said to have been the first Equestrian Statue, that was gilt at *Rome*. So many Victories, followed by so many Triumphs, make us look on the Year 562, as one of those which brought most Honour to the Republick. And here we may place an Event, which would be below the Dignity of History, were it not for its Singularity.

Year of  
*ROME*  
DLXII.  
P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO NASI-  
CA, M' ACILI-  
US GLABRIO,  
Consuls.

*Val. Max. B. 2.*  
c. 5. §. 1.

*Plin. P.*  
c. 6

A *Roman*, named *Furius Cressi*, had perfected his Talent for Agriculture, during a tedious Slavery, to which he had long been reduced, in Captivity; and when ransomed and returned to *Rome*, he applied himself wholly to the Cultivation of his little Patrimony. None of the neighbouring Lands were so fruitful as his; and the plentiful Harvest he always had, raised the Jealousy of his Neighbours. Their Rage went so far, that they accused him of Magick, before *Spurius Albinus*, then *Curule Ædile*. His Accusation was, That he, by magical Words, drew the Fruitfulness of the neighbouring Fields from them to his own. *Furius* appeared on the Day appointed; and did nothing to justify himself, but produce the Instruments of Husbandry which he had used. He shewed the *Ædile*, that his Spades were longer than ordinary, his Harrows heavier, his Coulters and Plough shares better ground, and his Oxen fatter and better fed. And lastly, he produced before the Judge, one of his Daughters, who was active, well-fed, dressed like a Peasant, and appeared by her Air to be an excellent Manager. *These*, said he to the Judge, *are the only Enchantments I make use of, to make my Fields fruitful. O that I could likewise shew you my Watchings, Fatigues, and Sweats!* *Rome* applauded the industrious *Furius*, and acquitted him. And the *Romans*, who were then for the most part Husbandmen, were thereby taught, that Labour, and the Master's Eye, contribute more towards the Fruitfulness of the Earth, than Magick itself.

§. XVI. THE *Gauls* were now subdued, and the *Ligures* had just been reduced. Though *Thermus* had not triumphed; and *Rome* had, for Reasons to us unknown, refused him an Honour, which he seems to have deserved, and desired; he had

weighed, and was worth, as much as four *Attick Drachmæ*. Now we have already fixed the worth of each *Drachma*, at ten *Sols*. The *Tetradrachma* must therefore be worth forty; and consequently, the hundred and thirteen thousand which *Acilius* brought from *Asia*, must amount to two hundred and twenty six thousand *Livres*.

The *Cistophorus* was a piece of Silver Money current in *Asia*. *Cicero* speaks of it, in his Epistles to *Atticus*. It was so called, because it was stamped on one side with one of those Coffers, or mysterious Chests, which the Pagans used to carry in State, during the Celebration of *The Orgie of Bacchus*, and some Festivals consecrated to *Cybele, Isis, and Ceres*. If, as *Festus* says, seven thousand five hundred *Cistophori* were equal in Weight and Value to one *Ætolian Talent*, or four thousand *Roman Denarii*, it is plain, the Proportion the *Cistophorus* bore to the *Denarius*, was as 15 to 8, or 7½ to 4. And consequently four *Roman Denarii* were worth seven *Cistophori* and a half. Now at the Rate of ten *Sols* for each *Roman Denarius*, four will be worth forty *Sols*; and forty *Sols* will be worth seven *Cistophori* and a half. And consequently, one *Cistophorus*, will be worth near five *Sols*, and a *Libra*. So that two hundred forty eight thousand *Cistophori*, amount to the Sum of sixty five thousand *Livres*, or thereabouts. And here we shall ob-

serve by the by, that the Passage taken from *Festus* cannot be right, as to his Reduction of *The Ætolian Talent* to four thousand *Denarii*. *Herodotus*, who was better acquainted with the *Greek Money*, makes *The Ætolian Talent*, and *The Attick Talent*, of the same Value; and consequently, *The Ætolian Talent* must, at that Rate, be equal to six thousand *Attick Drachmæ*, or six thousand *Roman Denarii*; according to what we have already observed in this History. So that it is probable, an Error may have slipped into the Text of *Festus*; and the Copyists may have transposed the Numerals, and put IV. M. for VI. M. In this case, seven thousand five hundred *Cistophori*, will be equal to the Sum of six thousand *Roman Denarii*, or six thousand *Attick Drachmæ*. And upon this Supposition, the *Cistophorus* must have been to the *Roman Denarius*, as sixty to seventy five, or as four to five. And consequently the *Cistophorus* was worth eight *French Sols*.

<sup>45</sup> *Livy* had before told us, That *Damocritus*, and forty three other *Ætolian* Lords had been already conducted to *Rome* by two Companies of *Legionaries*; and that the Senate had ordered they should be confined in Prison, till the Victors should return and triumph. Whereas, the Historian here mentions but thirty six. Probably seven of them had died in Prison.



Year of finished the War with the *Ligures*, by the Reduction of their whole Country : So  
 R O M E that *Italy* was now in Peace. The *Romans* had no Enemies left, except in *Spain*,  
 DLXII. where their Dominion was not sufficiently settled ; and in the *Levant*, where  
 P. CORNELIUS *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* were not yet effectually humbled. Indeed, the Vic-  
 SCIPIO NASI- tory of *Thermopylae* had disconcerted the *Greeks* and *Syrians*. But after all, this  
 CA. M. ACILI- was only a Prelude to that low State, to which *Rome* proposed to reduce *Greece*  
 US GLABRIO, and *Syria*. It therefore seemed to be of Importance to choose such *Consuls*, as by  
 Consuls. their Valour and Experience might be able to keep the Conquests of *Flamininus* ;  
 and equal the late Exploits of *Acilius*, in the East. During the Absence of the latter,  
 his Collegue *Nasica* presided in the *Comitia by Centuries* ; and it was natural for  
 him to have Regard to the Inclinations of *Scipio Africanus*, his Relation,  
 and to the Interest of his Family. So that, under his Influence, and dur-  
 ing his Presidentship, the Suffrages fell on *L. Cornelius Scipio*, the Brother of  
 the Conqueror ; and on *C. Lælius*, that faithful Friend, and inseparable Compa-  
 nion of the Great *Scipio*. The former was a *Patrician* ; the latter of a *Plebeian*  
 Family, which he had raised out of Obscurity. They were both worthy of the  
*Consulate*. *L. Cornelius* had learnt the Art of War under his Brother ; *C. Lælius*  
 had been privy to all the Designs of *Scipio Africanus*, and had likewise often put  
 them in execution. The Superiority of the Master, was a good Assurance of the  
 Ability of the two Scholars. Nevertheless, it must be owned, that *C. Lælius* had  
 a better Genius for War, and a finer Understanding than his Collegue.

As soon as they were entered upon their Office, their first Business was to give  
 Audience to the *Ætolian* Ambassadors ; who pressed *The Conscrip Fathers* to be  
 dismissed. The Truce which had been granted them, was almost ready to expire ;  
 and they had Reason to fear, that as soon as it was at an end, *Acilius* would on a  
 sudden appear again before *Naupactus*. When these Deputies were introduced into  
 the Senate, they endeavoured to raise the Compassion of *The Fathers* ; gave them  
 a long Account of the Services they had done the Republick, during their Alliance  
 with her ; and would have had them thought a sufficient Recompence for the In-  
 juries they had done her since their Revolt. But the Senators were not to be so  
 easily imposed on. It was then customary for any of them to ask foreign Amba-  
 sadors what Questions they pleased ; and these were tired out with the many Que-  
 stions that were put to them. The Senate perceived, that instead of answering  
 them, they had recourse to Supplications ; but observed, that they were not posi-  
 tive and explicit enough in the Assurances they gave of their Submission for the fu-  
 ture. They were therefore ordered to withdraw ; and then warm Debates arose among  
*The Conscrip Fathers*. Some were for granting them a Peace ; others for refusing  
 it. Some Days were spent in these Disputes ; and as *The Fathers* received no posi-  
 tive Answer, they continued in suspense between Peace and War. Nevertheless,  
*Rome* gave the Ambassadors their choice of these two things : Either to submit im-  
 plicitly to the Will of the Senate ; or to pay the Republick a thousand *Talents*,  
 and promise to declare themselves Enemies to all the Enemies of *Rome*. But the  
*Ætolians* would not consent to either. So that the Project of a Peace was de-  
 stroyed ; and the Senate ordered the Ambassadors to leave *Rome* that very Day ; and  
*Italy*, in a Fortnight.

§. XVII. No sooner had the Senate dispatched the Affair of the *Ætolians*, but  
 another came before them, which must embarrass them. The Business was to settle  
 the Provinces of the two *Consuls*. For some time past, this had been generally  
 done by Lot. But *Lælius*, more like a Man of Ambition, than a real Friend, endea-  
 voured to persuade his Collegue to refer it to the Determination of *The Conscrip*  
*Fathers*. He ardently desired to be chosen to carry on the War in *Asia* ; and  
 though a *Plebeian*, had many Friends in the Senate. The Prejudices entertained  
 of his Capacity for War, seemed to incline *The Fathers* more to favour him,  
 than his Collegue. And though *Cornelius* was also ambitious of making War in  
 the *Levant*, and had more Reason to hope for Success by Lot, than by the Senate,  
 he durst not openly refuse *Lælius's* Proposal. He desired time to consider of it ;  
 and consulted his Brother *Scipio*, what to do. It is easy to judge, how much the  
 illustrious *African* was divided between his Love for his Friend, and that for his  
 Relation. But nevertheless, he did not hesitate one Moment. The Great *Scipio*  
 advised his Brother, to refer the Affair to the Arbitration of the Senate ; and took  
 a Relio-



a Resolution, which was sufficient to determine *The Conscript Fathers*, in his Favour. The Senate assembled, and were unwilling to determine an Affair, which was generally left to be settled by Lot. And whilst they were making Excuses, the Conqueror of *Carthage*, to their great Surprize, offered to serve under his Brother, in quality of Lieutenant-General. This was no new thing. In the Infancy of the Republick, *Poplicola* had served as a Subaltern under his Brother *Valerius*, had assisted him with his Counsels, and had been the Cause of his gaining the first Victory, which had recovered the Honour of *Rome*, after she had changed her Government. And now *The Conscript Fathers* placed an entire Confidence in *L. Cornelius*, when guided by the Councils of the greatest General in *Rome*; and assigned *Asia* to the two *Scipio's*, as their common Province. By this means *Laelius* was forced to continue in *Italy*, without any Office, but that of watching the Motions of the *Gauls*, and *Ligures*, lately pacified. Thus the brave *Africanus*, shewed more Regard to the Honour of his House, than Tenderness for his Friend. What a Blemish would it have been to his Brother, if he had not been deemed worthy to go and engage with *Antiochus*! Besides, *Laelius* had been a little wanting to his Friend's Brother. He had exposed *Cornelius* to a very great Affront. As for the *Romans*, their Joy at seeing *Hannibal* and *Scipio* enter the Lists again, is not to be expressed. They were now both Subalterns, one under a Consul, the other under a King; and this new Disposition raised the Attention of all Nations.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIII.  
L. CORNELI-  
US SCIPIO, C.  
LÆLIUS, Con-  
suls.

THE Consul designed for *Asia* now thought of nothing but his Departure. *Emilius Regillus* was nominated to command the *Roman* Fleet under him, in quality of *Prætor*. The Army *Cornelius* was to command, was that which *Acilius* had commanded the last Year, and which had been victorious in the East. Only about three thousand *Romans* were added to it, to complete the *Legions*, and five thousand Allies to recruit the Auxiliaries. So that the new General was to find in the *Levant* but two *Legions*, in which the whole Strength of his Army was to consist; and these were few Troops to oppose the formidable Levies *Antiochus* was making in all Parts of his Dominions. At least *Cornelius* accepted of the Services of five thousand Volunteers, who offered to go over with him. As soon as it was known in *Italy*, that the Great *Scipio* would have the chief Management of the Expedition, a good Number of those Veterans, who had served under him in *Spain*, and *Africa*, voluntarily offered to attend their ever-victorious General. So that the Reinforcement which *Cornelius* embarked for the East, was, Horsemen included, thirteen thousand six hundred Men <sup>46</sup>.

§.XVIII. WHEN the Consul had prepared every thing for embarking, and performed the usual Acts of Religion <sup>47</sup>; before his Departure, Ambassadors arrived at

<sup>46</sup> Then the Senate provided for the Safety of the other Provinces. They assigned the Consul *Lælius* two *Roman* *Legions*, fifteen thousand Foot, and six hundred *Latin* Horse. The Army *Quintus Minucius* commanded the last Year in *Liguria*, was given to the *Pro-Consul*, *Publius Cornelius*, who had Orders to march into the Country of the *Boii*, who were always ready to revolt. As for the *Ligures*, *Minucius* had sent an Account by Letter, that they had voluntarily submitted to the *Roman* Dominion. So that their Submission saved the Republick the Trouble of keeping new Troops in this Country. *Marcus Tuccius* had two *Legions*, fifteen thousand *Latins*, and six hundred Horse, to lead into *Apulia*, and that Neighbourhood. *Aulus Cornelius* who commanded there the last Year, was ordered to carry his Troops to *Ætolia*, and put them into the Hands of *Manius Acilius*. But if the latter returned to *Rome*, *Aulus* was ordered to take his Place, and watch the Steps of the *Ætolians*. *Gaius Atinius Labeo*, to whose Lot *Sicily* had fallen, with the Army of *Marcus Æmilius* his Predecessor, obtained Leave of the Senate to recruit his Troops with a hundred *Sicilian* Horse, and two thousand *Sicilian* Foot. *P. Junius Brutus*, who was

ordered for *Tuscany*, had the Command of one *Legion*, ten thousand *Latins*, and four hundred Horse. *Lucius Æmilius* was appointed Admiral of the Fleet, which was to go into *Asia*. It consisted of the twenty Gallies, *Marcus Junius* commanded the last Year, and of all the other Ships, which *Marcus Livius* had had under his Command. The same General had Leave to recruit his Marines, with a thousand Rowers, and two thousand Foot. The two *Spains*, and *Sardinia*, were again committed to the Care of the same Governors. And lastly, in order to subsist all these numerous Armies, the Republick continued to demand of the *Sicilians* and *Sardinians*, the fifth part of their Crops of Corn. Some of the Corn they furnished, was transported to *Ætolia*, and the rest kept to supply *Rome*.

<sup>47</sup> The Consuls, before their Departure, had presided at *The Ferie Latina*, according to ancient Custom. But it happened, that the *Laurentini* had no Share of the Flesh of the Victims; and this was thought an essential Defect. So that it was necessary to begin the Ceremony again, in order to settle the Minds of the People, who drew strange Inferences, from such Irregularities. The *Romans*, terrified



Year of at *Rome*, from King *Ptolomy*, and Queen *Cleopatra*. Their Business was to congratulate the Republick on the Deliverance of *Greece*, and the Flight of *Antiochus* into *Asia*; and to offer the *Romans* the Assistance of the King and Queen of *Egypt*, against the *Syrian*. A strange Offer! The Son-in-law and the Daughter of *Antiochus*, had deserted him, to continue faithful to the *Romans*. The one detested the Ambition of his Father-in-law, the other the barbarous Cruelty of her own Father. The *Egyptian* Ambassadors were very graciously received; Presents were made them; and Thanks returned to the King and Queen for their Offers, which were not accepted.

R O M E  
DLXIII.  
L. CORNELI-  
US SCIPIO, C.  
LÆLIUS, Con-  
suls.

*BRUNDISIUM* was the general *Rendezvous* of the Troops the *Scipio's* were to transport to the *East*; and at length, they set out from *Rome*, and the *Consul* left the *Toga* for the *Paludamentum*. At their Departure, whilst the People were entertained with the Show of *The Apollinarian Games*, five <sup>48</sup> Days before the *Ides of July*, it was very dark, and cloudy. There was a visible Eclipse of the Sun; which the Historian who mentions it says was occasioned by the Interposition of the Moon between the Disc of the Sun, and the Earth. The *Romans* therefore were not ignorant of the true Causes of Eclipses; but understood them much better than several other Nations. However, this *Phænomenon* did not alter the *Consul's* Resolution. He set sail <sup>49</sup> with his Brother *Publius*, who carried with him a Son who was yet but young. *Scipio Africanus* was not then above forty five, at most. The *Prætor Æmilius*, who was to take the Command of the Fleet in the *Levant*, from *Livius*, did the Office of Admiral, in their Passage. In the mean time, *Rome* took Care to increase the Number of her Ships. Upon the News that *Antiochus* was assembling a formidable Fleet from all the Ports of *Asia*, the Republick gave a Commission to the *Prætor Aurunculeius*, who continued in *Italy*, to build and launch thirty *Quinqueremes*, and twenty *Triremes*. But after all, these Preparations fell short of those of the *Syrian*, both by Sea and Land. *Antiochus* placed his Hopes in the Multitude of his Soldiers, and the Number of his Gallies. Whereas the *Romans* placed their Confidence only in Valour and Conduct.

AND whilst the People at *Rome* were in daily Expectation of hearing of the Success of their Arms in the East, the *Ætolians* received the News, that their Ambassadors had been driven out of *Italy*, and that there were no Hopes left of Peace. They therefore thought it necessary to guard *Naupactus* against a new Siege. They were afraid that *Acilius*, who continued in *Greece* till his Successor arrived, would again sit down before the Place, and carry it. They therefore seized the Passes of Mount <sup>50</sup> *Corax*, in full Assurance that the *Roman* General would not venture thro' them a second time. But tho' the Precaution was a wise one, it did not put a Stop to the *Consul's* Activity. It only turned him to another Place of as great Importance as *Naupactus*. *Lamia* had been very hard pressed, the last Year, by the King of *Macedon*, and did not expect to be so soon assaulted by the *Romans*. But *Acilius* turned all his Forces against it. At break of Day he appeared before it, on a sudden, and ordered the Walls to be scaled in every Part. This Surprise gave the Inhabitants a great Alarm. Nevertheless, they made a more vigorous Resistance than had been expected. Men and Women all joined in Defence of their Country; and *Acilius*, despairing of taking the City in this first Assault, sounded a Retreat. The *Romans* returned to their Tents; but the General told them that he would make a more vigorous Assault the next Day. *Don't expect*, said he to his Troops, *ever to return to the Camp, till the City is taken*. And indeed, the Ardour of the Assailants was so great at the second At-

terrified at the Report of some Prodigies, crowded to the Temples to appease the Anger of the Gods. By the Advice of the *Décemviri*; a great Number of new-born Animals were taken from the Breast, and sacrificed by way of Expiation. Twenty young Children of both Sexes, whose Innocence made them acceptable to the Gods, and whose Fathers and Mothers were living, were admitted to partake of the Sacrifices. It may have been observed in the Course of this History, that this Circumstance of their Parents being alive, was thought necessary by the *Romans*, to prevent the melancholy Thoughts

that might arise in their Minds, at the Sight of an Orphan.

<sup>48</sup> The Fifth of the *Ides of July*, answered to our eleventh Day of July.

<sup>49</sup> According to *Livy*, *Scipio Africanus*, before his Departure, built a Portico on the Hill *Capitolinus*, over against the Road which led up to the Temple of *Jupiter*; and adorned this new Building with seven fine gilt Statues, two Horses finely carved, and two great marble Cisterns.

<sup>50</sup> Mount *Corax* is in *Ætolia*. We have spoken of it already.

sauf,



fault, that it sunk the Courage of the Besieged. They were tired out with the Fatigues of the preceding Day; and in a few Hours the Place was taken. Then *Lamia*<sup>51</sup> was delivered up to be plundered; but the Soldiers had only one Part of the Booty. *Acilius* sold the rest for the Benefit of the Republick.

§. XIX. AFTER this speedy Conquest, which was so little disputed, it was considered, whether it was adviseable to renew the Siege of *Naupactus*; and in the Council of War, not one was for making so hazardous an Attempt. An unpassable Mountain covered the Place, and the Passes were guarded by an Army of *Ætolians*. Nevertheless, the General, to make the best Use of the little time he had left, led the Troops before<sup>52</sup> *Amphissa*, a City of *Phocis*, which adhered to the *Ætolian* Party. But *Acilius* did not attempt to take it at once, by an Assault. He besieged it in form; and made large Breaches with his *Rams*. Nevertheless, as the Besieged defended themselves more by fighting, and Sallies, than by the Artifices then in use, to guard against Machines; the Siege was long. And whilst *Acilius* was obstinately pursuing it, he received the News that his Successor was landed at *Apollonia*, and marching thro' *Epirus*, and *Thessaly*. The new *Consul* passed thro' this last District, and visited all the Coasts of it, quite to *The Maliac Gulph*. From thence, he sent to summon<sup>53</sup> *Hypata* to surrender to the *Romans*; and upon receiving for Answer, from the Inhabitants, That they were not their own Masters, and That it belonged to the *Ætolian* Diet to dispose of them as they pleased; *Cornelius* turned towards *Amphissa*. *Scipio Africanus* arrived there before his Brother, and found the Siege very far advanced. The Town was taken; and the *Ætolian* Garrison, mixed with the Burghers, were making their last Efforts in the Citadel. And at length the *Consul* appeared, and encamped eight Miles from the City. Thither came Deputies from *Athens*, who being always Friends to the *Romans*, were in haste to pay their Respects to *Scipio Africanus*. The chief Business of the *Athenians* was to beg Favour for the *Ætolians*; which the Great *Scipio* granted with much Pleasure. His Design was to go immediately to *Asia*, as soon as he had pacified *Greece*; and to stick close to *Antiochus* alone, that he might once more enter the Lists with *Hannibal*. The Reception *Scipio* gave the *Athenians*, raised the Expectations of the *Ætolians*; and the *Athenian* Deputies advised them, to assemble the Heads of their Nation at *Hypata*, and make the best Use of this favourable Conjunction. But after all, the Arrival of the famous *Africanus* in *Greece*, only encouraged the *Ætolians* for a little time. They knew, That Clemency was his favourite Virtue; That many *Spanish* and *African* Nations had submitted implicitly to his Honour; and That none of them had ever repented of putting their Interests in his Hands; and therefore sent frequent Deputations to him. Their Envoys always brought back word, That he had spoken favourably to them; and the Persons most concerned thought the Peace certain. But it unfortunately happened, that *Scipio Africanus* was only a Subaltern under his Brother. And perhaps the younger Brother conceived some Sort of Jealousy, from the Deference that was paid the elder. The Hearts of the *Roman* Heroes were not exempt from human Frailties. But whatever the Motive was, the *Consul* was not so tractable as his Lieutenant-General. *Cornelius* gave the Deputies no Answer, but what the Senate had before given. He again insisted, That the *Ætolians* should either pay a thousand *Talents*, or submit implicitly to the Discretion of the *Romans*. And this seemed an hard Choice, to the Assembly at *Hypata*. Where could they find a thousand \* *Talents*, in a Country ruined by long Wars? And to submit implicitly to the *Romans*, was to hazard the Lives of the Lords of the Country, of whom the Council then consisted. So that the Impossibility on one hand, and Fear on the other, made them send another Deputation to the two Brothers jointly. These proposed, That they should either lessen the Sum demanded; or promise, That if the *Ætolians* gave up their Estates and Liberties, all in general should have their Lives saved. But the obstinate

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIII.  
L. CORNELI-  
US SCIPIO, C.  
LÆLIUS, Con-  
suls.

*Polyb. in Legat.*  
c. 17.

*App. in Syriac.*  
N. 100.

\* 193750 l.  
Sterling. *Ar-  
burhus.*

<sup>51</sup> See what we have already said in this Volume, of the City of *Lamia*, now *Lamina*, in *Thessaly*.

<sup>52</sup> *Amphissa* then bordered upon *Locri* and *Phocis*, but it belonged to *Ætolia*. It was so called, according to *Pausanias*, because it was surrounded with Mountains on all Sides. Some modern Geo-

graphers pretend it still retains the same Name. But *Le Noir* calls it *Lambina*.

<sup>53</sup> *Hypata* was formerly, according to *Apuleius*, one of the most considerable Cities in *Thessaly*. It stood at the Foot of Mount *Oeta*, near *The Maliac Gulph*.



Year of *Consul* was positive, that he would not abate any thing, or promise any thing.  
*R O M E* What Despair then must this produce in unfortunate Men, threatened by a *Con-*  
*DLXIII.* *sular* Army so near at hand! *Echedemus*, the Chief of the *Athenian* Embassy, was  
 L. CORNELI- affected with their Lamentations; and the Advice he gave them, rescued them out of  
 US SCIPIO, C. their extreme Danger, at least for a Time. He emboldened them to demand a  
 LÆLIUS, CON- Six-months Truce, to send to *Rome*, and once more try a Negotiation with the  
 suls. Senate. This was gaining Time at least; and Time often softens the most despe-  
*Livy, B. 37.* rate Misfortunes.  
 c. 7.

By the Mediation of *Scipio Africanus*, and at the earnest Request of *Echedemus*, the *Ætolians* at length obtained the Truce they desired; they sent to *Rome* the same Ambassadors that had been driven from thence; and *Scipio* assisted them with his Advice, and Interest. By the Truce, the Siege of *Amphissa* was raised; and then *Acilius* immediately resigned up the Command of the Army to the new *Con-*  
*ful.* The Republick had left it to *Acilius's* Choice, either to return to *Rome*, or continue in *Greece*, and command the thirteen thousand Men *Cornelius* had brought with him; and *Acilius* chose rather to triumph, than continue under the Com-  
 mand of the two *Scipio's*, in a Country where he had gained so much Glory. We have already described his Triumph before-hand, that we might not break the Thread of our History.





# T H E

# Roman History.

## B O O K XLI.

§. I. **G**REECE and *Ætolia* being settled in Peace, the Romans were now at full Liberty to employ their Army elsewhere. *Asia* was the Point the *Scipio's* had most at Heart, and *Antiochus* the chief Object of their Ambition. And now, the two Brothers had nothing more to do than to find out the Means of penetrating into *Asia*, and to determine the Rout which it was most proper for the Army to take, in order to go and engage *Antiochus*. To transport it by Sea was dangerous. Besides, the *Syrian* Fleet appeared formidable on their own Coasts. The Consul therefore was of Opinion, that it would be best to march it by Land to *The Hellespont*, and consequently to cross *Macedon*, and *Thrace*. But this Design, tho' wise in itself, required Prudence in the Execution of it. The Great *Scipio* suggested, that before they made the Attempt, it was of Importance to know the real Dispositions of *Philip*, with respect to the Romans. To what Dangers, said the Lieutenant-General to his Brother, shall we expose ourselves in so long a March, if the King of *Macedon* should think fit to oppose us? Nothing will be more easy for him, than to cause such numerous Forces to perish by Famine, or to weaken them by Ambuscades. Prudence therefore requires, that we should sound the Heart of *Philip*, before we absolutely depend on his Fidelity. Let us send a Man to him suddenly, who shall surprize him, and inform himself upon the Place of what Steps he has taken. The Expedient was approved of; the Roman Army halted some time in *Thessaly*, before they entered *Macedon*; and a Man of a good Understanding set out for *Philip's* Court. The King was then at *Pella*; and in three Days, the young Roman, making great haste, arrived there. He surprized *Philip* at a great Entertainment, and exhilarated with Wine: And this first Accident took off many Suspicions. Men never give themselves up to Pleasure, said the Roman to himself, when they are contriving the blackest Treasons. And the Reception the King gave him, the kind and hospitable Entertainment he received, confirmed him in that Sentiment. The next Day he observed every thing. He saw with his own Eyes the great Quantities of Provisions *Philip* had laid up for the Subsistence of the Roman Army, the Bridges he had prepared to facilitate their passing Rivers; and lastly, the Road he had levelled. This News was exceedingly agreeable to the *Scipio's*; and they continued their March, and entered *Macedon*. The King came in Person to receive them on his Frontiers, with a Train worthy of Regal Majesty. Nor was this all. He accompanied them in their March; and was wanting in no kind of Respect to the Roman Generals. By his obliging Behaviour, agreeable Conversation, the great Entertainment he gave them, and the delicious Refreshments he procured for them at proper Seasons, he much lessened the Fatigue of the Journey. *Scipio Africanus* was affected with these Civilities. It is said that he was no Enemy to good Cheer, when not carried to Excess. By these Means the artful King made his Court to these Republicans, who were more powerful and formidable than Monarchs. He did not leave the *Scipio's*, even in *Thrace*; but conducted them as far as *The Hellespont*. And there he received the Reward of his Fidelity. The Roman Generals, in the Name of their Republick, forgave him all the Sums that yet remained to be annually paid by him, according to the Conventions made with *Flamininus*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIII.  
L. CORNELI-  
US SCIPIO, C.  
LÆLIUS, Con-  
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WHILST the *Romans* were seeking for a Passage into *Asia*, *Antiochus* was wholly employed in preparing to oppose the Progress of the Enemy which was coming to fall upon him. And above all, he took great Care to repair his Fleet. It had been damaged in the Battel of *Corcyra*. The *Roman* Ships had had the Advantage there, tho' the Squadron they expected from the *Rhodians* had not joined them. And the *Roman* Admiral would now be more formidable than ever, when his Fleet should be entire, and *Rhodes* should have furnished him with her Ships in time. From *Phrygia* therefore, where *Antiochus* spent the Winter, he dispatched away *Hannibal*, in all haste, for *Phœnicia*. The *Carthaginian* was there to make the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians* fit out all their Ships. Whilst, on the other hand, *Polyxenidas* was repairing the King's Fleet with the more Expedition, because he was reproached with having been the Cause of its former Defeat. In the mean time, *Antiochus* solicited all the Countries in *Asia* to send him Land Forces: and among the many Nations whose Alliance he courted, he chiefly fixed his Eyes on a considerable Colony of *Gauls*, who had been settled in *Asia* a Century. They were, from that time, called *Gallo-Greeks*, or *Galatians*. The Country they had invaded bordered upon *Phrygia Major*, *Pisidia*, *Lycaonia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Paphlagonia*. It is pretty certain, that these *Galatians* came originally from <sup>1</sup> *Transalpine Gaul*. They were, for the most part, a Swarm of the People who lived on the *Garonne*, round about *Tholouse*. Nevertheless, it is not certain that they went directly from *Gaul* to *Macedon*. Perhaps they were some of those *Gauls* who had followed *Bellovesus*, in the first Transmigration into *Italy*, and had settled on the Coasts of *The Adriatick*. Or perhaps they might be some of the Companions of *Segovesus*, who dwelt in *Germany*, and in Process of time advanced forwards along the *Danube*. But be that as it will, these *Gauls*, after they had ravaged *Greece*, and plundered the Temple of *Delphi*, had chosen to fix their Settlement in <sup>2</sup> *Asia*. They had penetrated into the Heart of *Asia Minor*; and no doubt had observed the same political Rules in the Establishment of their Colonies, as the *Italian Gauls* had done, when they settled in *Italy*. Every Nation had divided the Cantons they conquered among themselves; and when they fixed there, retained the Name they brought from their native Country. The *Cænomani* of *Transalpine Gaul*, for instance, were called *Cænomani* in *Cisalpine Gaul*. And this was the Case of the *Gauls* who went into *Asia*. Some of them were still called <sup>3</sup> *Tectosagi*, others *Tolistoboji*, and lastly, others *Trocmi*; Names which, without doubt, they had in the Countries from whence they originally came. And these Nations, after they were transplanted into *The Levant*, continued divided in different <sup>4</sup> Provinces, without mixing with one another. Such were the *Galatians* whom *Antiochus* endeavoured to draw into his Measures. The *Syrian* had Rea-

Strabo, Pau-  
sanias, Justin,  
Appian.

<sup>1</sup> See what we have said of the Transmigration of the several Swarms of People from *Gaul*, into several Countries in *Europe* and *Asia*, Vol. 2. The *Greeks* always called the Natives of *Gaul*, *Galatæ*, or *Galatians*.

<sup>2</sup> *Pausanias* fixes the Irruption of the *Gauls* into *Asia*, to the third Year of the 125th Olympiad. *Antiochus Soter* then reigned in *Syria*; and *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, in *Egypt*. So that this Epochæ nearly coincides with the Year of *Rome* 475. According to *Polybius*, a Part of these *Gauls*, commanded by their Chief *Comontorius*, after they had ravaged *Macedon* and *Greece*, settled on the Borders of *The Hellespont*, round about *Byzantium*; whilst the others divided themselves to go and seek new Habitations in *Asia*, beyond *The Bosphorus*.

<sup>3</sup> It is certain that *Strabo*, *Livy*, and *Pliny*, looked on the *Tectosagi* as a Nation originally *Gallic*. They agree that it possessed a Canton of *Languedoc*, near *The Garonne* and *Tholouse*. The Country they seized in *Asia Minor*, lay between the Rivers *Halis* and *Sangarius*. *Ancyra* was the Capital of it. As for the *Tolistoboji*, they took Possession of the Territory of *Germa*, and of *Pessinus*. These, according to *Ptolomy* and *Strabo*, came from *Gallia Narbonnensis*. And the *Trocmi* probably had the same Origin, tho' the Ancients have not told us so. The

latter made their Settlements in the Cities of *Parium*, *Andesia*, *Claudiopolis*, and *Carissa*. *Constantinus Porphyrogenites* places the Transmigration of these People in the Reign of *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and of *Nicomedes* King of *Numidia*, who was the Son of *Zyætes*. And this Chronology agrees well enough with that of *Pausanias*, mentioned in the preceding Note.

<sup>4</sup> Each of these Nations were divided into four *Tetrarchies*, or Cantons, according to *Strabo*. Each Canton was governed by a *Tetrarch*. But a General of an Army, and two Lieutenant-Generals had some Share of Power with him, tho' they were subject to his Commands. The twelve Cantons uniting together, formed a Council of three hundred Men; which was held in a Place called *Drymenetum*. This Court were the supreme Judges of Criminals accused of Murder, and all Affairs that related to the general Welfare of the Nation. Other Matters were left to the Determination of the *Tetrarch*. These Nations had one very barbarous Law among them, which was that of sacrificing to their Gods most of the Enemies they took in War. In *Strabo's* time they were governed by three Princes; and soon after, only by two. And at length all *Galatia* was united, for the first time, in one Government, under the Dominion of King *Deiotarus*.



son to promise himself great Things from their Valour. And thus new Gauls Year of started up in the farthest Part of the World, to become Enemies to the Romans. R O M E It seems to have been the Fate of Rome to meet with Gauls, wherever she came, DLXIII. and to find them the most troublesome of any of her Enemies.

L. CORNELI-  
US SCIPIO, C.  
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sul.

§. II. THE first Care of Antiochus in Asia, was to guard this great Continent against the Invasion of the Romans. In order to protect the Greek Cities on the Coast, which adhered to him, he had left his Son Seleucus in Æolis, with Orders to hinder Eumenes, on one Side, and the Romans on the other, from entering the Country of the Asiatick Greeks, whom they solicited to revolt. The Roman Fleet was not yet come out of the Port of Canæ, in Mysia. It had wintered there; and Eumenes joined it early, with thirty Triremes, and seven Quadriremes. The Rhodian Squadron also came thither by the Vernal Equinox, to make amends for their Dilatoriness the last Year. Livius had not yet delivered up the Command of the Fleet to Æmilius his Successor. He set out on board Eumenes's Ship, which he found ready; and his Design was to sail to The Hellespont, there to wait for the Consular Army, and prepare every thing for its Passage into Asia. The first Port Livius touched at, was the next to Old Troy, near Cape Sigæum, then called Achæum, because the Greeks had secured their Ships there during the famous Siege of Troy. And it was natural for the Romans, when in this Neighbourhood, to have the Curiosity to visit the Place of their Origin, and see the Country of Æneas their Founder. They went up to the Citadel of Ilium; carried their Offerings to Minerva, who was yet worshiped there; and Livius ordered Victims to be sacrificed to the Goddess. During his Abode in this Place, some Deputies arrived from the Cities of Eleus<sup>5</sup>, Dardanium<sup>6</sup>, and Rhæteum<sup>7</sup>, to put themselves under the Protection of the Romans; and they were graciously received. From thence, Livius sailed to take Possession of the Streights of The Hellespont. But first he left ten of his Ships before Abydos; and came with the rest of his Fleet, and invested the Port of<sup>8</sup> Sestos. By this City, which stood on the Continent of Europe, there was the safest and shortest Passage into Asia. Sestos was therefore besieged; but made no long Resistance. The Romans were ready to have entered it Sword in hand, when a Company of those Fanaticks, who had devoted themselves to the Worship of Cybele, and who, to please the Goddess, had condemned themselves to be but half Men, appeared before the Besiegers. This Sight stopped the Ardour of the Romans; and their Request was heard. They said they were sent by The Mother of the Gods, the Goddess of Pessinus, with Orders to the Roman General, to spare the City, and its Inhabitants; and Livius had Respect for the Ministers of a Goddess revered at Rome. He contented himself with the Surrendry the Magistrates and Senate made of their City, and gave them their Lives, Estates, and Walls. From thence Livius returned to Abydos. The Syrian Garrison there did not seem inclined to surrender it; and it was therefore necessary to besiege it in Form. But Livius was soon forced to raise the Siege; not by the Bravery of the Besieged, but by the following unexpected Adventure.

§. III. POLYXENIDAS had repaired his Fleet, during the Winter, and put it into a Condition to bear the Sea. The first Attempt he was willing to make with his new maritime Forces, was against the auxiliary Forces which the Rhodians had sent the Romans. He was himself a Rhodian by Birth; but having been banished his Country, had gone into the Service of the King of Syria, gained the Confidence of his new Master, and was now at the Head of a strong naval Force. Pausistratus (a Native of Rhodes, as well as Polyxenidas) then commanded the Rhodian Ships, and was advanced with his Fleet as far as to the Island of Samos. The former had long had a personal Enmity to the latter, and had often spoken of him with Contempt, in the Assemblies of his Republick: and Antiochus's Admiral proposed to revenge himself, not by Words only, but by Ac-

App. in Syriac.  
Liv. B. 37.  
c. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Eleus was a City which stood in the extreme Parts of The Thracian Chersonesus, upon the Coasts of The Hellespont. It is now called Critea.

<sup>6</sup> Dardanium was a maritime City of Troas. It took its Name from Dardanus its Founder, who built it, on the Coasts of The Hellespont, between Abydos and Cape Sigæum.

<sup>7</sup> The Name of Rhæteum was formerly com-

mon to a City and Promontory of Troas. The Turks now call it the City of Pefkiam.

<sup>8</sup> The City of Sestos in ancient Thrace, was divided from Abydos in Asia Minor, only by a little Streight, which was scarce a Mile broad. We have spoken of this City, as well as Abydos, elsewhere. These two Cities are now known by the Name of The Dardanelles.



Year of tions. However, it being difficult to attack the *Rhodians*, and conquer them, by open Force; *Polyxenidas* laid a Snare for *Pausistratus*, to surprize him. He pretended to have forgotten both the ill Treatment he had received from his Country, and his Resentments against *Pausistratus*. From *Ephesus*, where he then was, he sent an Express to the *Rhodian* Admiral, to tell him, That being Master of *Antiochus's* Fleet, it was in his Power to do *Pausistratus* and his Country signal Service; and That it was in the Power of *Pausistratus* to restore him to his Country. *Pausistratus* thought this first Proposal from an Enemy, was neither to be implicitly believed, nor absolutely rejected; and he desired of *Polyxenidas* to explain himself more fully; and promised Secrecy. Then the latter sent a second Express, with Advice, That he was ready to deliver up all *Antiochus's* Fleet, provided only, he might be permitted to return to his Country, and be reinstated in his former Condition there. This *Pausistratus* thought a Proposal of too much Importance to be neglected; and in order to give *Polyxenidas* time to follow him, he retired with his Squadron to a Port in *Samos*, called *Panormus*, and there waited to see the Conclusion of the Affair. From thence, he sent Couriers to *Ephesus*; and at length procured from *Antiochus's* Admiral, Letters written with his own Hand, subscribed with his Name, and sealed with his Seal, wherein he promised to deliver up all the *Syrian* Fleet. Upon this open Declaration, *Pausistratus* no longer hesitated. He had it in his Power to ruin *Polyxenidas* with *Antiochus*; and how could he believe, that a wise Man would give a Promise which might cost him his Life, without designing to perform it? Nothing therefore remained, but to take proper Measures for putting the Design in Execution. To this End, *Polyxenidas* promised, to cause all Duty to be neglected on board the *Syrian* Fleet; to separate the Soldiers, Seamen, and Rowers, under several Pretences; to set the Men at work to refit most of the Ships, to carry a great many of them away from the Port of *Ephesus*, and send them to different Ports; and lastly, to appear with very few of them in that Road, that they might be exposed to be taken on the first Attack. This Method pleased *Pausistratus*; he affected the same Negligence which he had been assured he should find in the Enemy's Fleet; and quietly waited for Notice, when he should go and attack the *Syrian* Fleet in the Port of *Ephesus*. In the mean time, the better to cover his Design, *Polyxenidas* sent away some of his Galleys, ordered the Port to be cleansed, and seemed in no Haste to assemble his Crews. But tho' he did not do it at *Ephesus*, he commanded them to assemble near it; and *Pausistratus* was over-reached by his Enemy; notwithstanding that he had Notice of it. A private Person came to *Samos*, from *Ephesus*. *Pausistratus* examined him concerning the Proceedings of the Admiral, and the Condition of his Fleet. And the Stranger ingenuously told him, That the Port of *Ephesus* was full of Ships; That their Crews were all within Reach of it; and That *Polyxenidas* was doing his utmost, to render his Fleet invincible. Nevertheless, *Pausistratus* was so prepossessed with the Promise of an artful Enemy, that he neglected the sincere Report of an indifferent Person. He still continued at *Samos*, waiting for Advice when he should go and take the *Syrian* Fleet. Whilst *Polyxenidas* took quite different Measures. He sailed from *Ephesus* with seventy Ships of War, and made for the Port of *Pygela*, whence the Asiatick Fleets generally set out for Greece. But before he weighed Anchor, he ordered one *Nicanter*, the Commander of a Squadron of Privateers, to go with five Ships, and make a Descent in the Island of *Samos*; there conceal his Men as soon as landed; and attack the *Rhodians* in the Rear, at the same time that his Fleet attacked them in Front. Accordingly, *Nicanter* faithfully executed the Orders of his Admiral; whilst the *Syrian* Fleet at the same time set sail, arrived at the Port of *Panormus* in the Night, and found the *Rhodians* lying on the Shore. *Pausistratus* had been secure enough to suffer them to sleep without any Caution. The Noise of a Fleet entering the Port was what first awakened them. Upon which, the *Rhodian* Soldiers instantly drew up in Order of Battel. They were old Troops; and *Pausistratus* thought it better to make use of them in a Fight at Land, than by Sea. He posted them to the Right and Left, upon two Promon-

9 The Port of *Pygela* was on the Coasts of *Ionia*. that *Agamemnon* ordered to be erected there, in honour to *Diana*.  
It is now called *Figena*. It was customary to embark there for Greece. *Strabo* speaks of a Temple



stories which reached near to one another, and thereby formed the Mouth of the Year of  
 Port. And then the *Rhodians*, to their great Surprise, were on a sudden attack- *R O M E*  
 ed behind likewise. *Nicaner's* Soldiers were landed, and fell upon those of *DLXIII.*  
*Pausistratus*. The latter therefore concluded, from the Darkness of the Night, *L. CORNELI-*  
 and the Number of the Aggressors, that they should be over-powered; and then *US SCIPIO, C.*  
 they had nothing to do, but to retreat to their Ships. Accordingly Soldiers, Sea- *LÆLIUS, CON-*  
 men, and Rowers, all ran in Confusion to the Port. But the Mouth of that was *suls.*  
 stopped up by the *Syrian* Fleet, as well as the Land infested by *Nicaner's* Troops:  
 and it was therefore necessary to fight desperately, in order to force a Way thro'  
 the Road, and gain the high Seas. *Pausistratus* was brave. His Credulity had  
 been the sole Cause of his falling into this Danger; and therefore his Indignation  
 and Rage made him stick at nothing. The Galley on board which he was, hap-  
 pened to be the first that faced the Enemy at the Mouth of the Port; and when  
 she had forced her Way thro' the Road, she was immediately invested by five *Quin-*  
*queremes*, commanded by *Polyxenidas* himself. So that she was soon overpower-  
 ed with numberless Darts; and being pierced in the Flank by the Spur of one  
 of the Enemy's *Quinqueremes*, she leaked, and sunk. Thus perished *Pausistratus*,  
 who had been deceived by a base Stratagem, had ever behaved himself like a gal-  
 lant Man, and was at last overcome only by the Multitudes of his Enemies. Af-  
 ter the Death of the *Rhodian* Admiral, his Fleet was at the Mercy of the *Syrian*  
 Ships. Some of the *Rhodian* Galleys were taken in sight of the Port, others in  
 the Port itself, and others were seized by *Nicaner's* Soldiers, before they weighed  
 Anchor. Only seven Ships of this great Armament escaped. Five of them were  
*Rhodians*, and two belonged to the Island of *Cos*. In order to force their Way  
 thro' the Enemy, they had lighted great Fires in their *Prows*, and from thence  
 held out long Poles, with Kettles full of burning *Bitumen* at the Ends of them;  
 and the Terror this gave the Enemy favoured their Escape. In their Flight they  
 were met by some *Erytraean* Galleys, which were coming to their Assistance; and  
 they all together turned towards *The Hellespont*, and came and joined the Fleet  
 which *Livius* commanded before *Abydos*. The Siege of this Place was so far ad- *Livy, B. 37.*  
 vanced, that it had already demanded to capitulate. Nothing remained, but to *C. 11.*  
 determine in what Manner the *Syrian* Garrison should march out of it; whether  
 with their Arms, or not. Nevertheless, the *Roman* General thought his Presence  
 more necessary elsewhere. He raised the Siege, and made all possible Haste to co-  
 ver the rest of his Fleet, which he had left at *Canæ*, in *Mysia*.

§. IV. *LIVIVS* had Reason to fear that *Polyxenidas*, puffed up with his Suc-  
 cess, would go and set Fire to the Fleet before *Canæ*. Besides, *Seleucus* was mak-  
 ing some Progress on the Coast of *Asia*, and had already taken *Phocæa*, *Cyme*<sup>11</sup>,  
 and some other maritime Places. It was therefore necessary to put a Stop to the  
 Conquests of the young *Syrian*, and re-take *Phocæa*; and *Livius* hastened thither  
 with all the *Roman* Fleet. But he found the Garrison there too strong for him;  
 and only made a Descent, and ruined the Country. From thence he sailed to *Sa-*  
*mos*; and the Ships of *Eumenes* attended him thither. The faithful King of *Per-*  
*gamus* every where followed the Army and Fortune of the *Romans*. But as for  
 the *Rhodians*, the Defeat of their Fleet sunk them into Despair. They lamented  
 the Loss of an able General, and wise Citizen, who had been destroyed by the  
 Deceit of his cowardly Countryman. Nevertheless, they did not renounce their  
 Alliance with *Rome*, or their Engagement to assist her with all their Forces. They  
 fitted out twenty new Galleys, and gave the Command of them to *Eudamus*, a  
 Man who was indeed less brave, and less expert than *Pausistratus*; but more dis-  
 trustful, and more circumspect. Whilst the *Rhodian* was preparing to set sail, the  
*Roman* Fleet, and that of *Eumenes*, cruised along the Coasts of *Ionis*; and from

<sup>10</sup> The Island of *Cos* lies in the *Carpathian* Sea,  
 at a little Distance from *Caria*, and fifteen Miles  
 from *Halicarnassus*. It is now called *Lango*, as  
 well as its chief City. This Island boasted of hav-  
 ing given Birth to the famous Painter *Apelles*, and  
 to *Hippocrates* the Prince of Physicians. *Pliny*,  
 B. 9. speaks of a very fine Temple which the In-  
 habitants of this Island erected in honour to *Ascu-*  
*lapius*, their tutelary God. They had enriched it

with all the most valuable Things they could get,  
 of all Sorts. But above all, what was most ad-  
 mired there, was a *Venus* rising out of the Sea, ex-  
 quisitely well performed by *Apelles*.

<sup>11</sup> *Cyme* was a City of *Æolis* in *Asia Minor*,  
 between *Myrina*, and *Phocæa*. *Sophian* gives it the  
 Name of *Castri*. *Niger* places it where *Foia Nova*  
 now stands. *Isidorus* says this City was founded  
 by *Pelops*.



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c. 13.

Livy, B. 37.  
c. 14.

thence returned to *Samos*. *Polyxenidas*, who had ordered them to be watched, thought the *Roman* Ships were going to join those of the *Rhodians*, to enlarge the Fleet; and immediately left the Port of *Ephesus*, appeared off <sup>12</sup> *Myonnesos*, and afterwards under the Island of <sup>13</sup> *Macris*. His Intention was to attack such of the Enemy's Galleys as could not keep up with the rest, or fall upon the *Roman* Ships in the Rear. But his Design was frustrated by a Storm. The North Wind arose all on a sudden, swelled the Sea, dispersed the *Roman* Fleet, and *Polyxenidas* missed his Blow. However, he hid himself behind the Island of <sup>14</sup> *Æthalia*, in order to attack the *Roman* Ships as they were returning to *Samos*, fatigued with the Storm. And indeed some of them came there, to a deserted Port; and the Inhabitants told them that the *Syrian* Fleet was upon the Watch under *Æthalia*. They therefore deliberated whether they should go and attack it, in the Absence of the *Rhodian* Fleet. But they thought it more adviseable to return to the Coasts of *Ionian*. Then *Polyxenidas*, who lost time in waiting for the Enemy, sailed from *Æthalia*, for the Port of *Ephesus*. After his Departure, the *Roman* Fleet came, without any Disturbance, to *Samos*; and there the *Rhodian* Galleys joined them. Then *Livius* gave the New-Comers the Satisfaction to know, that he had waited for them, in order to go and attack the Enemy; and soon after the three Confederate Fleets were joined, they came and appeared before *Ephesus*. This was bidding *Polyxenidas* Defiance, and shewing all *Asia* the Superiority of the *Romans* over their Enemies, in case he should decline fighting. Nevertheless, the *Syrians* acknowledged their Weakness, by their Inactivity; and the *Romans* resolved to insult them. Some of the *Romans* landed, and laid the Country waste. But the Garrison of *Ephesus* marched out against them, made them lay down the Booty with which they were loaded, and forced them to return to their Ships. The next Day, the *Romans* offered the *Syrians* to fight at Land; but there was no drawing them to a Battel. The *Roman* Fleet therefore returned to *Samos*, with the Glory of having twice forced the Enemy to hide themselves. From thence *Livius* detached four Ships, under the Command of *Epicrates* the *Rhodian*, to go and cruise between the Islands of <sup>15</sup> *Cephalonia*, and *Zacynthus*. Some Pirates there intercepted the Convoys designed for the *Roman* Fleet. In his Passage, the *Rhodian* met the *Prætor* *Acilius*, who had set out from *Piræus*, with a Convoy of only two *Quinqueremes*; and was coming to succeed *Livius*, in the Command of the *Roman* Fleet. *Epicrates* gave the new General the first Notice he had of the Defeat of the *Rhodians*; and *Æmilius* forced him to guard him into *Asia*, with his four Ships. The new Admiral crossed the *Ægean* Sea, and in his Way met *Timasocrates* the *Rhodian*, with two *Quinqueremes*; who said, he was come into this *Road* purely to guard the *Prætor* against the *Syrian* Corsairs which infested it. With this Convoy, *Æmilius* sailed for *Chios*; and there found two *Quadrيرهmes* more, which *Livius* his Predecessor had sent thither to meet him. The nearer he came to *Samos*, the more Ships he found continually coming to him, either out of Respect, or for his Safety; and King *Eumenes* himself advanced far out into the main Sea, with two *Quinqueremes*, to do Honour to *Æmilius*. So great was the Power of the Republick; so great the Respect that even crowned Heads paid to her chief Officers! At length *Æmilius* landed at *Samos*, with a magnificent Retinue, and received the Command of the Fleet from *Livius*. Some Acts of Religion were always the first Things performed at the Instalment of any *Roman* Magistrates; and now, the *Prætor* first offered Sacrifices to the Gods, and then called a Council of War. The Business

<sup>12</sup> *Strabo* and *Stephen of Byzantium* place the City of *Myonnesos* in *Asia Minor*, in a Peninsula near *The Ionic Gulph*. They also both speak of an Island of the same Name, in the *Ægean* Sea, over against *Larissa*. The Greek Term *Myonnesos* signifies an Island of Rats.

<sup>13</sup> The Name of *Macris* was common to several Islands in the *Ægean* Sea. The Ancients gave it to *Enbora*, on account of its Largeness; and also to the Island of *Chios*. And *Pliny* mentions two others of the same Name, situated on the Coasts of *Lycia*, at some Distance from each other. By *Livy's* Story, he seems to mean in this Place the Island

of *Icarus*, one of the *Cyclades* near *Samos*. At least *Eustathius*, in his *Commentaries on Dionysius the Geographer*, gives the latter no other Name but that of *Macris*.

<sup>14</sup> *Ephorus*, an ancient Author, whose Authority *Pliny* quotes, affirms that the Island of *Chios* was anciently called *Æthalia*. But we must take Care not to confound it with another Island of *Æthalia*, which is in the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, and which the *Italians* now call *Elba*.

<sup>15</sup> We have already spoken of *Cephalonia* and *Zacynthus*; the former of which is now called *Cephalonia*, the latter *Zante*.



of it was to determine what Enterprizes *Emilius* should undertake with the Fleet. The first whose Opinion was asked, was *Livius*, whose Command was just expired; and the Advice he gave was that of an artful Man, who was jealous beforehand, of the Success his Successor might have. His Pretence was very specious; but his real Design was to make *Emilius* lose the whole Campaign, by engaging him in a trifling Project. And it was therefore rejected. *Had I continued in the Command*, said *Livius*, *my Design was to have gone and shut up the Mouth of the Port of Ephesus, and there kept the Syrian Fleet confined. To this End, I would have filled some old Barks with Flints and Sand, and sunk them at the Entrance into that Port. Then, after I was become sole Master of the Seas, I would have over-run them all, without Exception; and would have ravaged the Coasts, and forced the maritime Cities to surrender.* King *Eumenes* immediately saw the Vanity of this Project; and he said to *Livius*, *After we have stopped up the Mouth of the Port, shall the Roman Fleet continue before it, or not? If it continues there, the Enemy's Fleet will be in a better Situation than ours. They will be under the Covert of a good City, which will be supplied with Provisions by Land, from all Parts of Asia. Whereas we shall be exposed to Winds and Tempests, and lose Time in a Road where we shall gain no other Advantage, but that of having continued inactive, and given our Enemies Repose. And if we do not continue there, the Syrian Fleet will doubtless get out of the Port of Ephesus, and we shall lose our Time, and Labour, and Expence, to no purpose.* *Eudamus* the *Rhodian* Admiral, only declared his Disapprobation of *Livius's* Project, without proposing any other. But *Epicrates*, an inferior Officer in the *Rhodian* Fleet, offered the following Scheme. *Patara*<sup>16</sup>, said he, *is a City of Lycia, which must be brought into the Roman Interest. When she once declares for Rome, Rhodes will be more at Liberty, and in a Condition, (when delivered from the Vexations of the Patarans) to employ all her Forces in the Service of the Confederates. Let therefore a Part of the Roman Fleet be sent to the Coast of Lycia; and Fear will make Patara shake off the Syrian Yoke.* This Proposal was approved of; and *Livius* was ordered to put it in Execution. The *Prætor Emilius* detached for the *Lycian* Expedition, two *Roman Quinqueremes*, four *Rhodian Quadriremes*, and two small Ships of *Smyrna*. In his Way, *Livius* touched at *Rhodes*, and got his Enterprize approved there. The *Rhodians* joined four *Quadriremes* more to his Squadron, and sent him on for *Patara*. At first he had a fair Wind; then it blew fresher, and at length amounted to a Storm. He was therefore obliged to put in at *Phænicus*, a Port about two Miles from *Patara*. This Port was overlooked by Rocks which were both high and steep; and the Inhabitants of the City mixed with the *Syrian* Soldiers of the Garrison, ran up to the Eminences, and endeavoured with their Darts to drive the *Romans* from their Station. *Livius* opposed them, with some Troops he had on board; but in vain. The Number of the Enemy increased, and they had a great Advantage in their Ground. So that the *Roman* was obliged at last to land all his Soldiers and Seamen. Upon this, a bloody Battel ensued; and one of the chief Officers of the *Romans* was killed in it. However, the *Lycians* at length gave way, and retired into their City; but the *Romans*, on the other hand, lost all Hopes of taking *Patara* from the King of *Syria*. After *Livius* had failed in his Attempt, he sailed for *Greece*, took his Leave of *Scipio*, and returned to *Rome*. As for *Emilius*, he first appeared before *Ephesus*, with the rest of the *Roman* Fleet; but was forced by a Storm to put out to Sea. Then he called to mind the Affront the *Romans* had received before *Patara*; and flew thither. But in his way, he made a Descent at *Jassos*<sup>17</sup>; sent to solicit it to come over to his Republick; and upon its Refusal, besieged it in Form. In the mean time, some Exiles of *Jassos*, who served on board the *Roman* Fleet, were concerned for their Country; and when it was ready to fall into the Hands of the *Romans*, prevailed on the *Rhodians* and King *Eumenes* to intercede

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIII.  
L. CORNELI-  
US SCIPIO, C.  
LÆLIUS, CON-  
suls.

<sup>16</sup> *Patara* is in *Lycia*, and borders on the *Lycian* Sea, near the Mouth of the *Xanthus*. It was called *Asinœ*, according to *Strabo*; and afterwards *Sataror*, according to *Pliny*. This City had been built on an Eminence. Some of the Ancients derived its Name from one *Patarus*, a Son of *Apollo*. This

God uttered Oracles there, six Months in the Year, according to *Festus*; that is, from the Winter Solstice to the Summer. During the other six Months, he was silent at *Patara*, and spoke at *Delos*.

<sup>17</sup> *Jassos* was a City of *Ionia*, towards the Frontiers of *Caria*. We have spoken of it already.

with



Year of with *Æmilius*, to prevail on him not utterly to destroy their native City. The  
 ROM E *Prætor* granted their Request; and only settled the Coast in Peace, but did not  
 DLXIII. ravage it. Then he advanced towards *Lycia*, and appeared off *Loryma*<sup>18</sup>, a ma-  
 L. CORNELI- ritime City of *Caria*. There the *Roman* Officers murmured at the Admiral's De-  
 US SCIPIO, C. sign of going to *Patara*, and revenging the ill Treatment *Livius* had met with  
 LÆLIUS, CON- there. *We are going a great way from Ephesus*, said they, *and the General alters*  
 fuls. *his Resolutions. In the Absence of Æmilius and the Fleet, Polyxenidas will think*  
*himself at full Liberty to do what he pleases. And then, what will become of all*  
*our faithful Allies, which are left at the Mercy of the Syrians?* These were solid  
 Reflections; and the *Prætor* was affected with them. Nevertheless, it was neces-  
 sary to please the *Rhodians*. They insisted on punishing and destroying *Patara*.  
 In order therefore to put a Stop to their Impetuositics, *Æmilius* asked them, whe-  
 ther the Port of the City to which they were going was large enough to hold all the  
 Fleet. They could not deny, but the Fleet must be divided; and the Admiral  
 thought this sufficient Grounds for tacking about. He immediately returned to *Sa-*  
*mos*, where he was near enough to watch the Motions of the *Syrian*.

*Livy, B. 37.  
c. 18.*

§. V. INDEED *Antiochus*, on the one hand, and his Son *Seleucus*, on the other,  
 thinking that the *Roman* Fleet was engaged in the Siege of *Patara*, undertook to  
 penetrate into the Kingdom of *Pergamus*. The former had wintered at *Apamea*,  
 the latter in *Æolis*. *Seleucus* passed the<sup>19</sup> *Caicus*, at the Mouth of it, near the  
 City of *Elæa*, and entered the Dominions of *Eumenes*. Whilst *Antiochus* came  
 and first encamped at *Sardis* in *Lydia*; and from thence advanced to the Banks  
 of the *Caicus*, pretty near his Son's Camp. The King had in his Army about  
 four thousand of those *Gauls* who had settled, about a Century ago, in the Coun-  
 try which was called, from them, *Gallo-Græcia*, or *Galatia*; and the Father lent  
 his Son these four thousand Strangers; who, with his Troops, laid waste the King-  
 dom of *Pergamus*. *Seleucus* even ventured to appear before the Capital, to lay  
 Siege to it. His Design was to take Advantage of *Eumenes's* Absence, who com-  
 manded his own Fleet which had joined that of the *Romans*. But *Eumenes* had  
 very fortunately left his Brother *Attalus* to take care of his Dominions; and this  
 Prince sustained, as well as he could, the Attacks of an Enemy which was stronger,  
 and had a more numerous Army, than himself. His last Refuge was to give his  
 Brother Notice of the Danger in which *Pergamus* was. *Eumenes* was then return-  
 ing to *Samos*, with the *Prætor* *Æmilius*; and upon the first News of this ex-  
 treme Danger, he sailed back to the Port of *Eubæa*, landed there, and came to  
 his Capital, before the Enemy had Notice of his Arrival. The *Roman* and *Rho-*  
*dian* Fleets followed him without Delay; all the Troops they had on board made  
 a Descent, without Opposition; and the Kingdom of *Pergamus* no longer want-  
 ed Forces to defend it. Besides, News came from all Parts, that the *Scipio's* were  
 advancing by great Marches, thro' *Macedon*, and would soon be on the Banks of  
*The Hellespont*, and ready to enter *Asia*. Upon this, *Antiochus* was struck with  
 as much Terror as he had given *Eumenes*. He was under great Anxiety, and  
 dreaded as much the Sight of a *Roman Consul* in *Asia*, as the *Romans* had done the  
 seeing him in *Europe*. But he did not act with a Magnanimity equal to that of  
 the Republick his Enemy. He retired, trembling, to an Eminence near *Elæa*,  
 and there encamped. From thence he sent a Deputation to *Æmilius*, and de-  
 sired to begin a Treaty. The *Roman Prætor* was not averse to concluding one  
 with him. It would be robbing the *Scipio's* of a great deal of Honour, and im-  
 mortalizing himself. He therefore desired *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* to come  
 to his Camp, there to hold a Council, upon the Subject of *Antiochus's* Propo-  
 sal; and the *Rhodians* were not disinclined to a Peace. But *Eumenes*, who was  
 most nearly concerned to get one, made most Opposition to it. *Is this a time*,  
*said he, to treat of Peace? Pergamus is besieged, and hard pressed by the Enemy;*  
*and it will be said, that we have purchased the Deliverance of it by cowardly*

*Livy, B. 37.  
c. 19.*

<sup>18</sup> Both ancient and modern Geographers place *Loryma* in *Caria*, a Province of *Asia Minor*, to-  
 wards the South Coast of a Peninsula, in which  
 the City of *Cnidus* stood. It is now called *Maxi*,  
 according to *Niger*.

<sup>19</sup> The River *Caicus* rises in *Mysia*, waters the

ancient Territory of *Pergamus*, and discharges it-  
 self into the *Ægean* Sea, near *The Gulf of Guer-*  
*restio*. The Moderns give this River different Names.  
 Most of them call it *Girmisti*. But *Le Non* calls it  
*Castri*. And others say that is now the *Chian*.



*Compliances. So that the Shame of the timorous Antiochus will fall upon us. Be- Year of  
sides, can Æmilius conclude a Peace, without the Concurrence of the Consul? Could ROM E  
Cornelius himself do it, without the Consent of the Roman Senate and People? DLXIII.  
And if you grant it, what will you then do with your Armies and Fleets? Will L. CORNELI-  
you return immediately to Italy, or wait here for the Consul's Resolutions, and the US S C I P I O, C.  
Orders of the Senate? The first would be leaving us at the Mercy of the Syrians; LÆLIUS, CON-  
and we should continue in Uncertainty, in relation to a Peace, which we could not suls.  
accept. And if your Armies were to continue in the Levant, what an Expence would Livy ibid  
that be to the Allies? They would pine away with Grief, to see themselves obliged to  
provide for the Subsistence of idle Troops, which might, by their Victories, have put  
an end to the War, before the Conclusion of the Campaign. This Discourse, in which  
there appeared so noble a Spirit, and so much just Reasoning, was applauded.  
Eumenes spoke the Sentiments of a Roman. Æmilius discovered the Weakness  
and Artifice of an Asiatick. So that the Opinion of the Council was, that the  
Answer given to Antiochus's Messengers should be, That the Council could not  
determine any thing, before the Arrival of the Scipio's.*

§. VI. THEN the King of Syria turned this short Suspension of Arms, into open Hostilities. He left his Son *Seleucus* to lay waste the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, set out himself for *Troas*, and came and encamped at *Adramyttium*<sup>20</sup>, at the Foot of Mount<sup>21</sup> *Ida*. This Country adhered to its Confederacy with *Rome*; and *Æmilius* therefore with his Fleet, accompanied by *Eumenes*, came to the Assistance of these faithful Allies. But *Attalus* still continued at *Pergamus*, to defend his Brother's Dominions against the Arms of *Seleucus*; and a Reinforcement of *Achæans*, came thither very seasonably, to the Assistance of the young Prince. Their Commander was an Officer of Distinction in his own Country, and his Men were well-disciplined. This *Æchæan*, whose Name was *Diophanes*, *App. in Syriac. Liv. B. 37. c. 20.* had made his first Campaigns under the famous *Philopæmenes*; and the Pupil seems to have imbibed all the Excellencies of his great Master. With his Body of a thousand Foot, and a hundred Horse, he harrassed *Seleucus* with continual Repulses, and at length drove him out of the Country he infested. *Diophanes* spent but two Days in studying the *Syrians*, their Method of encamping, and the Steps they generally took round *Pergamus*, which they kept invested. He observed from the Top of the Ramparts, that the *Syrians* posted an advanced Guard at the Foot of an Hill, thereby kept the City in Awe, and then dispersed themselves in the Plains to pillage them. No Body durst stir out against this advanced-Guard, to drive them from their Post; the Pillage was carried on, without Opposition; and this Inaction of the Besieged, lulled the Besiegers into a Security. Being used to make the Enemy tremble at the bare Sight of them, they slept even upon Guard; and spent their whole time in Diversions, and good Eating and Drinking. The expert *Diophanes* therefore concluded, it could be no difficult Matter to surprise an Enemy so little upon their Guard. He acquainted *Attalus* with his Resolution to attack, and beat the advanced-Guard of the *Syrians*; and he marched out his *Athenians* at the Gates of the City. But *Attalus* did not consent to this Expedition, without Difficulty. In the City it was deemed a rash Attempt. Could a thousand Foot and a hundred Horse, make Head against a formidable Army? All the *Citizens* ran to the Ramparts to be Spectators of the Action; and there saw, that the Motion of the *Achæans* did not at all affect the *Syrians*, or draw them off from their Sport, or Repasts. At first *Diophanes* stood still, and seemed to have marched out only to watch the Enemy, without any Design to attack them. But when he saw how indolent the *Syrians* were grown, through their Carelessness, he marched at the Head of his hundred Horse, directly up to a Body

<sup>20</sup> *Adramyttium*, or *Adramittium*, an ancient City of *Asia Minor*, bordered upon *Mysia* and *Troas*. It stood near a Gulph, which from the modern Name of that City, is called *The Gulph of Andramitt*, or *Eudromit*. Some also call the Town, *S. Dimitri*. *Livy* calls the neighbouring Territory, *The Plains of Thebe*. There was a City called *Thebe*, in this Canton, in the time of the *Trojan War*; and it was destroyed by *Achilles*.

<sup>21</sup> It is well known that Mount *Ida*, so famous

for the fabulous Accounts the Poets give of the Judgment of *Paris*, was a Mountain in *Little Phrygia*, or *Troas*. It reached from the neighbouring Territory of old *Troy*, between *Abydos*, and the River *Æsopus*, to *Little Mysia*. The highest part of this Mountain was called *Gargarus*. *Athenians* reckons up at least fifteen Rivulets, which all rise in Mount *Ida*; but most of them were dried up, and disappeared, in *Ptolemy's* time.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIII.

L. CORNELI-  
US SCIPIO, C.  
LÆLIUS, Con-  
suls.

of three hundred of the Enemy, and attacked four thousand *Syrians* with his thousand Foot. The Onset was so sudden, and the Shout of the *Achæans* so terrible, that the *Syrian* Horses broke their Bridles, and put the Enemy into Disorder. Their Riders could not govern them. And as for the attacked Infantry, they had much Difficulty to rally; and then, being half a-sleep, and their Bellies full, they made but little Resistance. They were put into Disorder, and fled; and were pursued cross the Plains. How glorious an Action for *Diophanes*! All the *Pergamenses*, both Men and Women, were Eye-witnesses of his Victory. The next Day, the Enemy posted themselves farther off, and kept better Discipline. Nevertheless, *Diophanes* invited the Inhabitants of *Pergamus* to march out with him, and promised them a second Advantage. But the Garrison refused to follow him: Only the *Achæans* would run the Risk of a second Action. All the Day was spent in watching one another, without any Attack on either side; at Sun-set the *Syrians* withdrew to their Camp; and this was the Opportunity for which *Diophanes* waited. The *Syrian* Troops filed off in a Line; and the *Achæans* attacked them in the Rear. And the Slaughter they made of them, obliged the foremost to hasten their Pace, and retire to their Camp for Refuge, without having dared to make head against the Enemy. By these repeated Advantages, *Diophanes* at length forced *Seleucus* to raise the Siege of *Pergamus*, and march out of the Dominions of *Eumenes*.

§. VII. Nor had *Antiochus* any better Success in *Troas*. *Æmilius*, supported by the confederate Fleets, forced him to abandon *Adramytteum*. So that after he had taken by Assault several defenceless Cities in his Way, the *Syrian* returned to *Sardis*. Then the *Roman* Fleet also returned to *Samos*; and there watched the Motions of *Polyxenidas*, who was yet shut up in the Port of *Ephesus*. At *Samos* the three confederate Fleets separated. The *Roman* Ships continued there under the Command of *Æmilius*. *Eumenes* sailed towards the *Hellespont*, to get every thing in a Readiness for the Passage of the *Scipio's* into *Asia*. And lastly, *Eudamus*<sup>22</sup> returned back to *Rhodes* with his Galleys, there to receive fresh Reinforcements. News had been brought that a Fleet was coming from *Syria*, under the Command of *Hannibal*, who would make the maritime Forces of *Antiochus* formidable. The *Rhodians* offered their Service to hinder its joining the Armament, which *Polyxenidas* kept under Shelter of *Ephesus*. And they succeeded in their Design. At first the Squadron *Eudamus* brought to *Rhodes*, consisted of only fifteen Ships. But seventeen other *Rhodian* Ships soon joined him; and after this, *Rhodes* added six other Boats to them. With this small Fleet *Eudamus* had the Courage to go and wait for the Multitude of Ships, which *Hannibal* had gathered together from all the Ports of *Syria*. The *Rhodian* Admiral made it his first Business to shelter himself under a little Island called

<sup>22</sup> *Antiochus*, says *Livy*, durst not make any Attempt upon *Adramytteum*, after he had understood, that the *Roman* Army, and that of *Eumenes*, were approaching to protect it. But he did not spare the neighbouring Fields. He destroyed them with Fire and Sword. From thence he marched on to *Mysia*. Then, after he had made himself Master of the City of *Peræa*, an ancient Colony of the Inhabitants of *Mitylene*, he turned all his Forces against the Cities of *Cotton*, *Corylenus*, *Aphrodyfias*, and *Crene*. We cannot say, whether the first of these four Cities, belonged to *Mysia*, or *Æolis*, or *Phrygia*. It seems to have been unknown to the ancient Geographers. But it is certain, they place in the last of these three Provinces, a City called *Cotiæon*. Nor are we more certain of the true Situation of *Corylenus*. As for the City of *Aphrodyfias*, there were two of that Name; one in *Garia*, near the little River of *Meander*. The *Italians* now call it *Sancta Croce*. The other belonged to *Cilicia*; and is the Place now called *S. Theodoro*. And lastly, some conjecture, that *Crene* was a City of Great *Phrygia*, towards the Confines of *Galatia*, and near a Mountain and Valley, which *Pliny* calls *Aulo Crene*. But whatever was the Situation of these four Cities, the

King of *Syria* took them upon the first Assault. Whilst *Antiochus* was taking by force these Cities in his Road, the *Roman* Fleet, jointly with that of *Eumenes*, and the *Rhodians*, was cruising in sight of the Island of *Mitylene*, and *Eleea*, a City in *Æolis*, on the Coasts of the *Archipelago*. Then it sailed on towards *The Gulph of Smyrna*, and put in at the little Island of *Bachium*, near *Phocæa*. The first Design was to surprize the Capital of the Island. But the *Romans*, after the first Attempt, found that *Antiochus* had put this City into a Condition to sustain a long Siege. This Prince had lately had the Precaution to throw into it a Reinforcement of three thousand Men, well armed. So that the Besiegers had nothing to do, but to retreat. Nevertheless, before they embarked again, they dispersed themselves in the Plain, and laid it waste. The Temples themselves were not spared by the greedy Soldiers. The Statues of the Gods, and the richest Ornaments, were taken out of them, and made a Prey by the Pillagers. Then the *Roman* Fleet, loaded with the Spoils of *Bachium*, set sail, and came and put in at *Samos*; where *Marcius Æmilius*, the Brother of the *Praetor Lucius Æmilius Regillus* ended both his Voyage and his Life.



*Megiste* <sup>23</sup>, on the Coast of *Lycia*; and then he advanced towards *Phaselis* <sup>24</sup>, between *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*. This was the most proper Road he could have found, to discover the Approach of the *Syrian* Fleet at a great Distance; but he thought the Air there unwholesome, and the Heat was excessive. So that his Crews suffered too much there, to continue long in that Station. *Eudamus* failed from thence to the Mouth of the <sup>25</sup> *Eurymedon*; and there the Inhabitants of *Aspendus* <sup>26</sup> informed him, that *Hannibal's* Fleet appeared off <sup>27</sup> *Sida*, a maritime City, on the extreme Parts of *Pamphylia*. Contrary Winds had prevented its Arrival sooner. But how great was the Difference between *Hannibal's* Fleet, and that of *Eudamus*, both as to Numbers, and Strength! The *Rhodian* Fleet consisted of only thirty two *Quadriremes*, and four *Triremes*. In that of *Syria* there were at least thirty seven Ships of the first Rate (among which were three *Septi-remes*, and four *Hexaremes*) besides ten *Triremes*. Neither of the Enemies were yet in sight of the other; nevertheless, they advanced in as good Order, as if going to give Battel. That they might not be surpris'd by a sudden Attack, the *Rhodians* first doubled a Cape which hid them, and then they saw *Hannibal* and his Fleet. The *Carthaginian* General commanded the left Wing, which was farthest out in the main Sea; and another General named *Apollonius*, whom the King of *Syria* honoured with his Confidence, commanded in the right. The *Syrians* immediately made a large Front, and faced the Enemy: Whilst the *Rhodians* sailed on in a Line, fileways; with *Eudamus* at the Head of them. *Chariclitus* brought up the Rear; and *Pamphilidas* commanded in the Center of the Fleet. When they came to draw up frontways, in Line of Battel, *Eudamus* sailed out towards the main Sea; but did not go far enough from the Shore, to leave the Room that was necessary for his Gallies to be conveniently drawn up in one Line. And this Inadvertency caused some Disorder in his Fleet. Besides, the Admiral had not ordered a sufficient Number of Ships to attend him, and guard him. He was too warm. He immediately went and attacked *Hannibal's* Wing, with only five Gallies. And in the mean time, the rest of his Fleet had so little room left them, between the Shore and the Point of his Wing, that his Ships could not be formed, without much Difficulty. However, whilst they were disentangling themselves as well as they could, *Eudamus* was engaged with *Hannibal*; and the Ability and long Experience of the *Rhodians*, soon repaired the Fault of their General. Their Ships widened of themselves, and left each room enough to work it with Ease. Then the Onset began; and not any *Rhodian* Galleys attacked any of *Antiochus's*, without Success. Sometimes the former struck the latter with the Spurs in their *Prows*. Sometimes they took them in Flank, and broke their Oars. And sometimes they got behind them, and pierced them in the *Poop*. But what made the strongest Impression on the Enemy, was to see the largest Ship in the Royal Navy, which was attacked by a much weaker Ship, dash so unfortunately against the latter, that she sunk upon the first Stroke. Thus the *Rhodians* had all the Advantage, in their right Wing; but *Eudamus* in the left, was hard pressed by *Hannibal*. The *Carthaginian* having many more Ships, had already surrounded the five Gallies of the *Rhodian*, when the latter gave the usual Signals for assembling the Fleet about him. Then the Ships in the right Wing, which had put the *Syrians* to flight, immediately repaired to *Eudamus* to assist him, he

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIII.

L. CORNELI-  
US SCIPIO, C.  
LÆLIUS, Con-  
suls.

<sup>23</sup> *Megiste* is a little Island near the Coasts of *Lycia*, and situated over against *Patara*. *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* mention it. Several modern Geographers think it was the same Place which is now called *Strongallo*.

<sup>24</sup> *Phaselis* was a maritime City, which some say belonged to *Pamphylia*, others to *Cilicia*, and others to *Lycia*. Its advantageous Situation, and the Convenience of its three Ports, were what drew the Corsairs of *Cilicia*, to fix their Abode there. From the Name of this City, the Ancients gave the Name of *Phaselus* to a sort of Brigantines, which was invented and used by the Pirates of this Country.

<sup>25</sup> The *Eurymedon*, a River of *Asia Minor*, rises, according to *Pliny*, and *Strabo*, in *Pisidia*, in one of the Rocks of Mount *Taurus*. From thence it

runs Southwards, into the Plains of *Pamphylia*, waters the City of *Aspendus*, and discharges itself into the *Mediterranean*. *Thevet* calls it *Zacuth*.

<sup>26</sup> *Aspendus* was a City of *Pamphylia*, situated on the Banks of the *Eurymedon*, sixty *Stadia*, that is, seven thousand five hundred geometrical Paces, or two Leagues and a half from its Mouth, according to *Strabo*. This City was thought to have been founded by a Colony of the Inhabitants of *Argi*.

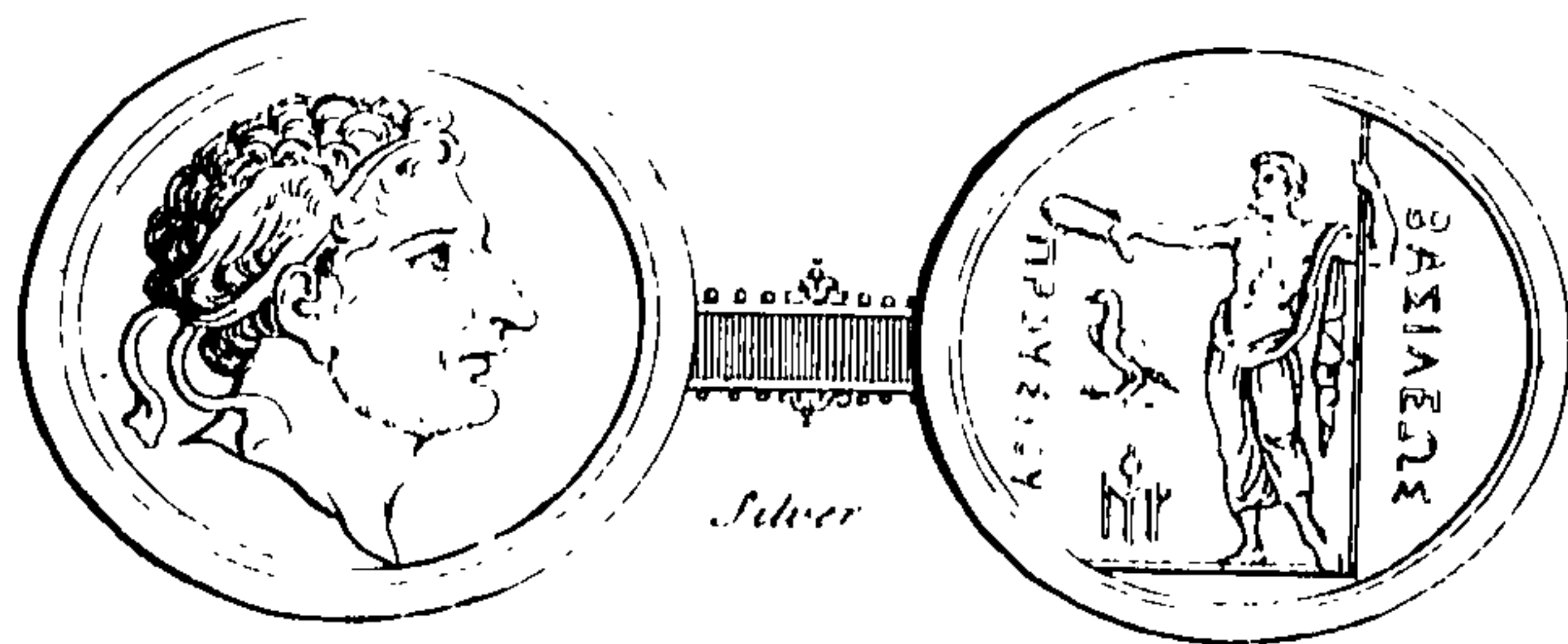
<sup>27</sup> *Sida*, or *Sida*, was one of the maritime Cities of *Pamphylia*, near the Confines of *Cilicia*. It was long the Capital of that Province. Whereas it is now only a small Town subject to the *Turks*. *Moler* and *Thevet* give it the Name of *Scandalor*; *Le Noir*, that of *Ghrizonda*.

being



Year of being in the most imminent Danger. And now *Hannibal* was attacked by all the *Rhodian* Fleet. What then could he do but retreat ! He crowded all the Sail he could, and plied his Oars ; and *Eudamus* could not come up with him. His Crews were yet sick of the Distempers they had caught in the Port of *Phaselis*. It was necessary to give them Respite, and make them take some Nourishment. And that instant, *Eudamus* cast his Eyes on the Enemy's Fleet, which fled before him, and said ; *What a Sight is this ! To what a Condition have you reduced Hannibal's Fleet ! It will find it difficult to reach the Port, to shelter itself there. Most of the Gallies are damaged ; and they must be refitted before they can advance farther.* At which Words, there was a Shout heard among the *Rhodian* Crews ; who cried out, *Let us go on, and pursue these Cowards, who, though more numerous than we, could not sustain our Attacks.* *Eudamus* made the best use of the good Will of his Rowers ; and detached *Pamphilidas* and *Chariclitus* with Orders to follow the Enemy as far as they could, without Danger. But the Conquerors did not come up with the Fugitives, till they were ready to enter a Port ; and it was not safe to follow them there. All the Coast was bordered with the Enemy's Cities ; and had the Wind been ever so little contrary to the *Rhodians*, they would have found it difficult to have got out of so dangerous a Road. They therefore contented themselves with taking from the *Syrians* one of their *Hexaremes*, which they towed to *Phaselis*. From thence they returned to *Rhodes*, with the Glory indeed of having conquered ; but reproaching one another, for not having utterly destroyed the *Syrian* Fleet. However, they had at least the Advantage of keeping *Hannibal* in *Pamphylia*, and hindering him from joining *Polyxenidas's* Fleet at *Ephesus*. In order to intercept him in his Passage, *Chariclitus* went and lay at Anchor with twenty Ships of War, off *Patara*, and the Island of *Megiste*. As for *Eudamus*, he returned with only seven great Ships to *Samos*, to rejoin the *Prætor Æmilius*. His Design was to engage the *Romans* to come and besiege *Patara* ; and they liked the Proposal. They were sensible, that *Rhodes* would thereby be the more at Liberty to serve the *Roman* Confederates more effectually. But after all, there was another Affair, which they thought more urgent ; and that was, to hinder *Antiochus* from leaving *Sardis*, and falling down like a Torrent, on the Coasts of *Ionia* and *Æolis*. So that they only sent *Pamphilidas* with four Ships to enlarge *Chariclitus's* Fleet before *Patara*.

§. VIII. As for *Antiochus*, he, during his Abode at *Sardis*, used all possible means to gain himself Assistance from all the Kingdoms in *Asia*. In the first Place he cast his Eyes on *Prusias* <sup>28</sup>, King of *Bithynia*. He was a powerful Prince, and able to increase the *Syrian* Armies considerably : and in order to draw him into his Measures, *Antiochus* made use of the most powerful Argument that can be used with Sovereign Princes. He told him, That the only Point *Rome* had in view, was to destroy the monarchick State in all Places ; and That under the Pre-



<sup>28</sup> This *Prusias* was surnamed *The Hunter*, according to *Appian*. He was descended from the famous *Zipetes*, who took Possession of *Bithynia*, after the Death of *Lyfimachus*, one of *Alexander's* Successors. The Historians have given us such a Picture of *Prusias*, as does not prejudice us in his Favour. This Prince, says *Appian*, had an ugly Countenance, and a very disagreeable Figure, and Stature, being exceeding short. We find the Head

of this Prince on some Medals. The Reverse of that above is a *Jupiter*, holding a Crown of Laurel, This God was highly esteemed at *Tarentum*, a City of *Bithynia*. Hence the Surname of *TARENTÆUS*, which *Stephen of Byzantium* gives him ; and which we find likewise on another Medal of this King. *Beger* has placed it among his *Antiques*.



tence of Liberty, she solicited all Nations to shake off the Yoke of their Kings. Thus, said he, Flaminius reduced Philip so low, that he was only a King in Name. Thus the Republick forced Nabis to surrender up his Dominions. The Fire began in Macedon; spread to Lacedæmon; has now reached to me; and will ere long overtake you. As soon as the Syrian Throne is destroyed, Bithynia will have her Turn.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIII.  
L. CORNELI-  
US SCIPIO, C.  
LÆLIUS, Con-  
sul.

THE Scipio's were then upon their March, advancing towards Asia; and they were informed of Antiochus's Negotiation with Prusias, to draw him off, from Rome. Scipio Africanus therefore thought it proper to put a Stop to the Intrigues of the King of Syria; and sent a Courier to Bithynia for that Purpose. The Letter he wrote to King Prusias, was a very proper one to undeceive him. It ran thus. Rome is very far from being an Enemy to Sovereigns. How many petty Kings has she made powerful Monarchs? Has she not extended the Dominions of Cholcas and Indibilis in Spain? In Africa, has not Masinissa seen his Territories enlarged by the Protection of the Romans? Has not the Son of Syphax been put into Possession of the Inheritance of his Fathers? And in Illyricum, has not Pleuratus found his Power increase, by the favour of Rome, his Protectress. Philip indeed, by his Ambition, drew upon himself the Anger of the Romans; and their Victories so reduced him, as to leave him little more than the Title of King. But he has since that time altered his Conduct; and we have restored him his Children, and his Dominions. As for Nabis, we have left him in Possession of his Crown, though it was in our Power to have taken it from him. This Letter made a strong Impression on the Mind of Prusias. Nevertheless, he was still wavering between Antiochus, and the Romans; till at length, a new Embassy fixed him. The same C. Livius who had the last Year commanded the Roman Fleet on the Coasts of Asia, came from Rome to Bithynia. The Proposals he made to the Bithynian in the Name of his Republick, prevented his entering into the Engagements, which he was ready to have made with Antiochus: And Prusias so far became a Friend and Ally to the Romans, as even to demean himself, to oblige them.

Polyb. in Le-  
gat. c. 22

§. IX. So that the King of Syria having now no hopes of Bithynia, his whole Dependence was on his Fleet. He thought it would be of more Service to him, in his Design of keeping the Romans out of Asia, to make himself Master of the Seas; than to guard the Shores of the Hellespont, to hinder their Passage. With this View he left Sardis, and came to Ephesus. Polyxenidas was there waiting for him with a good Number of Ships, all well equipped, and well stored with Arms and Provisions. Indeed Hannibal, who was blocked up in the Ports of Pamphylia, had not yet brought his Phœnician Ships to the Rendezvous; but then the Romans, who lay at Anchor before Samos, were likewise deprived of the Assistance of a great Number of Rhodian Gallies, and of all those of Eumenes. Some continued before Patara, and others were cruising about the Mouth of the Hellespont. Antiochus therefore ordered Polyxenidas to engage the Enemy at Sea. As for himself, and his Land-Forces, he came and encamped at Notium, between Smyrna and Ephesus: And from thence fell down on Colophon, and besieged it. This City of Ionia had long been troublesome to Antiochus's Fleet. Being situated on an Eminence, the Colophonians discovered all that passed in the Port of Ephesus, and gave the Romans Advice of it. In the first Place therefore the King threw up a Line of Circumvallation round it, from the Extremity of the Port round to the Sea. Then he made his Assault, with all the Machines then used in taking Places. Mantelets, Rams, Covered Galleries, and Terrasses, were all employed against it. Antiochus expected that the Roman Fleet would have come to the Assistance of their Allies; and his Aim was, to draw it out of the Ports of Samos, and make Polyxenidas attack it. And indeed, the Colophonians sent some of their Citizens to Æmilius, to desire his Assistance

App. in Syriat.  
Livy, B. 37.  
c. 26.

<sup>29</sup> Notium, according to Livy, stood on the Coasts of Ionia, at the Distance of only ten thousand geometrical Paces from Colophon. But Strabo says, the Distance between them was twelve thousand.

<sup>30</sup> Colophon was one of the most considerable

maritime Cities in Ionia. It was one of the seven, that contended for the Glory of having given Birth to Homer. Scarce any Footsteps of it are now remaining. The Place where it stood is called at present Altobosco, according to Castaldus; or Belvedere, according to Le Noir.



Year of against an Enemy, which they had drawn upon themselves, only by their Fidelity  
 R O M E to Rome; and the Request of the Besieged broke the *Prætor's* Measures. *Emi-*  
 DLXIII. *lius* had determined to go and meet the *Scipio's*, and assist them in their Passage  
 L. CORNELI- into *Asia*. So that he hesitated between the pressing Wants of *Colophon*, and the  
 US SCIPIO, C. trifling Honour of paying his Court to the two *Roman* Generals. *Eudamus* there-  
 LÆLIUS, Con- fore remonstrated to him, that it was much more worthy of the *Roman* Name,  
 suls. to save the Lives and Liberties of the Distressed, than to give the Land-Army an  
 Assistance, which it did not want. The Fleet of King *Eumenes*, said he, is suffici-  
 ent to transport the Troops and Baggage of the Consular Army. Will you then lose  
 an Opportunity of delivering *Colophon*, out of the Danger it is in, and of giving  
 Battel to the Syrian Fleet? Your going to receive the *Scipio's*, at their Entrance  
 into *Asia*, is rather Matter of Civility, than Necessity. But to conquer the Enemy,  
 and preserve the *Colophonians* from impending Ruin, is doubtless, the indispensable  
 Duty of a *Roman* Admiral. And these Words from the prudent *Eudamus*, had  
 their designed Effect. *Æmilius* ordered the Fleet to get ready to sail. But be-  
 fore he attacked *Antiochus* before *Colophon*, he resolved to take in some Provisions  
 at *Chios*. The general Magazine of the *Romans*, both for their Sea and Land-  
 Forces, was there; and the *Prætor* had been informed, that a great Convoy of  
 Corn was arrived there, but that the Barks which were bringing the Wine, were  
 retarded by contrary Winds. His Recourse therefore in the latter Case, was to  
 31 *Teos*. He knew that the Inhabitants of *Teos* had promised the King of *Syria*  
 five thousand Hogsheads of their excellent Wine; and he resolved, either to force  
 the *Teians* to deliver it up to him, or else take and demolish their City. How-  
 ever, a Fleet of Pirates amused him for some time. He took it for a *Syrian* Squa-  
 dron, and chased it. And then the *Roman* Fleet made a Descent on *Teos*. There  
 were two Ports in this Island, one behind, and the other before, the City.  
*Æmilius* went to the Port, which was farthest from thence, to make his Descent,  
 and ravage the Country; and the poor Islanders sent Deputies to the *Prætor*, who,  
 in a suppliant manner, protested to him, that they had never taken up Arms  
 against the *Romans*. No, said *Æmilius*, but you have promised our Enemies  
 Wine; and if you will give us what was designed for them, we will put a Stop  
 to the Pillage. The *Teians* consented to it; and the *Prætor* sailed to the Port  
 next to the City, there to receive the Convoy.

§. X. In the mean time *Polyxenidas* sailed in all haste from *Colophon*, as soon  
 as he understood that the *Roman* Fleet was at *Teos*. He thought it yet in the  
 Port behind the City; rejoiced much at it; and expected to have been able to have  
 shut in the *Roman* Ships there, in the same manner as he had formerly invested  
 the *Rhodian* Gallies. And indeed, the second Port of *Teos* was very like that of  
*Samos*. The Mouth of it was formed by two Promontories, which came so near  
 each other, that two Gallies could scarce sail out of it a-breast. But *Polyxeni-*  
*das's* Mistake made him pay dear for his vain Artifices. He sheltered himself un-  
 der the Island of *Macris*, over against *Myonnesus*, and there kept his Fleet, as it  
 were in Ambush, in an unknown Port. He continued there in Silence two Days,  
 designing to attack the *Prætor*, as soon as a fair Wind, and favourable Opportu-  
 nity, would give him leave. But his Expectations were frustrated. The *Roman*  
 Fleet had changed their Post, by the Advice of *Eudamus*. Besides, a Peasant of  
 the Country came and told *Æmilius*, that there was a Fleet appeared in the  
 Port of *Macris*, very near *Myonnesus*; and this News made the *Roman* Admiral  
 doubly cautious. For fear of being surrounded in the New Port, where he waited  
 for the *Teian* Wine; and lest a Body of *Syrians* should land and surprise his  
 Troops, which were dispersed in the Fields; he sounded a Retreat, and ordered  
 the Fleet to sail. The Officers themselves went ashore, and dispersed themselves  
 about the Island, to gather together their scattered Men, and they all hastened to  
 the Fleet. Their Precipitation was so great, that the Men scarce knew their re-

31 *Teos* is a City yet in being, in *Ionis*; it is now called *Susor*. But others think it stood where now stands a neighbouring Village called *Segesi*. It was the Country of *Anacreon* the Poet, *Hecateus* the Historian, and *Protagoras* the Philosopher, whose Books were condemned to be burnt by the

*Athenians*. Nevertheless *Cicero* says, *De Nat. Den.* that the last was a Native of *Abdera*, a City of *Thrace*; perhaps because, according to *Strabo*, the Citizens of *Teos* left their City, to go and settle at *Abdera*.



pective Ships, and Posts. In order to prevent Confusion at going out of the Port, *Emilius* weighed Anchor first, and after him the *Roman* Ships, which he drew up in Line of Battel as fast as they came out. Then *Eudamus*, with his *Rhodian* Gallies, sailed out after them, and formed a second Line behind that of the *Romans*. Thus the two Fleets sailed on in good order, and were not perceived by the Enemy, till they appeared off *Myonnesus*. As for *Polyxenidas*, he only sought for a Battel; and seized this Opportunity for it. His Ships first advanced two and two. Then they made so large a Front, that they seemed to design to surround the first Line of the *Roman* Fleet. This *Eudamus* perceived; and in order to equal the Front of the *Romans*, as much as possible to that of the Enemy, he left the second Line, and with incredible Expedition, posted himself at the Point of the left Wing. His Ship was then directly opposite to that of *Polyxenidas*. In the *Roman* Fleet there were eighty Gallies, twenty two of which were *Rhodian*. The *Syrian* Fleet consisted of eighty nine Ships of the Line, some of which were of an enormous Size. Two of their Gallies were *Heptaremes*, and three others *Hexaremes*. But the Advantage, in Point of Valour, was wholly on the side of the *Romans*. And as to their Boats, if their own were heavier than the *Syrian*, this Disadvantage was abundantly made up to them, by the Lightness of the *Rhodian* Ships that joined them. The *Rhodians* had then invented a sort of Fire-ships, which struck much Terror into the *Syrian* Fleet. Cauldrons full of combustible and burning Materials, were hung out at the *Prows* of these Fire-ships: and not one of the Enemy's Ships durst come near them. As for the Fire-ships themselves, they fell on the *Syrian* Gallies, struck them with their *Spurs*, and at the same time set them on Fire. And this first Attack of the *Rhodian* Vessels, was as it were the Prelude to the Battel. A good Number of the *Syrian* Gallies left their Ranks, and crowded round the Fire-ships, not so much with intent to come up to them, as to keep hovering round them, and destroy their Crews, with Darts, Arrows, and Javelins. On the other hand, some of the *Roman* Ships sailed into the Spaces the *Syrians* had left, by quitting their Ranks, and attacked the *Syrian* Gallies behind; others grappled with them; and the *Romans* boarding them, their Valour was as successful now, as it generally had been in pitched Battels.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIII.  
L. CORNELI-  
US SCIPIO, C.  
LÆLIUS, Con-  
suls.

THE left of the Enemy was very severely handled. Some of their Ships were sunk, and others taken. The *Syrians* had no Advantage at all over the *Romans*, till a Galley of *Sidon*, and another of *Rhodes*, engaged. They struck at each other with their *Spurs*, with great Fury; and the *Rhodian* caught hold of the *Sidonian* Galley, with the Grapplings at her *Prow*. But in the Struggle to get loose, the Cable, by which the Grapplings were tied, twisted round the Capstan, and thereby made one side of the Rowers in the *Rhodian* Galley useless. So that it was then easy for the *Sidonians* to enter the *Rhodian* Galley, and seize her. And this was almost the only Advantage the Enemies had in all the Battel. *Polyxenidas*, when he saw his left Wing in such Disorder, thought of nothing but Flight; and the Wind standing fair for *Ephesus*, he clapped on all the Sails he could, and quitted the Fight. His right Wing, which had scarce had any Share in the Battel, did the same. In short, all the *Syrian* Fleet disappeared; and the *Romans* had no more Enemies to fight with. The Historians, who diminish most the Advantage of the *Prætor Emilius*, agree, that he sunk thirty nine of the Enemy's Ships, and took thirteen with all their Crews. But others say, that the King of *Syria* lost forty two of his Ships, exclusive of the thirteen Gallies, which either struck to the *Romans*, or were taken by them. On the side of the *Romans*, there were only two Ships destroyed, and the Vanquished carried a third to *Ephesus*.

§. XI. As for *Antiochus*, he had depended too much on his Fleet. He might have prevented the Passage of the *Scipio's* into *Asia*, if he had guarded the Ports in *The Thracian Chersonesus*, and had encamped his Land-Forces round *Lysimachia*. And after the Defeat of *Polyxenidas*, he took a mad Step. He recalled from *Europe* all the Garrisons that defended the few Places he had left there; and he caused *Lysimachia* to be evacuated, though that Place alone might have stopped the whole *Consular* Army for a great while. Then he complained of his hard Fate, in these Words. *I know not what God has insatuated me! Every thing happens contrary to my Expectations. I flattered myself that Philip of Macedon* App. in Syria.  
would



Year of *would join his Forces with mine. I creep on before the Romans, and am a*  
*R O M E to them, to shew them the Way to ruin me. Hannibal is at a great Distance from*  
 DLXIII. *me, and is besieged by the Rhodian Fleet in Pamphylia. And to complete my Mis-*  
 L. CORNELI- *fortunes, Polyxenidas, by his Flight, has left the Roman Admiral Master of the*  
 US SCIPIO, C. *Seas. Heaven persecutes me. And what can I infer from all this, but that my*  
 LÆLIUS, Con- *Ruin approaches.*  
 suls.

Liv. B. 37.

c. 31.

THESE Reflections exceedingly dejected him; the Syrian Army raised the Siege of Colophon; and the King retired, first to Sardis, and then to Cappadocia, to King Ariarathes his Son-in-Law. And there he made it his whole Business, to assemble all the Land-Forces he could, that were fit to make Head against the Scipio's. The Loss of one single Battel at Sea had discouraged him. Polyxenidas was forced to confess his Defeat. The Roman Fleet in vain appeared before Ephesus, to draw the Syrians to a second Engagement. Their Ardour was abated by their Losses. *Emilius* therefore returned to Chio, and there refitted his Gallies. Then he sent away a Squadron of thirty Boats, to assist the Roman Army in passing the Hellespont; and he went himself with the rest of his Fleet, and appeared before Phocæa, on the Confines of *Æolis* and *Ionis*. This City stood on a Gulph, which ran up very far into the Land. It was longer than it was broad, and was surrounded with a Wall of about two thousand five hundred Paces. The extreme Parts of the City towards the Sea, stood on a very narrow Neck of Land, which naturally formed two Ports, one to the right of it, and the other to the left. The former, which was the more spacious, held a great Number of Ships, and was therefore called *Naustathmos*. The second was called *Lamptera*, because a *Pharos* had been built there to light the Ships in the Night. The *Prætor* had then no Ships with him, but those of his Republick. He had sent the *Rhodians* Home. However, the latter were willing before they went to *Rhodes*, to assist in transporting the *Scipio's* to *Asia*: and whilst they were waiting for the Arrival of the Generals, *Emilius* turned towards *Phocæa*, and summoned it to surrender. But the City did not give the Roman the Answer he desired. Since its Engagements with *Antiochus*, it was become very steady in his Interest. So that it was necessary to besiege it; and it was battered from the two Ports, on both sides the Neck of Land that jetted out into the Sea. It seemed most easy to gain the Place, on the side of *Lamptera*. There were none of the Inhabitants in this Quarter. Scarce any thing was seen there, but some Temples erected to several Divinities. But nevertheless, when an Assault was made on that side, so great a Number of the People ran thither to defend it, and made so vigorous a Resistance, that the General was forced to sound a Retreat, and call back his Troops to his Ships. However, he did not raise the Siege. Towards the other Port, a Breach was made in the Wall with the Rams, and the Enemy were ready to mount it, when a Roman Officer remonstrated to the *Phocæans*, that the *Prætor* was more desirous of saving their Lives and Liberty, than they themselves were. *If you lay down your Arms*, said he to them, *we are ready to grant you the same Terms that Livius formerly offered you.* These Words a little abated the Fury of the Besieged; and they desired five Days time to consider of it: Nevertheless, the only use they made of this Suspension, was to send to King *Antiochus* for Succours. But what could they expect from a Prince, who was entirely disheartened by the Loss of his Fleet? The *Phocæans* did not bring back to their City so much as a general Promise, that they should be relieved some time or other. Nothing therefore remained but to submit to the Roman Yoke; and the Gates were opened. But when the Soldiers were entered into it, they said that the *Phocæans* were Rebels, who deserved the severest Punishments; and at these Words, they of their own Authority, without any Orders from the General, fell to plundering the City. It was in vain to call them back, or tell them, that a City which surrendered, was not to be treated like a City taken by Assault. The Avarice of the Soldiers prevailed over Discipline, and the Law of Nations. However, the *Prætor* at least assembled all the *Phocæans* of free Condition, in the Market-Place; and in order to comfort them for the Plunder of their Houses, he restored them their City, Liberty, and Territory, and gave them leave to be governed by their own Laws. And *Emilius* chose to winter in the Ports of *Phocæa*.



HOWEVER, all these Advantages gained at Sea, and on the Coast, by the *Prætor* Year of  
*Æmilius*, were only Preparations for the important Expedition, which the *Scipio's* *R O M E*  
 were going to enter upon in *Asia*. But in the mean time, the eldest of these two *DLXIII.*  
 illustrious Brothers, was sensibly affected with an Accident which had happened to *L. CORNELI-*  
 his dear Son. *Scipio Africanus* had brought with him into *Greece*, doubtless, to *US SCIPIO, C.*  
 form him to Arms, from his earliest Infancy: And he sent him in a *Chalcidian* *LÆLIUS, Con-*  
*Ship* to *Demetrias*, probably to prevent exposing him to any Hazards in *Asia*. But *suls.*  
 in his Passage, the Galley which carried him was attacked and taken by a *Syrian* *Livy, B. 37*  
*Ship*. When the young *Roman* was brought to *Antiochus*, he was very agreeably *c. 34.*  
 received. Never were any People more polite than the *Asiatics*. The *Syrian*  
 shewed the Son of the Great *Scipio*, all the Marks of Honour that were due to  
 his Birth, and the Reputation of his Father. The King could not have treated him  
 with more Respect, if *Syria* had been at Peace with *Rome*, and Hospitalities had  
 long been mutually exercised between the Family of the *Scipio's*, and that of  
*Antiochus*. But after all, the Detention of a Son, so tenderly beloved, was Mat-  
 ter of great Grief to his Father; though *Antiochus* kept him near himself, and  
 caressed him exceedingly.

§. XII. IN the mean time the *Consular* Army was still advancing through *Thrace*;  
 and at length arrived at the *Chersonesus*, very near the *Hellepont*. But the *Scipio's*  
 had Reason to expect, that *Lyfimachia* would much obstruct their Progress; and  
 they were never more surprised, than when they found, both That the Sea was  
 free, since the Victory of *Myonnesus*; and That *Lyfimachia* had opened her Gates.  
 The King of *Syria* had just drawn the Garrison out of it; and the *Syrians* had eva-  
 cuated it with such Precipitation, as to leave all their Provisions behind them. So  
 that the *Roman* Army, which was fatigued with a long March, found all sorts of  
 Refreshments there; and halted there some Days, waiting for the coming up of  
 the Stragglers, and the Sick. And there the *Romans* received a fresh piece of *App. in Syria.*  
 News, which was as surprising as the Desertion of that Place. On the opposite *N. 105.*  
 Shore of the *Hellepont*, stood *Abydos*, the Key of *Asia*, and the first City to be  
 taken, before a Settlement could be made there; and they were informed, That  
*Antiochus* had likewise abandoned this City, and drawn out its Garrison; and  
 That it was ready to receive them, as soon as they should arrive. By this the  
*Scipio's* formed a Judgment of *Antiochus's* Character; and were made very sensi-  
 ble, that when destitute of *Hannibal's* Advice, he was by no means a formidable  
 Enemy. But after all, it was in the Absence of the *Carthaginian* General, that  
*Antiochus* took up the imprudent Resolution to go and wait for the *Romans* in  
 the Heart of *Asia*, without disputing their Entrance into it. Through the Assist-  
 ance of the *Rhodian* Ships, and the Care of *Eumenes*, they passed the *Hellepont*,  
 with all the Order imaginable. The *Consul Cornelius* passed first into *Asia* with  
 the Bulk of the Army, and left his Brother on the other Shore in *Europe*. *Scipio* *Livy, B. 37.*  
*Africanus* was detained there by religious Duties. He was one of the *Salii*, that *c. 33.*  
 is, of the Priests of *Mars*, who every Year, after a solemn Sacrifice, carried through  
 the City of *Rome* those sacred Shields which *Numa* said he had received from  
 Heaven. During this Solemnity, the *Roman* Armies never undertook any Enter-  
 prise, at what Distance soever they were from the Capital. And the Priests of  
*Mars*, though Generals of Armies, did not stir out of the Place, where they were  
 32 for several Days. This was a troublesome Superstition, for the time the Festival  
 lasted. But it was an established Order; and the Great *Scipio* complied with it,  
 and continued all that time in *Europe*, whilst his Brother and the *Roman* Troops  
 were in *Asia*. As soon as *Antiochus* received the News, that the *Romans* were

32 Indeed, the ancient *Romans* were not suffered to go upon any Enterprize of Importance, during the three Days which the Feast of the *Salii* lasted; as we have observed in the first Volume. *Ovid* mentions no more than three, in his third Book of *Fasts*. He places the beginning of the Festival on *The Calends of March*; and says, that the two first Days of it were spent in the Ceremony of carrying the sacred Bucklers; and that on the third, the College of the *Salii* shut themselves up in the Temple of *Mars*, where this *Depositum* was carefully kept, as a Pledge of the Duration and Prosperity of the

Republick. After this, the *Roman* Historians say, that the *Salii* themselves were at Liberty to go about their ordinary Business, which had been interrupted, out of regard to Religion. *Polybius* is the only one who says, that this Solemnity lasted thirty Days. Perhaps, there is an Error crept into the Text. Nevertheless, it must be owned, that in some Calendars of the time of the Emperors *Constantinus* and *Constantinus*, this Festival was prolonged to *The seventh of the Ides of March*, that is, the ninth Day of that Month.



Year of  
ROME  
DLXIII.

L. CORNELI-  
US SCIPIO, C.  
LÆLIUS, Con-  
suls.  
Polyb. in Le-  
gat. c. 23.  
Liv. B. 37.  
c. 34.  
App. in Syriac.  
N. 105.

Livy B. 37.  
c. 35.

Livy. *ibid.*

Livy, *ibid.*

Livy, *ibid.*

Livy. *ibid.*

encamped near *Abydos*, he was seized with fresh Terror. He was fully persuaded that some Divinity, which was an Enemy to him, was contriving his Ruin; and turned all his Thoughts to Peace. He seldom employed any but Foreigners in his military Expeditions, and most important Negotiations; and he now pitched upon one *Heraclides*, who was born at *Bysantium*, and of *Thracian* Extraction, to go to the Camp of the *Scipio's*, and carry them new Proposals for a Peace. His Instructions were these. *You shall first address yourself to the eldest of the Scipio's, and do your utmost to gain his Good-will. Publius is an Hero of great Humanity, who captivated the Hearts of all the People in Spain and Africa. You shall make your Court to him with great Assiduity; and when you find him disposed to hear you, you shall assure him, that I will restore him, without Ransom, the Son whom he so tenderly loves, and whom I entertain at my Court, with all the Respect that he deserves. To this you shall add, That all my Treasures are at his Service; and That I am ready to share my Dominions to him, and almost every thing else, but the Title of King. But these Offers shall be made in secret, when only the Great Scipio and You are present. The Proposals you shall make to the Roman Council, in my Name, are these. You shall tell them, that I am ready to deliver to them, the Cities of Lampfacus, Smyrna, and Alexandria<sup>34</sup>, which are the Places, the Restitution of which they have most insisted on. To which you may add, That I am not averse to evacuating certain Places in Ionia, and Æolis, which the Romans are solicitous to get from me. And lastly, You shall promise in my Name, That I will pay Rome half the Expence she has been at, in bringing the War into Asia. Then Heraclides, ever faithful in executing his Master's Orders, when he had received these plenary Instructions, immediately set out for the Roman Camp, on the Banks of the *Hellepont*. He was extremely surprised not to find the eldest *Scipio* there, and therefore deferred having his Audience; and prolonged his stay at *Abydos*, under different Pretences. At length, as soon as *Publius* arrived, *Heraclides* was admitted into the Council of War; and his Speech was agreeable to his Instructions. Remember Romans, said he, the Vicissitudes of Fortune. If Men extend their Desires beyond reasonable Bounds, they expose themselves to the Danger of losing all. Is not Europe a Field large enough for your Conquests? Or can you preserve them, with as much Ease as you made them? Must Asia likewise be the Object of your Ambition? If it must, determine only how far you will go, and my Master is ready, for the sake of Peace, to deliver up some Parts of it to you. The Places in dispute between us at present, are Smyrna, Lampfacus, Alexandria, Troas, and *Lysimachia* in Europe. The last of which *Antiochus* has already given up, that he might not be said to have any thing in Europe. And he is likewise ready to give up those in Asia, and any others to which the Romans have any Claim. And lastly, he offers to bear half the Expence of the War.*

BUT though the Ambassador thought these very low and servile Conditions, they were not sufficient to satisfy the Roman Council. All the Answer he received was, that a Peace would not be granted to *Antiochus* on any, but the following Conditions. 1. That since he had drawn the War upon himself, he should pay the Republick all her Expences in it. 2. That he should restore Liberty to all the Cities in Asia, in general, which he kept in Subjection to him. 3. That in order to secure his Fidelity, and guard against his Hostilities, his Dominions should for the future reach no farther than to Mount *Taurus*<sup>35</sup>; that is, that Chain of

<sup>33</sup> Some affirm, says *Livy*, that *Scipio's* Son was surrounded by one of *Antiochus's* Squadrons, which was cruising along the Coasts of *Eubœa*, as he was passing from *Chalcis* to *Oreos*. Others pretend, That the young Roman was in Asia with his Father, and That having advanced at the Head of a small Body of *Fregellan* Horse, to reconnoitre the King of Syria's Camp, he was pursued in his Retreat, by a great Body of Syrian Horse, and either fell from his Horse, or as others, his Horse fell under him, and he was seized in this Condition by a Troop of the Enemy, and carried to *Antiochus*.

<sup>34</sup> We have already spoken of *Alexandria*, a maritime City of *Troas*. *Appian* places it on the

Banks of the River *Granicus*, in *Mysia*, which rises in Mount *Ida*, and discharges itself into the *Propontis*. Some call it *Granico*, to this Day; and others *Lazzara*.

<sup>35</sup> The Ancients gave the Name of *Taurus* to that long Chain of Mountains, which divides Asia in two Parts, much as the *Apennines* do Italy. This vast Body of Rocks reached from *Pamphylia* near Cape *Selidoni*, to the extreme Parts of *Assiana*, *Scythia*, and had different Names according to the different Countries they ran through. But the Name of *Taurus* belonged, strictly speaking, only to the Chain of Mountains, which separated *Pamphylia* and *Cilicia*, from *Armenia* the Less, and *Cappadocia*.



*Mountains, which begins towards the West of Lycia, and separate Cilicia, from the North Parts of Asia.* But the Ambassador thought the Pretensions of the Council intolerable; and therefore had no Resource left, but in the private Treaty he had Orders to attempt with *Scipio Africanus*. He was very assiduous at his Tent; and found ready Access to him. The Civilities of *Antiochus* to *Scipio's* Son, deserved at least a good Reception for his Ambassador at the Father's Hands; and *Heraclides* took him aside, and addressed himself to him, in this manner. Judge, my Lord, of the Esteem *Antiochus* has for you, by the Honours he pays your Son. He resides at the Syrian Court; and is there as well taken care of, as if he was a Prince of the Blood Royal. And *Antiochus* has Thoughts of delivering him up to you. Nay, my Commission reaches farther. My Master is not afraid to share his Treasures with you, and place you on the same Throne with him. If you can be content with a Crown, without the Title of King, which you have been taught to abhor, a Throne is at your Service. These Offers both surprized *Scipio*, and alarmed his Virtue. He loved his Son; but he had a Roman Spirit. And his Answer was suitable to the two different Passions which divided his Heart. If the King of Syria restores me my Son, said he, this will be a personal Obligation, which as a Father, I shall receive with Gratitude. But if he hopes to corrupt my Fidelity by his Promises, his Efforts are vain. As a good Citizen, I can neither receive any thing from an Enemy, nor promise any thing to him. But let me give him a little Advice, since that is all I can do, in the Condition to which he has reduced himself. He has suffered us to come over into Asia; whereas, *Lyfimachia* might have stopped us. Had he appeared on the Banks of the Hellespont with an Army, and disputed our passing it with us, he might perhaps have obtained more favourable Terms. But now, we are entered into Asia; and are as it were <sup>36</sup> Masters, both of the Horse and his Rider. So that, I can do nothing more for *Antiochus*, than pray the Gods, that he may never be in the Situation of my Son, and want that Protection, which he so generously gives the Child. And if he would preserve himself from so great a Misfortune; let him avoid coming to a pitched Battel with the Romans, on any Account, and accept of a Peace with them, on any Terms. This Advice is the strongest Testimony I can give him, both of my Esteem, and Gratitude.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIII.  
L. CORNELI-  
US SCIPIO, C.  
LÆLIUS, Con-  
suls.

Livy B. 37:  
c. 36.

§. XIII. THE ill Success of his Embassy sunk the King into a deep Melancholy. Though I have never fought with the *Scipio's*, said he, they treat me as if they were my Conquerors. They banish me beyond Mount Taurus. What could they do more, if they had seen my Phalanx broken, and my Army fly before them? Let us then try the Fate of Arms; and not suffer imaginary Dangers to extort from me, what Fortune may preserve for me! And these Reflections made him turn all his Projects of a Peace, into serious Preparations for War. He encamped near <sup>37</sup> *Thyatira*, and there assembled all his Forces. On the other hand, the Roman Army left the Banks of the Hellespont, and advanced farther into Asia. It first entered *Mysia*, and encamped towards <sup>38</sup> *Dardanum*, and then towards Cape *Rhæteum*. These Cities readily surrendered to the Romans. <sup>39</sup> *Ilium*, in Troas especially, opened her Gates with Pleasure, to receive the Descendents of *Aeneas*, and rejoiced to see her Children return with so much Glory to their Mother-City. The Consul went and offered Sacrifices in the Temple of *Minerva*. From thence he marched, in six Days, to <sup>40</sup> *Elæa*, towards the Mouth of the *Caicus*. As this City was subject to the Kings of *Pergamus*, *Eumenes* endeavoured to get thither before the Romans; but contrary Winds retarded his Fleet. However he landed,

<sup>36</sup> *Scipio* alludes to the Fable of the Horse, which is mentioned by *Aristotle*, in the second Book of his *Rhetorick*.

<sup>37</sup> *Thyatira* was one of the most considerable Cities in *Lycia*. It is still in being, and is called *Tyria*, or *Tyra*, if we believe *Leunclavius*. Time has preserved several ancient Monuments among its Ruins. *Pliny* also gives the Name of *Thyatira* to one of the *Archinades* Islands.

<sup>38</sup> We have already spoken of *Dardanum*, which was built by *Dardanus*, a King of the Trojans, on the Asiatick Coasts of the Hellespont.

<sup>39</sup> The City of *Ilium*, which took its Name

from *Ilus*, a King of the Trojans, its Founder, stood in *Phrygia Minor*, between the Coasts of the Hellespont and Mount *Ida*. After it had been destroyed by the Greeks, it was rebuilt in the same Place. There are yet to be seen, thirteen Miles from the Sea, the Ruins of this ancient City, which still retain the Name of *Troy*.

<sup>40</sup> *Elæa*, a City of *Æolis*, bordered upon Great *Mysia*, on the Coasts of the *Ægean* Sea, twenty five Miles from *Pergamus*. From the Name of this City, that part of the Sea, which reaches from it, to the Island of *Lesbos*, was called *The Gulph of Elæa*, now *The Gulph of Guereftio*.



Year of *R O M E* came to the Camp of the *Scipio's*, returned immediately to *Pergamus*, and brought Provisions from thence for the Army. But *Eumenes's* Care did not secure the eldest *Scipio* from the Disease which seized him near *Elæa*. *Antiochus's* Camp was not far from thence; and as soon as this Prince heard at *Thyatira*, that *Scipio* was sick, he immediately sent his Son to him. A most noble Instance of Generosity, in an Enemy so lately provoked! *Scipio* received the Present from the King, with all the Gratitude that was due to him; and set no Bounds to his Joy. He embraced his Son a thousand times; and his Transports at seeing him, gave a turn to his Distemper, and cured him. After he had strictly charged the Person who brought his Son to him, to return his Thanks to *Antiochus*, he added, That he could no otherwise shew his Gratitude at present, than by giving him one piece of Advice, which was, That the King would by no means hazard a Battel, till he heard, that *Scipio* was perfectly recovered, and returned to the *Roman* Camp. Indeed we cannot say, whether this Advice was given purely to serve the King of *Syria*. May we not suspect, that the Great *Scipio* was apprehensive, that his Brother would make an ill Use of the time in which he lay sick, to give Battel without him? Had he no Regard in it to his own Glory, or the Interest of *Rome*? But be that as it will, the *Consul* appointed *Cn. Domitius* to be his Lieutenant-General, in the room of his Brother, and marched towards the Camp of *Thyatira* without him. Perhaps the younger Brother did not doubt but he should be able to conquer, without sharing the Glory of the Victory with the elder.

*Livy, B. 37.  
c. 37.  
App. in Syriac.  
N. 106.*

*ANTIOCHUS* had in his new Army seventy thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse; which were more than enough to have destroyed the *Roman* Camp. Nevertheless, the King paid so much Regard to the Advice of the Great *Scipio*, that he would not wait for the *Consul*, in the Plain of *Thyatira*. He moved from thence; left the River <sup>41</sup> *Hermus*, between him and the *Romans*; came and encamped near <sup>42</sup> *Magnesia*, within reach of Mount <sup>43</sup> *Sipylus*; and nothing could be more formidable, than the Entrenchments, with which he covered himself, to prevent his being attacked in this new Post. He dug a Ditch round his Camp six Cubits deep, and twelve broad. This Ditch was guarded on the Outside with a double Row of Pallisades; and the second Row was defended, at proper Distances, by good Walls and Towers, to keep off the Enemy. So that *Antiochus* thought himself free from all Danger, in so well fortified a Post. In the mean time the *Consul* left the Banks of the *Caicus*, and advanced, by great <sup>44</sup> Marches, towards *Thyatira*, where he presumed the King was yet encamped. But being at length informed of the new Situation of the *Syrian* Army, he turned towards the Banks of the *Hermus*, and posted himself at first about four Miles from the Enemy. And whilst he was laying out the Dimensions of his Camp, and giving Orders concerning it, about a thousand *Gauls*, mixed with some *Scythians*, first appeared in sight of the *Romans*, and came to attack them. We have already observed, that the *Galatians*, originally *Gauls*, had followed the Standards of the King of *Syria*; and it may be affirmed, that they were the first Aggressors, that made any Attempt against the *Roman* Army. How dearly they paid for embarking in a War against *Rome*, will appear hereafter. Even this first Battel did not end to their Advantage. The *Romans* repulsed the thousand *Gauls*, and whilst they were endeavouring to repass the River, some of them lost their Lives. Then both Parties continued unactive for some Days. After which the *Romans* passed the River, and came and posted themselves about two thousand five hundred Paces from the Enemy's Trenches. Three thousand *Syrians* attacked them, whilst they were fortifying

<sup>41</sup> According to *Appian*, *Antiochus* removed his Camp into the Neighbourhood of Mount *Sipylus*, on this side the River, which waters *Phrygia*. The Question therefore is, what River he means. And some conjecture, that he meant the *Hermus*, which rises in that Country, and discharges itself into the Sea, near *The Gulph of Smyrna*, after it has run through part of *Æolis*, and *Lydia*.

<sup>42</sup> The City of *Magnesia* here spoken of, is now the Capital of the Province. It belongs to *Lydia*, and borders on *Phrygia Major*. There was in *Caria* a City of the same Name, of which we shall speak hereafter.

<sup>43</sup> There were two Mountains called *Sipylus*, one in *Peloponnesus*, according to *Plutarch*, and the other in *Lydia*. *Livy* and *Appian* must be understood of the latter. *Pliny* also speaks of a City of *Lydia*, called *Sipylus*, which was swallowed up in an Earthquake. Near it was a Salt Pool, which the same Author calls *The Pool of Tantalus*.

<sup>44</sup> *Livy* says, the *Consul* arrived in the Territory of *Hircania* in five Days time. This little Canton was bounded by the Rivers *Hermus*, and *Caicus*.



their new Camp; but these were likewise repulsed, and lost two hundred Men, partly killed upon the Spot, and partly taken. Both Parties marched out of their Camp every Morning, and drew up in Order of Battel; but so near their Trenches that they did not seem very willing to fight. Till at length, the *Romans* first marched into the Plain, and seemed to offer a Challenge. But *Antiochus* would not accept it. He still continued near his Entrenchments. So that these Delays tired out the Patience of the *Consul*. He, doubtless, dreaded his Brother's Arrival, as much as *Antiochus* desired it. In case of any Misfortune, the Great *Scipio* was a *dernier Resort* for the King. As the *Syrian* had deserved his Good Will, he depended on his Affection. In the mean time, *Cornelius* called a Council of War in all Haste; and remonstrated, that they could not be too quick in entering upon Action. *The Winter approaches*, said he, *and the Season will soon force us either to take other Quarters, or spend the Winter in Tents. Let us then delay fighting no longer. Let us walk over the Bellies of this Multitude of effeminate Asiatics, and make a Breach in their Entrenchments.* And all were unanimous. Every Man present was for attacking the Palisades, and Walls, of these timorous Troops, if they still continued to decline a Battel.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIII.  
L. CORNELI-  
US SCIPIO, C.  
LÆLIUS, Con-  
suls.  
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Livy, B. 37.  
c. 39.

§. XIV. As for *Antiochus*, he was piqued in Point of Honour. Whether *Hannibal* was then in the Camp, or in *Pamphylia*, is uncertain. But be that as it will, the King considered that it would be shameful for him to fear the *Romans*, whose Army was less numerous than his own, in a Friend's Country, and in the midst of his Allies, whose Esteem he was nearly concerned to cultivate; and he preferred a Battel, to a timorous Defence of his Trenches. The *Roman* Army did not consist of more than between twenty eight and thirty thousand Men; that is, of more than four *Legions*<sup>45</sup>, of five thousand five hundred Men each, partly *Romans*, and partly *Latins*; and of seven thousand Men with which the Kings of *Macedon* and *Pergamus* had re-inforced the *Legions*: And two thousand of these *Romans* were ordered to guard the *Roman* Camp, during the Action. There were Elephants on both Sides; but the greatest Number of them, and the strongest, were in the *Syrian* Army. *Antiochus* also presented to the Enemy Men mounted on Camels, Animals then unknown to the *Roman* Troops. It was likewise customary with the *Syrians*, to place at the Head of their *Phalanx*, a Line of Chariots which had long Halberts fastened to their Poles, and sharp Hooks to their Axle-trees. So that the former were about the Height of a Man's Head, and the latter almost swept the Ground, and cut the Legs of the Enemy's Soldiers. The *Romans* were drawn up, as usual, in three Lines; the *Hastati* in the first, the *Principes* in the second, and the *Triarii* in the third, with Spaces between each *Manipulus*, and each Line. The Auxiliaries, which consisted of *Acheans*, *Macedonians*, and *Pergamians*, formed a Body by themselves, which was commanded by the *Achean* General, and the King of *Pergamus*. It was posted in the same Line with the *Hastati*, and lengthened their Front. In the right Wing, the *Consul* posted a Body of Cavalry. The *Romans* had not brought above two thousand Horse into *Asia*; *Eumenes* had furnished them with eight hundred; and the *Triballes*<sup>46</sup> and *Cretans* with five hundred more. *Cornelius* did not think any Cavalry necessary in the left Wing; the Point of it abutted upon the River, the Banks of which were steep. So that only four Squadrons were posted there. As for the Elephants, the *Romans* would scarce vouchsafe to make use of them. They had but fourteen; whereas the *Syrian* had fifty four. Besides, the Elephants the *Consul* had, came from *Africa*; and those of *Antiochus*, from *India*. The latter vastly excelled the former, in Strength, Height, and Courage. So that young *Scipio* only made his Elephants a Sort of *Corps-de-reserve*, which he placed behind his Army.

As for the *Syrian* Army, all the Nations of the East seemed to be assembled together in it, to maintain *Antiochus's* Quarrel. But after all, the main Strength of his Army consisted in ten thousand *Phalangites*; that is, ten thousand Men armed with long Pikes, who faced every Way. This Body of Men were taught to fight

<sup>45</sup> Two of these four *Legions* consisted of Auxiliaries. Tho' the Term *Legion*, strictly speaking, signified only the *Roman* Soldiers.

<sup>46</sup> In most MSS. of *Livy* we read *Tralli*, that is, the *Trallians*; which was the Name given to

certain Nations in *Illyricum*, which bordered upon *Thrace*. But *Stephen of Byzantium* seems not to distinguish them from the *Triballes*, who inhabited the Country of the *Bulgarians*.



Year of in close Order, as the Soldiers of *Alexander the Great* had formerly been. Ne  
 R O M E vertheless, *Antiochus's Phalanx* was not drawn up as usual. All the Ranks of i  
 DLXIII: were not united together. The King divided it into ten Parts, separated from each  
 L. CORNELI- other by Spaces, and in each Space he posted an Elephant loaded with a Tower  
 US SCIPIO, C. The *Phalanx* was in the Center of the Battel; fifteen hundred *Galatian* Horse  
 LÆLIUS, CON- were placed next to it, to the right; and next to them were three thousand Horse  
 suls. more, barbed and caparisoned; and their Riders armed with *Cuirasses*, *Brasses*,  
 and Steel *Cuisses*. At some Distance from these followed the Cavalry of the King's  
 Household, richly dressed; and wearing Bucklers adorned with Silver. In the same  
 Line appeared twelve hundred *Scythians* on Horseback, armed with Bows and  
 Arrows. The light-armed Troops, to the Number of three thousand, partly *Tral-*  
*lians* <sup>47</sup>, and partly *Cretans*; with about ten thousand five hundred *Mysian* Archers  
 and four thousand Men more, partly *Cyrtæans* <sup>48</sup> armed with Slings, partly *Per-*  
*sians* armed with Bows, and partly *Arabians* mounted on Dromedaries; closed the  
 right Wing. *Antiochus* commanded it in Person, in the midst of a Body of *Sy-*  
*rians* and *Lydians* well mounted, and not very heavily armed. The left Wing  
 was commanded by Prince *Seleucus*, and *Antipater*; the former the Son of the  
 King, the latter his Nephew. The Disposition of it was this. At the Side of the  
*Phalanx* were posted fifteen hundred *Galatians*, and two thousand *Cappadocians*,  
 which King *Ariarathes* <sup>49</sup> had sent to his Father-in-law's Assistance. Next to these  
 were posted two thousand seven hundred Auxiliaries, sent from different Places.  
 Next them were three thousand *Cuirassiers*, mounted on barbed Horses. And last-  
 ly, in the Point of the left Wing, were placed two thousand other Horse, more  
 lightly accoutered. In order to cover this Wing, the light-armed Troops, partly  
 Foot, and partly Horse, hovered about the Point of it. Among these there were  
 two thousand five hundred *Galatian* Horse, some of those Horse which were cal-  
 led *Tarantines* <sup>50</sup>, some *Cretans* newly landed, some *Carians*, some *Cilicians*,  
 and lastly, some Soldiers raised in the most distant Provinces of *Asia*. The  
*Phalanx*, which was, properly speaking, the main Body of the Army, was com-  
 manded by three Officers, one of which was named *Minio*, another *Zeuxis*, and  
 the third was one *Philip*, who was Master of the Elephants. It may be affirmed,  
 that the *Romans* never saw a more numerous Army, or one more finely adorned;  
 the Elephants especially, which carried Towers with several Floors, full of Slingers  
 and Archers, were a very formidable Sight. Besides, the Chariots armed with  
 Hooks, which were drawn up in good Order before the first Line, and the *Arabs*  
 mounted on Dromedaries, which were to support them, had a terrible Aspect.  
 Nevertheless, the *Legionaries* never had so great a Contempt of any Army, as of  
 this they were now going to engage.

The Heavens seemed to favour the *Romans*. The Day of the Battel was cloudy  
 and moist. The Fog which rose very early in the Morning, slackened the Strings  
 of the Bows and Slings. So that the *Asiatics* who used them, could shoot their  
 Darts, and throw their Stones, but faintly. Whilst the more heavy Arms of the  
*Romans* received no Damage from the Moisture. Besides, as the *Consular* Troops  
 took up but little Ground, the Fog was not thick enough to prevent their Gene-  
 ral's seeing the *Manipuli* which were at the greatest Distance from the Center.  
 Whilst the *Syrians*, on the contrary, extended so far, that it was not possible for  
 their Commanders to have all the *Corps* in view, and send them Orders in time.  
 The whole Dependance of *Antiochus* in the first Attack was on those murdering  
 Chariots which were to cut their Way into the *Roman Manipuli*. But *Eumenes*  
 undertook to hinder their having any ill Effect; and even to render them fatal to  
 the *Syrians*. This Brave Prince put himself at the Head of the Dartmen and  
 Slingers, and in a word, of all the light-armed Soldiers in the *Roman* Army, and  
 ordered them to aim only at the Horses in the Chariots. As soon as the Drivers

App. in Syriac.  
N. 108.

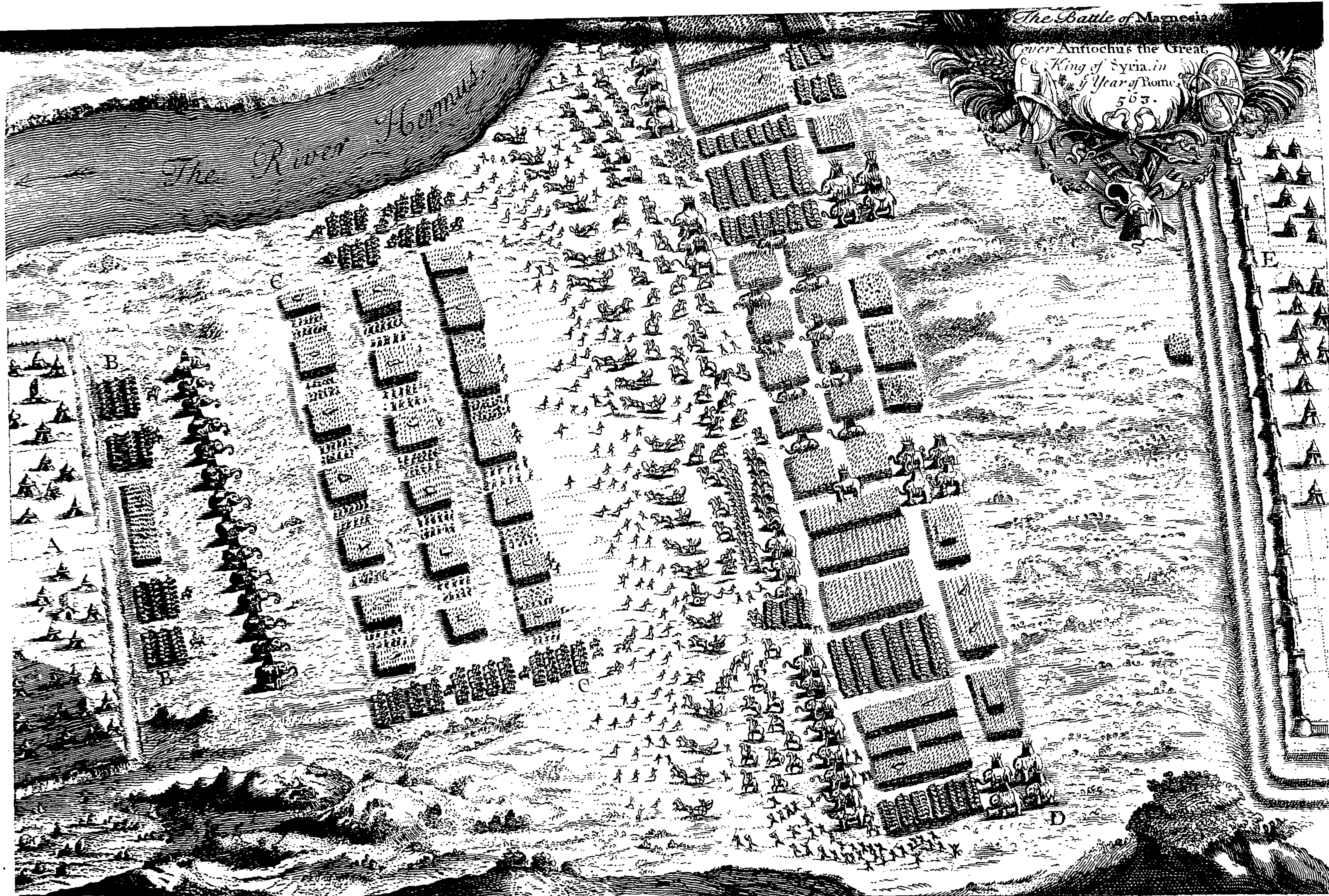
<sup>47</sup> It is uncertain whether *Livy* means by the Word *Tralles*, the Inhabitants of *Trallis* in *Lydia*, or the *Trallians* spoken of in the preceding Note.

<sup>48</sup> *Pliny the Naturalist* places the Nation of the *Cyrtæans* near the Mounts *Zagrus* and *Niphates*, towards the Confines of *Media* and *Armenia*. These People had made themselves famous by their Robberies.

<sup>49</sup> The *Ariarathes* here mentioned, was the fifth King who reigned in *Cappadocia*, from *Pharnaces* the first.

<sup>50</sup> *Asilian* speaks of the Horsemen called *Tarantines*, who besides the Horses they rode, led every Man another, to be ready in case they wanted it.





A. The Roman Camp. BB. A Corps de reserve left to guard the Roman Camp. CC. The Roman Army. DD. Antiochus's Army. E. Antiochus's Camp.



had made the Air ring with their Whips, a Detachment of the *Roman* Army Year of  
 quitted their Ranks, came before the Horses, widened in the Plain, ran to meet *R O M E*  
 the Chariots, frightened the Horses with their Shouts, threw Darts and Stones at *DLXIII.*  
 them, and kept moving round the Machines, to avoid meeting them. And this *L. CORNELI-*  
 Way of fighting succeeded; and the King of *Pergamus* had all the Honour of it. *US SCIPIO, C.*  
 The Horses, when they saw and felt the Darts and Stones so thick about them, *LÆLIUS, Con-*  
 held the Bits fast in their Teeth, turned about, and fell on the *Arabians* who sup-  
 ported them. These, who were mounted on Dromedaries, and armed with long  
 Broad-Swords, to cut thro' the Infantry, were routed by the Chariots, and cut in  
 Pieces by their Hooks; and the heavy armed Cavalry suffered yet more by them.  
 So that great Out-cries were heard, and there was great Confusion in that Quarter.  
 Those in the *Syrian* Army, who were posted at a Distance, heard confused Groans;  
 but knew not the Cause of them. So that the Prelude to the Action only struck  
 Terror into the *Syrians*, and the Chariots did no Damage to any but those who  
 used them.

AFTER this first Advantage, the *Romans* were at Liberty to fight in the same *Livy, B. 37.*  
 Order as usual. Their Cavalry moved first, and attacked the Side where the Cha- *c. 41.*  
 riots had caused some Disorder. The intimidated *Syrians* but faintly sustained the  
 first Onset of the Enemy. Their Cavalry gave way, and the *Romans* made a great  
 Slaughter of their Men and Horses, which were borne down with the Weight of  
 their Armour. *Eumenes* pressed the left Wing, in which *Seleucus* commanded,  
 with such Vigour, that he put it to the Rout; and the Fugitives were in such Con-  
 fusion, that they disordered the main Body. The *Phalanx* of which it consisted  
 was put into some Confusion, by the great Number of the Fugitives, who returned  
 upon it, and sought for Refuge in it. So that, by this Reflux of the affrighted  
*Syrians* the *Phalanx* was dis-united; but the Pikes with which it was so thick set, *App. in Syriac.*  
 still seemed formidable. *Domitius* advanced up to it with his *Legionaries*, but *N. 109.*  
 could not break it. He therefore only threw some Darts at it, which all did some  
 Execution. These *Phalangites* were drawn up in too close Order. They neither  
 had Room enough to march up to the Enemy, or to ward off their Darts. They  
 could only present their Pikes, which were an impregnable Rampart for them.  
 There was no way of breaking into them but by attacking the Elephants in the  
 Spaces of the *Phalanx*. The *Romans* had now long learnt, in their Wars with  
*Pyrrhus* and *Hannibal*, not to fear these Monsters which were formerly so terrible;  
 and they either attacked them in Flank with their Darts, or cut off their Trunks *Livy, B. 37.*  
 with their Swords. So that the *Phalanx* was put into Disorder on the Side which *c. 42.*  
 faced the *Romans*, by those very Animals which were posted in it for its De-  
 fence.

BUT in the mean time, *Antiochus* seemed to have the Advantage in his right  
 Wing. The left Point of the *Romans*, which he was to fight with, was open  
 towards the Banks of the River. The four Squadrons which flanked it, had joined  
 the rest of their Cavalry, to go and fall upon the Vanquished in the left Wing.  
*Antiochus* therefore with the Cavalry of his Wing, attacked and surrounded  
 that Point of the *Roman* Army; and the Side where the King engaged, was  
 hard pressed. The Infantry there disbanded themselves, and ran, as fast as  
 they could, to their Camp. A *Legionary Tribune* had been left in the Camp  
 with two thousand Men under his Command, to defend it. The *Tribune's*  
 Name was *Æmilius*, and the Glory he acquired will never die. He went  
 at the Head of his Men, and met the Fugitives of his Party, turned his Arms  
 against them, reproved them for their Fearfulness, rallied them, and led them back  
 to their Post. Nor was this all. He taught them, by his own Example, not to  
 fear the Enemy any more. And then, the Arrival of *Attalus* the Brother of King  
*Eumenes*, at the Place where the *Romans* had appeared disheartened, gave them  
 Courage. As soon as this Prince had perceived that the *Romans* gave way, he  
 came from the right Wing to the left, with two hundred Horse; and this Motion  
 determined the Fate of the Battel. As soon as *Antiochus* perceived that the Troops  
 he had put to flight, returned to the Battel, with new Forces, and that the victori-  
 ous Wing was coming to fall upon him, he thought only of Flight. He turned  
 his Horse about; and this Signal determined the rest of the Troops to follow his  
 Example. The whole *Syrian* Army immediately turned their Backs. *Eumenes*  
 only,



Year of only, at the Head of the Cavalry pursued them, and made a terrible Slaughter of *R O M E* them. As for the *Romans*, they walked over Heaps of dead Bodies, especially in the Place where the *Phalanx* had been broken; and went and attacked the *Syrian* Camp, and plundered it. The Riches they found there in Gold, Silver, Ivory, Horses, and Camels, are not to be described. Indeed, the taking of this Camp cost the *Romans* a new Battel. But then it was also a more bloody one to the *Syrians*, than that in the open Field. The latter shut their Gates against the Conquerors, who broke them open, and gave no Quarter to Men obstinately bent on their own Destruction. The Historians say, that in the Battel of *Magnesia* (for that was the Name of the City which was famous for this great Action) *Antiochus* lost fifty thousand Men, <sup>51</sup> including the Prisoners of War. Almost all the Elephants were killed or taken by the Enemy. But the *Romans* took only fifteen alive. In the *Consular* Army there were but three hundred Foot killed, and twenty five Horse; and *Eumenes* is said to have had only fifteen of his Men killed. The Victory was so complete, that it seemed a Prodigy to all the Nations, both of the East, and West. All were surprised to hear, that Foreigners, who came from such a Distance should, with so much Advantage, fight with Men in their own Country, where all about them were their Friends. Even the Friends of *Antiochus*, imputed the Misfortune wholly to him. *In the first Place*, said they, *it was Rashness in him to enter into a War with the Romans; and in the next, it was his Imprudence gave the Romans this Advantage over him. If he had resolved to fight them, why did not he guard his Chersonesus, and his City of Lyfimachia, in Europe? Why did he not Line the Hellespont with his formidable Army? Why did he not defend Abydos, and hinder the Scipio's from entering Asia? Nay, why did he even in the Action itself, as it were, bury that formidable Phalanx, in which the whole Strength of his Army consisted? Why did he shut it up in the Center of his Army? Why did he lead to the Battel only foreign Troops, and new Levies, which were terrified and dispersed themselves at the bare Sight of the Romans?* Indeed, this single Overthrow, robbed *Antiochus* of all his past Glory. *He formerly assumed the Title of The Great, said the Romans, but we have taken it from him.* And indeed, the King of *Syria* durst not appear any more before a *Consular* Army. He retired to <sup>52</sup> *Sardis* for Shelter; but soon left it to rejoin his Son *Seleucus*, who was retired to <sup>53</sup> *Apamea*. And this was his last Retreat. He carried thither his Wife, the beautiful *Chalcidian*, with whom he was yet desperately in Love, in an advanced Age.

§. XV. As for the *Consul*, he made the best Use of the Defeat and Flight of the Enemy. He made himself Master of all the neighbouring Nations, which surrendered themselves up to him. There came Deputies to him from *Thyatira*, *Magnesia*, <sup>54</sup> *Tralles*, another <sup>55</sup> *Magnesia* on the Borders of *Caria*, and lastly, from all <sup>56</sup> *Lydia*. *Ephesus* itself, which was so dear to the vanquished King, went over to the *Romans*. *Polyxenidas*, upon the News of the King's Defeat, left the Port of *Ephesus*, and carried his Fleet to *Patara*. There the Admiral landed, and, with a very small Guard, returned by Land into *Syria*. Thus *Antiochus's* Affairs were in a very bad Situation, both at Sea and Land. As for *Cornelius*, he took the Road to *Sardis*, which had surrendered to him. The Great *Scipio* his Brother came and joined him there, as soon as his Health would give him Leave. He loved *Lucius* too well to be jealous of the Glory he had so lately acquired. And indeed it

<sup>51</sup> *Livy* says there were fifty thousand of *Antiochus's* Foot, and four thousand of his Horse, killed on the Spot; and that fourteen hundred more of the Horse, and fifteen Elephants with their Guides, were taken by the Conquerors.

<sup>52</sup> *Sardis* was the Capital of *Lydia*, from the time of King *Crasus*, who made it his Place of Residence. It stood near Mount *Tmolus*, where the *Pactolus* rises, between the *Meander* and the *Hermonus*.

<sup>53</sup> There were several Cities in *Asia* called *Apamea*. That here spoken of was surnamed *Gibotos*, and *Gelena*. It stood in *Great Phrygia*, near the Place where the River *Marfyas* runs into the *Meander*.

<sup>54</sup> *Tralles*, or *Trallis*, was a City of *Lydia*. The Geographers place it between the River *Cayster*, and

the *Meander*. *Pliny* calls it *Seleucia*, and *Evantia*. *Stephen of Byzantium* calls it *Eurymnæ*. *Cicero*, in his *Oration for Lucius Flaccus*, and *Strabo*, B. 14. boast much of the Wealth of this City. There now remain no Footsteps of its former Grandeur. The Place where it stood is now called *Ghora*.

<sup>55</sup> This City of *Magnesia*, which was different from that spoken of above, belonged to *Caria*. *Strabo* places it near the *Meander*, towards the Confines of *Ionia*. The Moderns now call it *Mangresia*.

<sup>56</sup> *Lydia*, (anciently called *Mæonia*, according to *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolomy*) contained that Country which was bounded by *Great Phrygia*, to the East and North; by *Lycia*, to the South; and by *Ionia*, to the West.



may be affirmed, that the *Consul* had but a small Part in the Victory which the *Romans* had just gained, in his Name. The Historians who relate the Affair of *Magnesia*, don't mention any valiant Action, or prudent Orders, by which the *Consul* signalized himself, during the Battel. They ascribe all the Success of it to *Eumenes*, King of *Pergamus*, and Prince *Attalus* his Brother. But be that as it will, young *Scipio* took the Surname of *Asiaticus*, as his elder Brother had done that of *Africanus*. Nevertheless, there was a great deal of Difference between the Civil and Military Virtues of one and the other. *Publius* loved Glory only for the sake of the publick Good; *Lucius* sought it, only to aggrandize himself. The one was desirous of fighting, only to increase his Fame. The other had nothing in view but the Welfare of his Country; and was ever ready to sacrifice the Glory which attends Victory, to a Peace which was useful to his Republick.

Year of  
ROM E  
DLXIII.  
L. CORNELI-  
US SCIPIO, C.  
LÆLIUS, Con-  
suls.

THE King of *Syria* knew this to be the amiable Character of the Great *Scipio*; and after his Rout, placed all his Dependence upon him. He had ordered the Ambassadors he had sent from *Apamea* to the Camp at *Sardis*, to treat chiefly with the elder Brother. And accordingly, *Antipater* and *Zeuxis*, the Heads of the Embassy, had addressed themselves to *Scipio Africanus*, and intreated him to pave the Way for a perfect Reconciliation between their King and *Rome*. Upon what Terms, said they to him, may we be admitted into the Friendship of the Senate and People of *Rome*? And these Words softened the Heart of the Great *Scipio*. It was *Antiochus's* own Fault, said he to them, that he embarked in this destructive War. How fatal has his Ambition been to him! He was Master of a great Empire, and might have ruled it in Peace, without being troubled by any Fear of our Arms. But what did he do? The Love of Conquest made him take *Cœlo-Syria* from *Ptolomy*, our Friend, Ally, and Ward. He revived some old Pretensions to Europe. He seized the *Chersonesus*; and raised *Lyfimachia* out of its Ashes. Nay, he took a bolder Step than all this. Greece had just been settled in the full Enjoyment of her Liberty, by *Flamininus*; and *Antiochus* took it into his Head to bring it again under the Yoke of Slavery. He broke the Union settled between the Republicks; and solicited the Kings to disturb the Tranquillity of it. Nay, tho' overcome at *Thermopylæ*, he did not restrain his Desires. He raised his Hopes, and multiplied his Hostilities, after his Loss. He pursued us, both by Sea and Land. And when even his Sea-Fights were unsuccessful, he still depended on overcoming us in Asia. How many Nations did he assemble together? How many Enemies has he raised up against us? And after all this, he neglected my Advice; and hazarded a Battel, during my Absence. Has he not then deserved the Misfortunes which he has rashly drawn upon himself? *Antiochus* is the sole Cause of all he suffers. Nevertheless, we will not abuse our Victory, so as utterly to destroy him. I will intercede with my Brother for him. These Words gave the Deputies some faint Glimmerings of Hope; and *Antipater* and *Zeuxis* laboured to appease *Eumenes*, whom they looked on as the most implacable Enemy of *Antiochus*. And at last, at the Desire of *Scipio Africanus*, a Council of War was called, and the Syrian Ambassadors introduced into it. They spoke with all the Submission that became a vanquished People, and said, It is to you yourselves that we apply, to know, by what Expiations we may appease the Anger of the Republick. All the Kings your Enemies have hitherto experienced your Clemency, after their Defeat. Shall we then be the only People whom you will sacrifice to Vengeance? There is no Victory you ever gained before, has given you so much Reason to favour the Vanquished as the last. It assures you of the Conquest of the whole World. It raises you up to a Level with the Gods. Learn then to be, like them, slow to punish, and ready to forgive!

BUT this submissive Speech made no Alteration in the Answer which the Council of War had drawn up, before the Ambassadors were called in. The *Consul* desired that *Scipio Africanus* would make known his Pleasure to the Deputies; and he is said to have expressed himself in this manner. We are sensible that it is to Heaven that we are indebted for the Victories with which it has favoured us. And therefore we are not puffed up with Prosperity; neither does Adversity deject us. Your Friend *Hannibal* can do us Justice in that Matter. He has seen us in good and bad Fortune. And we shall now observe the same Conduct, with regard to *Antiochus*. He shall be treated with Moderation. We shall demand little more

Polyb. in Legat.  
c. 4.  
Livy, B. 38.  
c. 45.



Year of of him now, than we did at our Entrance into Asia, before he was routed at Magnesia.  
 R O M E Let him give up his Pretensions to Europe; confine his Dominions in Asia, with-  
 DLXIII. in Mount Taurus; pay us fifteen thousand <sup>57</sup> Euboic Talents\*, for the Expence of  
 L. CORNELI- the War; five hundred down, two thousand five hundred when the Senate and  
 US SCIPIO, C. People shall have confirmed the Articles, and one thousand more every Year for  
 LÆLIUS, CON- twelve Years together; and we will give him his Life, Liberty, and the rest of  
 fuls. his Dominions. But we also insist, that he shall satisfy King Eumenes, pay him  
 \* 2906250 l. the four hundred Talents† he owes him, and what remains due for the Corn which  
 Sterl. Arbutb. the King of Pergamus his Father had sent to the King of Syria. We likewise in-  
 † 77500 l. sist, that he shall deliver up to us Hannibal the Carthaginian, Thoas the Ætolian,  
 Sterl. Arbutb. Mnasilochus the Acarnanian, and Philo and Eubulis, two Chalcidians. They are  
 the Incendiaries who have been the Authors of our Divisions. And lastly, as a  
 further Proof of the Fidelity of the King of Syria, he shall give us twenty such  
 Hostages as we shall chuse, of whom Antiochus his youngest Son shall be one. The  
 vanquished King has already been but too dilatory in closing with the Offers we  
 have made him. And if he still delays, utter Ruin hangs over his Head. It is  
 much easier entirely to destroy a King, when once reduced; than to reduce him at  
 first from a flourishing to a low Condition. To which we must add, if we credit  
 App. in Syriac. some Historians <sup>58</sup>, many Articles which were much more severe. But Scipio had  
 Justin, B. 31. too lately received Obligations from the King of Syria, to punish him with the  
 and Plut. in his utmost Rigour; and the best Authors confine themselves to the Conditions already  
 Life of Scipio; mentioned.  
 if that Life be Plutarch's.

THE Ambassadors of *Antiochus* had Orders to refuse no Conditions which were prescribed them; and all were accepted, and the whole Affair concluded. So that the Syrian Ambassadors having now nothing more to do, but to set out for *Rome*, and get the Conditions of Peace proposed by the *Scipio's*, ratified there; they prepared for that Voyage. Soon after them, *Eumenes* set sail for the Capital of the World, there to receive the Rewards due to his Virtue, and for the Services he had done the Republick. Many of the Greek Nations in *Asia* also sent Deputies thither, to return the Senate Thanks for the Recovery of their Liberty. And whilst all these People were coming to *Rome*, to proclaim her Glory, the Consul left *Sardis*, put his Army into Winter-Quarters, and divided it into three Parts. One Part continued at *Magnesia*, on the Banks of the *Mæander*; another was sent to *Tral-lis*; and a third to *Ephesus*, where the *Scipio's* had their Quarters. And there they received a new Embassy from *Antiochus*, with the Hostages he had promised, the Roman Prisoners and Deserters, and those seditious Strangers which *Rome* had demanded. As for *Hannibal*, he probably fled, after the King's Defeat, and took Refuge in *Asia*, or elsewhere. He was the Sport of Fortune! The eldest of the *Scipio's* had forced him to leave *Italy*, eclipsed him in *Africa*, and obliged him, in some Sort, to banish himself from *Carthage*. And now young *Scipio* deprived him of the Protection of the *Syrians*, and forced him to fly for Refuge to some King, who perhaps had not Courage enough to espouse his Quarrel. The Name of the *Scipio's* was every where fatal to him. Tho' the greatest General in the World, his Successes left him, with his Youth; and his old Age was clouded with continual Misfortunes.

§. XVI. ALL *Asia* was now in Peace. But *Greece* was not yet pacified. The *Ætolians*, who had more than once in vain attempted to move the Senate of *Rome*, were obstinately carrying on the War in their Continent, whilst the *Scipio's* were employed in *Asia*. *Amynder* had been driven out of his Dominions, which *Philip* had seized; and when become Master of *Athamania*, the Macedonian governed it with Rigour, and made the People lament the Loss of the peaceable Administration of *Amynder*. This Prince was in a forced Banishment

<sup>57</sup> If, as we have elsewhere observed, the *Euboic Talent* was equal to the *Attick*, these fifteen thousand *Euboic Talents* will amount to no less than forty five Millions *French*, according to our Reduction of the Greek and Roman Money.

<sup>58</sup> According to *Appian*, in his *History of the Syrian Wars*, *Antiochus* engaged by the Treaty, not to breed above a certain Number of Elephants, and to deliver up the rest to the *Romans*. Neither was he

suffered, says that Historian, to equip numerous Fleets any more. He was forced to deliver up most of his Gallies into the Hands of the Conquerors. And what the Abridger of *Trogus Pompeius* says, is as uncertain. He pretends, contrary to *Livy*, and *Polybius*, that *Antiochus* was obliged to confine himself to the Kingdom of Syria, and to give up to the Republick all the Provinces he possessed in *Asia*.



among the *Ætolians*, whose Party he had embraced; and being invited by his Year of  
old Subjects to return home, and take Possession of his Crown, he made use of *R O M E*  
the Assistance of the *Ætolians*. His People conspired together in Favour of *DLXIII.*  
their true King; *Ætolia* lent him a thousand Men; and *Philip* was driven out *L. CORNELI-*  
of a Country which he had usurped, and heavily oppressed with Tributes. This *US SCIPIO, C.*  
Revolution happened at the time when the *Scipio's* were making War in *Syria.* *LÆLIUS, Con-*  
*Philipp* was then a Friend and Benefactor to the *Romans*. So that it seemed very *suls.*  
difficult to dispossess him of any thing, without incurring their Displeasure. But  
nevertheless, *Amynder* found Means to prevent it. He sent an Embassy to *Rome*,  
and another to the *Scipio's* at *Ephesus*. And after all, his Case was a pardonable  
one. He had only recovered his own Estate; with the Assistance indeed of the  
Enemies of *Rome*, but without Injustice. Besides, he offered to become a Friend  
to the *Romans*, and put his Dominions under their Protection. And *Rome* pro-  
ceeded with great Equity on this Occasion. She shewed Favour to the King of the  
*Athamenes*, without pardoning the *Ætolians*. These *Greeks*, after they had set-  
tled *Amynder* on his Throne, entered *Amphilochia*, a Province in the East of *E-*  
*pirus*, formerly subject to them, but now subject to King *Philip*, and almost re-  
conquered the whole Country. From thence they proceeded to *Aparantia*, and  
subdued it. Nor was this all. They entered *Dolopia*, a Country which had al-  
ways belonged to the King of *Macedon*; and the Example of their Neighbours pre-  
vailed on the *Dolopes* to shake off *Philip's* Yoke, and submit to the *Ætolians*.  
All these Conquests were so many Insults on the *Roman* Name, in the Person of  
a King who was faithful and well-affected to them. But we shall soon see *Rome*  
revenge herself, and force the *Ætolians* to become subject to her.

§. XVII. THE Winter, and the Treaties of Peace which were on foot, had now  
put a Stop to Hostilities in all Places. *Rome* had never had a more successful Cam-  
paign than the last. Nevertheless, News was brought from *Spain*, That the *Pro-*  
*Consul Æmilius* had been beaten by the *Lusitanians*, in the 59 Country of the *Livy B. 37.*  
*Vasctani*, towards the City of <sup>60</sup> *Lycon*; That six thousand of the *Romans* had *46.*  
been killed, and the rest forced to fly for Covert to their Entrenchments; and  
That after their Trenches had been forced, they had fled for Refuge into a  
Friend's Country. But the Uneasiness of this News was drowned in the Joy which  
the *Romans* had at the Defeat of *Antiochus*, and the Conquest of *Asia*. As for  
*C. Lælius*, he rather wanted Matter, than Courage, to signalize his *Consulship*.  
Being confined to keep quiet the *Gauls* in *Italy*, who were already reduced, he  
could only bring from thence the Reputation of being a wise Governour. He re-  
established the *Colonies* of *Placentia* and *Cremona*, which the Neighbourhood of  
the *Gauls*, and the Accidents of War had extremely diminished; and he founded  
two others in the Country of the *Gauls*, which was lately subdued. *Lælius* caused  
six thousand *Roman* Families to be transplanted into *Cisalpine Gaul*, and prevailed  
on the Senate to name their Conductors. Then he returned to *Rome*, to preside  
at the Great Elections. They were made during the Absence of *Cornelius Scipio*,  
who was only waiting at *Ephesus* for a Successor, that upon his Arrival he might  
return to the City, where he expected to triumph. The *Centuries* were assembled  
in *The Field of Mars*, to elect *Consuls* for the Republick; but these *Comitia* were  
not so peaceably held as usual. There were four Competitors, who contended  
for the *Consulate*. One was *M. Æmilius Lepidus*; another, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*;  
third, *M. Valerius Messala*; and the fourth, *Cn. Manlius Vulso*. The first highly  
enraged the People against him. He was then *Prætor* of *Sardinia*, and in order  
to canvass for the *Consulship*, he left his *Province*, and returned to *Rome*, without  
the Consent of the Senate. He was therefore absolutely excluded the *Consular*

<sup>59</sup> In some ancient Copies of *Livy*, we read *In*  
*lusitanis*, as if the Country here spoken of was  
that of the *Vasletani*, or *Bastetani*, who inhabited  
the Country that bordered upon *East Andalusia*, and  
near *Castille*, near the Springs of the *Boetis*, and  
*vacca*, a City anciently called *Basti*. Others have  
thought that *Livy* meant the *Vaccæi*, a *Spanish* Na-  
tion, which possessed the Country lying between the  
*Tagus* and the *Duero*, in the Kingdom of *Leon*. O-  
thers make them the same People as the *Vasctani*,

and *Vesctani*; who were anciently so called from  
*Vesci*, their chief City, which belonged to the Coun-  
try of the *Turduli*. But it is more natural to be-  
lieve, that these *Vasctani* were the same People as  
the *Vaccetani*, who took their Name from a River  
in *Portugal*, which *Pliny* calls *Vacca*, and the Na-  
tives of the Country *Vouga*.

<sup>60</sup> The *Spanish* Geographers say, that the City  
of *Lycon* stood four Leagues from *Merida*, West-  
ward, near *Lobon*, a little City of *Estremadura*.

Dignity,



Year of Dignity, and his Ambition was punished by the People's refusing to give him  
**R O M E** their Suffrages. Then there remained only three Candidates; and the Suffrages  
 DLXIV. were so equal between them, that the People could only agree upon one, all the  
 M. FULVIUS Day. *M. Fulvius* only was nominated by a Majority of Voices. And he, early  
 NOBILIOR, the next Morning, did the Office of *Consul*, presided in the *Comitia*, and got *Cn.*  
 Cn. MANLIUS *Manlius Vulso* to be chosen for his Collegue. *Messala* seems to have declined.  
 VULSO, Con- After the *Consuls*, *Rome* also chose *Prætors*. Two *Fabii*, one surnamed *Labeo*,  
 suls. and the other *Pictor*, were first elected; and after them *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*,  
*Sp. Postumius Albinus*, *L. Plautius Hypsæus*, and *L. Bæbius Dives*. And then  
 nothing remained but to allot the new *Consuls* and *Prætors* their respective Pro-  
 vinces. *Italy* was in Peace, and the *Gauls* pacified. The Senate therefore thought  
 it necessary to send the two *Consuls* to the *Levant*; one to make War on the  
*Ætolians*; the other to settle *Asia* in Peace, and secure that Conquest. The two  
*Consuls* drew Lots; and *Manlius* had *Asia* for his Lot; *Fulvius*, *Ætolia*. As for  
 the *Prætors*, *Postumius* continued at *Rome*, and had Jurisdiction there, both over  
 the Causes of the *Citizens*, and those of *Foreigners*. *Sardinia* fell by Lot to *Ful-*  
*vius Pictor*; *Sicily* to *Sempronius*; *Hither Spain* to *Plautius*; *Further Spain* to  
*Bæbius*; and *Fabius Labeo* had the Command of the *Roman Fleet* in the Eastern  
 Seas. The Armies were recruited, and the *Prætors* designed for *Sicily* and *Sardi-*  
*nia* were ordered to furnish the Troops designed for *The Levant* with Corn. And  
 these good Orders and numerous Troops dispersed in all Places where the *Ro-*  
*mans* had yet any Enemies, soon made the Republick flourish more than ever.

*Val. Antias.*  
*apud Liv. B.*  
 37.

§. XVIII. *ROME* was now become the Resort of all the Potentates in the  
 World. Kings, Princes, and Deputies, from the Republicks, and Cities in *Asia*,  
*Africa*, and *Greece*, all appeared there; and were very solicitous to make their  
 Court to the *Roman Senate*. They at Pleasure ruined, or established, Nations  
 and Sovereigns. The first to whom *The Conscrip't Fathers* now gave Audience,  
 were the *Ætolians*. The News of the Defeat of *Antiochus* had not yet reached  
*Rome*; and the *Ætolian Ambassadors* had spread a false Report about the City.  
 But this Story, tho' artfully invented by the *Greeks*, to make their Cause the bet-  
 ter, did not at all abate the old Pride of the Senate, or bring them to shew any  
 Indulgence to *Ætolia*. The artful Ambassadors had reported in *Rome*, That the  
 two *Scipio's* were made Captives by the King of *Syria*; That the eldest of the two  
 Brothers had, in Concurrence with the *Consul*, desired an Interview with *Antio-*  
*chus*, to treat of the Deliverance of young *Scipio*, who was detained at the *Syrian*  
 Court; That this Conference had been granted; and That the King had then seiz-  
 ed them; and lastly, That the *Consular Army*, as soon as deprived of its Gene-  
 rals, was attacked by the *Syrians*, routed, and driven out of their Camp. Upon  
 the Credit given to these false Reports, the *Ætolian Ambassadors* addressed them-  
 selves to the Senate with Insolence, and seemed rather to demand a Peace, than  
 sue for one. They boasted of the Services they had done the Republick in her  
 Wars with *Philip*; and gloried in the Protection of King *Antiochus*, who, they  
 said, was Conqueror in *Asia*, and would soon return into *Europe*. They were  
 asked, whence they had this News; and answered with a Confidence very ill be-  
 coming their Character, That it had been sent them by some Deputies of their  
 Nation, who were with the *Roman Consul*. But notwithstanding all these bad Ap-  
 pearances, *Rome* acted with as much Magnanimity as ever. The *Ætolians*, said the  
 Senators, with one Consent, are yet Friends to *Antiochus*; which is a sufficient  
 Reason for us to refuse them a Peace. Let them be gone! Let them be sent out  
 of Italy! and let them never return hither again, without the express Consent of  
 our Generals, who shall then be making War in their Country! This Decree was  
 the Foundation of the new War which the *Romans* were going to carry on in  
*Ætolia*. Besides, the *Ætolians* had ravaged the Country of the *Athamans*  
 and had possessed themselves of *Dolopia*, which was contrary to the Interest of  
*Rome*, and her Allies. But in a little time the false Report of the Detention of  
 the *Consul* and his Brother, was contradicted. Letters arrived from *Scipio*, giving  
 an Account of the Victory of *Magnesia*. And then, all Disquietudes were re-  
 moved, and the Apprehensions which arose from a Belief that *Antiochus* was vi-  
 torious, and that *Hannibal* was his Guide and Counsellor, vanished.



§. XIX. THE City was in perfect Tranquillity, when *Aurelius Cotta*, the Messenger sent by the *Scipio's*, arrived at *Rome*, and brought with him the Ambassadors of *Antiochus*. King *Eumenes* also, and some Envoys from *Rhodes*, soon appeared in the Capital. And now, how important were the Affairs which were to be determined by the *Roman* Senate. They were to pronounce, concerning the Peace which the King of *Syria* desired; concerning the Rewards *Eumenes* had deserved; and concerning the Pretensions of the *Rhodians*, after so many Services done the Republick. *Eumenes* was first admitted to audience; and the young King addressed himself to *The Conscrip Fathers*, with all the Politeness of an *Asiatick*, and with a Modesty which charmed them. *How many Thanks*, said he, *have I to return you; and what Congratulations have I to make you. With regard to the former, Pergamus, my Capital, was besieged; and I owe the Deliverance of it to the Romans. And as to the latter, by how many Exploits has your Republick immortalized her Name in Asia? Both Sea and Land proclaim your Victories. Those over Polyxenidas at Sea, and Antiochus by Land, have left you Masters of the richest Part of the World. As for myself, it would ill become me to say, what part I bore in such memorable Exploits; that I leave to your Generals. All I shall pretend to, is, to esteem you, to admire you, and to be ever faithful to you.* So much Modesty in a young Prince, to whom *Rome* was indebted for part of her Glory, charmed the Senators. They offered Violence to his Reservedness; and pressed him to relate his own Exploits, to give them a particular Account of his Services, and point out himself what *Rome* could do, to shew her Gratitude in the most acceptable manner. *Perhaps*, said they, *notwithstanding our earnest Desires to gratify you, our Presents may not be such, as you will like, or as are equal to the Services you have done us. Speak, Explain yourself, and don't by your Silence lay us under a Necessity of being ungrateful, contrary to our Intentions.* But these most obliging Entreaties did not at all abate the young King's Modesty. *If any other People in the World*, said he, *had left me to choose what Rewards I would have for some important Services, I would have consulted you, Conscrip Fathers, about it. Your Wisdom would teach me to keep my Desires within Bounds, and restrain my Avarice. And since then it is you that now make me the Offer; is it not just that I should refer the Determination to yourselves? Does it become me to fix your Bounties? I ought to think myself sufficiently rewarded, with having had the Honour to serve you.* Thus spake the King of *Pergamus*; and it was in vain to desire him to say what he liked best. Nothing but Compliments could be extorted from him; and after this Contest of Civilities, the King went out of the Senate, and left *The Fathers* undetermined. But these Proceedings of a King, who was as disinterested, as faithful in his Friendship, determined the Senate to call him in again, and force him to declare what would be most agreeable to him. *Shall he be suffered to go from Rome*, said they, *till he is gratified in the manner he likes best? Who can judge which of the conquered Provinces will contribute most to aggrandize his Dominions, so well as himself? He is much better acquainted with the State of the Provinces of Asia, than we.* The *Prætor* therefore came to the King of *Pergamus's* Lodgings, and desired him to return to the Temple, where the Senate was assembled. When he came, *The Conscrip Fathers* insisted on his giving them an Account of his Exploits, and all his Services to the Republick, and in hinting at least, how *Rome* could best shew her Gratitude to him. And then *Eumenes* complied with the Injunctions of the Assembly, and spake thus. *I should still have continued silent on those Topicks, if I did not think it necessary to guard the Senate beforehand against the Pretensions of the Rhodians. But I find their Ambassadors will soon appear before you; and I know they will do their utmost to oppose my Interest. They are indeed Allies to Rome, as well as myself; but they are Republicans, and Greeks by Descent, and they will say all they can, against the Monarchick State, upon the Danger of extending the Territories of Kings, and in favour of the Liberty of the Greek Colonies settled in Asia. Their whole Design in this will be, to prevent your giving me, for my Services, the Possession of the Greek Cities you have conquered; and to take from me those which have always been tributary to me. They will insinuate, that it will be glorious for Rome to have delivered the Asiatick Greeks from Slavery to Kings, as you already have those in Europe. And if they succeed in this, the Cities which have been most obstinate*

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIV.  
M. FULVIUS  
NOBILIOR,  
CN. MANLIUS  
VULSO, Con-  
suls.

Liv. B. 37.  
53.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIV.  
M. FULVIUS  
NOBILIOR,  
CN. MANLIUS  
VULSO, Con-  
suls.

in maintaining the Cause of your Enemies, will be better rewarded, than I shall be for my Zeal to serve you. If the Rhodians shall be so happy as to persuade you to this, what an Increase of Power will it bring to them! They will then be Masters of the Provinces the Greeks have lately peopled in Asia. The latter will think they owe their Freedom to them; and under the Name of Liberty, they will become Slaves to their Deliverers. Then you will raise some of your Allies, to the Prejudice of others; and my Interests will be sacrificed to those of the Rhodians. Tell me, who can contend with me, for Fidelity and Attachment to Rome? An Affection for her was transmitted to me, with my Blood. I inherited it from my Father Attalus. He was the first Sovereign in Asia, that entered into Engagements with her, and he ever faithfully performed them. He continually served you, with his Fleet, and Land-Forces, and in Person. He attended you in the Wars you made in Bœotia; and he was seized with the Distemper which killed him, whilst he was speaking for your Interests. Nor have I degenerated from my Father, in this Particular. And I may venture to say, that I have had more favourable Opportunities to shew my Zeal, than Attalus my Father had. Antiochus offered me his Daughter Laodicea. He was then a powerful King; whose Offers were not to be despised. But nothing could make me change; I was more zealous than ever, in fitting out great Fleets, and raising great Armies, for your Service. And what Dangers have I run, in maintaining my Engagements with you! I have been continually, either on board my Fleet, or at the Head of my Troops, and have never left your Standards. In order constantly to attend your Generals, I left my Capital, and my Dominions, at the Mercy of Antiochus and his Son. And as to the Battle of Magnesia in particular, your Consul and your Legionaries were Eye-witnesses of my Conduct there. They saw my Brother Attalus, and myself, charge the Enemy at the Head of my Cavalry, and second the Valour of the Romans. Has not so constant an Attachment deserved at least as great Rewards as Masinissa received in Africa, for less Services? The Numidian had been your Enemy; and his Interest made him change. And yet the greatest part of Syphax's Kingdom was the Reward of his Fidelity. What Recompence then have I not Reason to expect from so equitable a Senate? As to my Desires, since I must declare them, they are these. You have confined the King of Syria within Mount Taurus. And if Rome keeps for herself the Country which reaches from that Mountain to the Sea, I shall make no Pretensions to it. It will be both a Pleasure to me, and a Security to my Dominions, to have you for my Neighbours. But if you should despise so distant a Conquest, and think it will not answer the vast Expence of keeping it, I will venture to say, that none of your Allies has better deserved to be gratified with it than myself. It will no doubt be suggested, that it is very glorious to restore enslaved Cities their Liberty; and I grant it would be so with respect to these, if they had not borne Arms against you. But since they have joined with Antiochus, does it not better become your Prudence and Equity to consult the Interest of Allies, who have deserved well at your Hands, rather than those of your Enemies?

Livy, *ibid.*

Livy, *ibid.*

Livy, *ibid.*

Livy, B. 37.  
c. 54.

Livy *ibid.*

§. XX. THE ConscripT Fathers received the Proposal with Approbation, and were disposed to gratify the King of Pergamus. He withdrew to give place to the Rhodians, who were to speak after him. But some of the Rhodian Ambassadors were not yet come to the Senate, and therefore Audience was next given to those from Smyrna, who were soon dismissed. They gave the Senate an Account of the inviolable Attachment of their City to the Romans; and The Fathers declared themselves sensible of it, and commended their Constancy in withstanding the Solicitations of King Antiochus. And then lastly, the Rhodians were introduced into the Senate, and spake as Eumenes had foretold. Nothing gives us more Uneasiness, ConscripT Fathers, than that we should enter into a Contest with Eumenes. Not only as private Persons, but as Rhodians, our whole City is united to him by the sacred Ties of Hospitality. But it is not so much our Opinions, as the Nature of things that divides us. We are Republicans. He is a King. Rhodes seeks only to secure to her People the Liberty they enjoy. The Point Eumenes has in view is to subject the Nations to a monarchick Government. It is this alone that divides us. And it is very easy for you, ConscripT Fathers, both to gratify our Republick, and reward the Sovereign of Pergamus, at the same time. All we desire is only to keep the free Cities of Asiatic Greece from all kind of Slavery. And in that



that vast Extent of Land, from which you have driven Antiochus, there are Regions enough beside these, to give Eumenes. You are Masters of Lycaonia<sup>61</sup>, the two Phrygia's, and all Pisidia, in Asia; and of the Chersonesus, and adjacent Countries, in Europe. Any of which would double his Kingdom, and all would equal him to the greatest of Kings. So that you have room enough to enrich your Allies, without deviating from your first Design. We shall not envy Eumenes's large Dominions; only let him be indebted to your Bounty for them. These People are used to bear the Yoke of Kings; and if they change their Masters, they will not think that any change in their Condition. But the Greek Provinces and Cities have ever aspired after the Liberties of a Republick. Remember, Conscript Fathers, what Motives induced you to carry the War into the East. Other Nations indeed, who have a less Regard for true Glory, would have had nothing in view but to conquer Cities, and subdue Nations. But Rome's only Aim was to procure the Liberty and Happiness of Greece. These were the Sentiments which you instilled into your Generals, when they began the War with Philip. Will you then forget them, after the Defeat of Antiochus? You have broken off the Chains, which kept the European Greeks in Slavery; and delivered them from their Tyrants. What then remains to complete your Glory, but to free the Asiatick Greeks likewise? The latter are as worthy of your Regard, as the former. The Greeks, wheresoever transplanted, have still preserved that Superiority of Genius, which has distinguished them for so many Ages. They retain the same Constancy in maintaining their Laws, the same Wisdom in the Government of their Cities, the same Diligence in cultivating Arts, and the same Penetration for the most profound Sciences. The Ionians<sup>62</sup>, Æolians, and Dorians in Asia, have the same Qualities, as those in Greece, or Peloponnesus. Marseilles itself, though surrounded with Gauls, has kept herself free from the Contagion of her savage Neighbours. She still shews the Nobleness of her Descent: And we are told, is therefore as much honoured by Rome, as if she stood in the Heart of Greece. Since then your Victory has made you Masters of a great Number of Greek Colonies, on this Side Mount Taurus; shall they alone not partake of that general Regard for Liberty, which has made you the Deliverers of all Greece? Subject as many of the other Nations in Asia to Eumenes, as you please. They don't know the value of Liberty. They have been so long accustomed to Kingly Government, that it is scarce any Burden to them. But the Greeks are full of the same Spirit, as the Romans. They love, nay they adore, Liberty. And they expect to receive from you this invaluable Present, for which they will be eternally indebted to your glorious Arms. It may indeed be said, that these Greek Cities declared for Antiochus. And so likewise did many others of the Greek Nations in Europe, enter into a League with Philip against you. Did not Tarentum in Italy go over to Pyrrhus? Yet you restored them their Laws and Liberties. And this is all we ask for the Asiatick Greeks. Cannot you deny Eumenes, what you denied yourselves? This, Conscript Fathers, is our only Request. Have not the past Services of the Rhodians been meritorious enough to procure your Favour for a People, who came originally from Greece, as well as themselves? Besides, to grant our Desires, is to give the highest Instance possible, of that true Magnanimity, which is peculiar to Roman Minds.

Thus spake the Chief of the Rhodian Ambassadors. Rome acknowledged in their Discourse, the Traces of her own Magnanimity, and insuperable Aversion to Dependence: And from that time, the Senate became enclined to oblige the Rhodians in this Instance, rather than Eumenes. They had enough in their Power to satisfy the Desires of both.

<sup>61</sup> Lycaonia was a small Province in Asia Minor. Mount Taurus divided it from Cilicia. Iconium, its ancient Capital, is now called Cogni. The Ancients gave the Name of Great Phrygia to the Country, which reaches a hundred and twenty Leagues in length, between Pisidia and Mysia. This is the Country which Cassaldus calls Germania. For Little Phrygia, it contained the most Western Part of all Asia, which was next to the Hellespont.

Pisidia was bounded to the West and North by Galatia, and Phrygia Major, on this Side Mount Taurus; to the East, by Lycaonia; and to the South by Pamphylia.

<sup>62</sup> We have already spoken of Æolis and Ionia in this Volume. Doris was a Canton of Caria. It took its Name from some Greek Colonies from Doris, which sought for new Habitations in Asia Minor. This Country was a Peninsula, lying between the Ægean, and Rhodian Seas.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIV.

M. FULVIUS  
NOBILIOR,  
CN. MANLIUS  
VULSO, Con-  
suls.  
Lic. Phil.



Year of  
ROM E  
DLXIV.

M. FULVIUS  
NOBILIOR,  
CN. MANLIUS  
VULSO, CON-  
suls.

App. in Syriac.  
N. 112.

Liv. B. 37.  
c. 56.

§. XXI. AFTER the Allies and Friends of Rome had been heard, the Senate gave Audience to the King of Syria's Ambassadors. *Antipater* and *Zeuxis* appeared before *The Conscript Fathers*, in that humble State, which became the Vanquished; and they said, *Antiochus sends us purely to offer Entreaties, and declare his Repentance to you. His Ambition has carried him too far, and his Defeat obliges him to have recourse to your Clemency. But your Victories have sufficiently punished him already. All he desires of you, is to ratify the Articles which the Scipio's have offered him.* The Senate considered of the Proposal, and ordered That the Treaty of Peace with *Antiochus* should be concluded, and the Articles of it written in Brass, and fixed up in the *Capitol*. They only added one Clause to it, which was, *That the Syrians should every Year change all their Hostages, except the Son of King Antiochus, who should continue at Rome as long as the Republick thought fit.* And then, the Senate finished this long Sessions, with receiving Petitions from several Nations, and Cities of the East; to whom they gave general Answers. They promised all, That the Republick should send ten Commissioners to the *Levant*, to settle all Disputes there, and determine what was to be done with the new Conquests. But they declared beforehand, That all the two *Phrygia*, and *Mysia*, should for the future be subject to King *Eumenes*; and That *Lycia*, that part of *Caria* which was next to *Rhodes*, and a part of *Pisidia*, should be subject to the *Romans*; excepting only, in both Cases, the Cities, which enjoyed their Liberty before the War. The Disposal of *Soli*<sup>63</sup>, raised a Dispute between the *Rhodians*, and the Ambassadors of the King of *Syria*. It was a City of *Cilicia* beyond Mount *Taurus*; had been founded by *Greeks* who came from *Argi*; and the *Rhodian* Republick would fain have procured its Liberty, as well as that of the other *Greek* Cities. But *Antipater* claimed it, and supported the Rights of his Uncle, by the Treaty concluded with the *Romans*. Nevertheless, as this Treaty was not yet published, the Senate were inclined to oblige the *Asiatics* to give way to the *Rhodians*; but the latter sacrificed their Pretensions to Peace, and the Honour and Reputation of the *Romans* for Equity. So that *Soli* was allotted to King *Antiochus*.

§. XXII. As for the *Consuls* of the Year, they seem to have enjoyed the Pleasures of seeing so many Ambassadors come to *Rome* from all these Eastern People, to receive the Determination of the Senate, concerning their Fate. And it is probable, that they assisted at the Election of two new *Censors*. This Office had never been canvassed for by greater Men. *Flamininus* who had conquered *Philip*, *Scipio Nasica*, who had been declared the most virtuous Man in the Republick, *Valerius Flaccus*, who had signalized himself in several Wars, *Porcius Cato*, famous both for his Bravery and Severity of Life, and *Acilius Glabrio*, who was lately returned from *Greece*, after he had overcome *Antiochus* at *Thermopylae*, were the Competitors. The People inclined to favour *Acilius*. His Triumph was fresh in their Minds. He had distributed great Bounties among the Commons, after his return; and *Cato* was most jealous of this formidable Competitor. He therefore raised up two *Tribunes of the People* against him, and they accused him of applying to his own Use, many of the rich Spoils brought from *Greece*, which had neither been shewn at his Triumph, nor sent to the publick Treasury. Nay, which is indeed very strange, *Cato* himself, though a Candidate for the same Dignity, became Informer against him. He swore, that he had seen in *Antiochus's* Camp, after his Defeat, several Vases of Gold and Silver, which *Acilius* had privily conveyed away. The Depositions reflected great Dishonour upon *Cato* (who indeed was a Man, whose Ill-Nature, and Sourness of Mind, passed for Virtue) and he was severely punished for so shameful a Proceeding. Neither he, nor *Acilius* were raised to the *Censorship*. The Suffrages of the *Comitia* fell on *Flamininus* and *Marcellus*.

AND now, the *Consuls* left *Rome*. They set sail, (full of the Majesty of the Republick, now become the Arbitress of Sovereign Princes, and absolute Mistress of the Fate of Kingdoms, which she gave to whom she pleased) *Manlius*,

<sup>63</sup> *Soli*, or *Soloe*, as *Strabo* and *Mela* call it, was formerly a maritime City of *Cilicia*. It is now only a Village called *Palesoli*. In After-times, from

the Barbarism and Unpoliteness of its Inhabitants, the *Solécifare*, and *Solécismus*, came to be used, to signify an Impropriety of Speech.



complete the Reduction of *Asia*; *Fulvius*, to bring the *Ætolians* to Reason. Year of  
And *Fabius Labeo*, who was ordered to take upon him the Command of the *ROM E*  
Fleet, which was to act in the *Levant*, embarked with them. When these Generals DLXIV.  
arrived in their Provinces, *Manlius* received from the *Scipio's* the Command of M. FULVIUS  
the *Roman Army* in *Asia*; and *Fulvius* put himself at the Head of the Troops, NOBILIOR,  
which were appointed to reduce the *Ætolians*. Then the *Scipio's* returned to CN. MANLIUS  
*Rome*, but a little later than *L. Æmilius*, who had conquered *Polyxenidas* at VULSO, CON  
Sea, and preserved the Coasts from the Hostilities of the *Syrian*. tuls.  
Fast Cap.

UPON his Arrival, this General demanded a Triumph; and the Senate met in  
the Temple of *Apollo*, and heard his Account of his Battels. They examined  
into the Number of the Ships he had taken, or sunk; and at length granted his  
Request. *Æmilius* entered the City in a triumphant Manner, on the first Day  
of *February*. But his Triumph had nothing of the Magnificence of those which  
were granted the other Generals for their Victories at Land. However, *Æmi-*  
*lius's* Procession was more extraordinary, and affected the People more. A Guard  
of Seamen, and Representations of Ships and Gallies, were a new Sight. Forty  
nine Crowns of Gold, thirty four thousand and seventy *Attick* <sup>a</sup> *Tetradrachmæ* <sup>a</sup> 4400 l. 14 s.  
and a hundred thirty one thousand three hundred *Cistophori* <sup>b</sup> were carried before 2 d. Arbuth.  
the Victor. Nevertheless, the Triumph of *Lucius Scipio*, was more glittering. As <sup>b</sup> 2261 l. 5 s.  
soon as he had landed, he came immediately to *Rome*, lodged in the Suburbs, and <sup>c</sup> 6 d. 3. Arbuth.  
according to Custom, demanded that the Senate might assemble, and decree him  
a Triumph. But as strange as it may appear, it was not without some Opposition,  
that the Request of the Great *Scipio's* Brother was granted. Some of the Senators  
thought his Victory had been gained too easily, to deserve a Triumph. *Antio-*  
*chus's* Forces had, according to them, been so much weakened at *Thermopylae*, that  
the least Efforts were sufficient to overpower him. But these Prejudices were soon  
removed. It was considered, that it was not so much *Antiochus*, as the *Ætoli-*  
*ans*, which had been conquered at *Thermopylae*. And indeed, in *Europe*, the  
King of *Syria* had scarce opposed the *Roman Armies*, with ten thousand Men.  
But in *Asia*, he appeared at the Head of an innumerable Multitude of *Asiaticks*,  
brought from all Nations. Indeed, it was granted, that the Victory of *Magnesia*  
was more owing to the Favour of the Gods, than the Conduct or Valour of the  
General. But then it was allowed to be but just, to honour the Gods, in the Per-  
son of the Conqueror, whom they had protected. So that the Senate ordered a  
Triumph for *L. Scipio*; who, to vie with his Brother *Africanus*, had from the time  
of his Victory assumed the Title of *Asiaticus*. The Procession was made at the  
end of the Intercalary <sup>65</sup> Month, on *The Eve of the Calends of March*; and it  
must be owned, that the Triumph of *Scipio Asiaticus* was much more magnificent,  
than that of *Scipio Africanus*. The former had carried before him two hundred  
and thirty four Standards, which were taken from the *Syrians*; a hundred and  
thirty four Representations of conquered Cities; twelve hundred and twenty Ele-  
phants Teeth; two hundred and twenty four Crowns of Gold; a hundred thirty  
seven thousand four hundred and twenty Pounds <sup>c</sup> weight of Silver in Bars; two  
hundred twenty four thousand <sup>d</sup> *Attick Tetradrachmæ*; three hundred thirty one  
thousand and seventy *Cistophori* <sup>e</sup>; and lastly, a hundred and forty thousand Gold  
*Philippus's*. The Number of the chased Vases of Gold and Silver, was thought  
excessively great by *Pliny*. He says, that the Silver Plate <sup>66</sup> only, which was  
then produced, weighed fourteen hundred and fifty Pounds, and the Gold <sup>h</sup> fifteen  
hundred

<sup>c</sup> Worth  
412260 l.  
Sterl. at 5 s.  
per Ounce.  
<sup>d</sup> 28933 l. 6 s.  
8 d. Arbuth.  
<sup>e</sup> 5701 l. 15 s.  
2 d. 3. Arbuth.  
<sup>f</sup> 126583 l. 6 s.  
8 d.  
Plin. B. 33.  
<sup>g</sup> 4.  
<sup>h</sup> Worth 4350 l.  
Sterl. at 5 s.  
per Ounce.  
<sup>i</sup> Worth  
72000 l. Sterl.  
at 4 l. per  
Ounce.

<sup>64</sup> See what we have said above, p. 190. Note 44.  
<sup>65</sup> This Volume, of the Value of the *Attick Tetra-*  
*drachma*, and the *Cistophori*. According to our  
computations, these thirty four thousand and se-  
venty *Tetradrachmæ*, amount to sixty eight thou-  
sand one hundred and forty *Livres*; and the hun-  
dred thirty one thousand three hundred *Cistophori*,  
about the Sum of thirty four thousand *Livres*.

<sup>66</sup> See what we have said of the Intercalary  
Month called *Mercedonius*, according to *Numa's*  
appointment, Vol. 1.

<sup>66</sup> *Livy* differs very little from *Pliny*, in his Ac-  
count of the Gold and Silver Plate. He reckons

it amounted to a thousand and eighty Pounds <sup>i</sup> weight <sup>i</sup> 51440 l. at  
of Gold; and fourteen hundred and eighty of Sil- <sup>j</sup> 4 s. per Ounce.  
ver <sup>k</sup>. To which the *Roman Historian* adds, that <sup>k</sup> 4440 l. at  
thirty two of the principal Officers or Lords of <sup>l</sup> 5 s. per Ounce.  
*Antiochus's* Court, were led in triumph before the  
Victor's Chariot. And lastly, the same Author  
says, that after the Distribution of Money which  
the triumphant Victors used to make among the  
victorious Troops, *Lucius Scipio* ordered double  
the usual Quantity of Wheat, to be given to each  
Soldier for his Subsistence. He had bestowed the  
same Bounty on his Army, before the Battel of  
*Magnesia*.



Year of hundred. And the same Writer assures us, that by this first Conquest of *Asia*, *R O M E* Luxury and Profuseness were brought to great Excess at *Rome*. But though the Triumph of *Lucius* dazzled the Eyes of the People more than that of his Brother *Publius*, the *Romans* had a much greater Deference and Esteem for the latter. They thought *Scipio Africanus* a General as much superior to *Scipio Asiaticus*, as the valiant *Hannibal* was to the weak *Antiochus*. And therefore the new *Censors* nominated the eldest *Scipio*, *Prince*, that is, *President of the Senate*, a third time.

DLXIV.  
M. FULVIUS  
NOBILIOR,  
CN. MANLIUS  
VULSO, CON-  
suls.

Livy, B. 38.  
c. 3.

§. XXIII. WHILST *Rome* was entertained with Triumphs, and the Senate employed in giving these Orders; the two *Consuls* prepared to make War, one in *Ætolia*, the other with the People who had most openly declared for *Antiochus*. We will begin with *Fulvius's* Exploits in *Greece*; and conclude, with the Reduction of the *Galatians* in *Asia*, which was the Work of *Manlius*. *Fulvius* landed his Troops at *Apollonia*, a City of *Macedon*, near the extreme Parts of *Epirus*; and there assembled the Council of the *Epirots*. These told him, what was the most ready way to reduce *Ætolia*; and affirmed, That <sup>67</sup> *Ambracia* being the nearest City to them, which had surrendered to the *Ætolians*, he ought to begin with reducing that Place, and then penetrate into the Heart of the *Ætolian* Dominions. The *Epirots* were interested in the Reduction of *Ambracia*. It anciently belonged to *Epirus*, and was to be restored to them again. And therefore they employed all their Eloquence to persuade the *Consul* to lay Siege to it. *Ambracia*, said they, will not long detain the Roman Army. Though strong, its very Situation will facilitate the taking of it. It is surrounded by large Plains. And if the Enemy come to relieve it in the open Field, there will be room enough to form the Legions. What an Advantage will it be, to be able to finish the War immediately by one general Action. Besides, the Plains will furnish the Besiegers with Trees of all sorts, for Machines, and Towers. The River <sup>68</sup> *Arethno*, which washes the Walls of the City, will be of great use, in carrying Provisions to the Roman Camp. The Season is good. In short, every thing invites you to undertake this glorious Enterprize. *Fulvius* therefore, upon these Assurances of the *Epirots*, crossed *Epirus*, and led his Army before *Ambracia*. At first Sight, he plainly perceived it would be difficult to reduce it. The City stood half way up an Hill <sup>69</sup>, and there was an easy Descent from it to the River. Upon the Top of the Hill, against which the City stood, there was a strong Citadel. This Citadel lay to the East, and the River to the West. The *Arethno* was noisy and rapid, and discharged



Add to this, that the Memory of the Triumph of *Lucius Scipio Asiaticus*, is conveyed down to us, on the reverse of a Medal, of the *Cornelian* Family. We there see the Conqueror in a triumphal Chariot, with a Scepter in his Hand. Under him is this Inscription, L. SCIPIO ASIAT. The Surname of *Asiaticus* is expressed by the four initial Letters of the Greek Word ASIAGETES, instead of the Latin Term *Asiaticus*, as *Anthony Augustin* has very well observed. *Cicero* tells us, in his Oration for *Caius Rabirius*, that there was, in his time, a Statue erected in the *Capitol*, in honour to *Lucius Scipio*; who was represented in a military Habit.

<sup>67</sup> *Ambracia* was formerly one of the most considerable Cities in *Epirus*. It stood towards the Mouth of the River *Aractus*, near the Gulph to

which it gave its own Name. The Situation of *Arta* in *Upper Albania*, agrees well enough with that of this ancient City. Nevertheless, something it was the same Place as *Ambrakia*, another City of this Canton.

<sup>68</sup> It is now no longer doubted that *Livy*, by the Word *Arethno*, meant the River *Aractus*, which watered the Territory of *Ambracia*. *Noir* says, the Natives call this River *Spagnagnirisi*. Nevertheless, if the *Arethno* rose in *Acarnania*, which *Livy* says, in express Terms, it may be granted, that the River here spoken of was the *Aractus*, which rises at the Foot of *Mount Pindus*, in *West-Macedon*.

<sup>69</sup> *Livy* says, this Hill was called *Pesantus*.



itself a little beyond the City, into a Gulph, to which the City gave its Name. And besides that *Ambracia* was defended on one side by a great River, and on the other, by high Hills; it was also surrounded with a thick Wall, which was above three Miles in Compass.

Year of  
ROMAN  
DLXIV.

M. FULVIVS  
NOBILIOR,  
CN. MANLIUS  
VULSO, Con-  
suls.

BUT though the *Consul* thought the Enterprize a difficult one, yet since he had embarked in it, he resolved to finish it: Though he did not then know, that the Reduction of this single Place, would bring the *Ætolians* to their Duty. The *Roman* General began with pitching two Camps, one on this side, and the other on the farther side of the River, with a Communication between them. The *Epirots* were posted in the former; and the *Romans* in the latter. Then *Fulvius* threw up two Lines, one of Circumvallation, and the other of Contravallation; and built over-against the Citadel, a wooden Tower, like a Castle. The Appearance of a Siege terrified the *Ætolians*. *Ambracia* was a Key to their Dominions. They therefore immediately assembled their Troops, and marched to relieve the Place. Their *Rendezvous* was at *Stratos*, a City of *Acarmania*, on the Banks of the *Achelous*. *Nicander*, the Chief of the *Ætolian* Nation, came thither, and held a Council of War. The Council were at first for attacking the *Romans*. But being afterwards informed, that though the Camp was fortified, the Works round the Place were not finished, it was therefore thought more proper to throw Troops into the Place, and strengthen the Garrison. Accordingly this Design succeeded. *Eupolemus* entered *Ambracia* with a thousand *Ætolians*, by the Place where the Line of Circumvallation was not finished. As for *Nicander*, he wished he could have fallen on the *Epirots*, who were encamped separately on one Bank of the River; but he thought the Attack would prove dangerous. The *Romans* understood the Art of War too well, to expose their Allies to the Enemy, without providing for their Defence. So that the *Ætolian* Army could do nothing better, than march into the Fields of *Acarmania*, and lay them waste. In the mean time the Besiegers began to batter the Place. The *Consul* ordered five Attacks to be made at once, three on the side of *Pyrrheum*, a fortified Place without the City, one over-against the Temple of *Æsculapius*, and one on the side of the Citadel. The *Rams* shook the Walls on all sides. From the Tops of their *Moveable Towers*, the *Romans* beat down the Parapets, and pulled down the Battlements with a kind of *Scythes*, fastened to long Beams. The Shocks they gave the Wall made the Citizens tremble; and the good Appearance of the Garrison, did not much keep up their Spirits. But at length they took Courage. Finding that their Walls were strongly built, and the Masonry good, and that the *Rams* had not yet made any Breach in them; they set heartily about hindering the ill Effects of the *Rams* and *Scythes*. As to the former, they invented a kind of Pullies, by which they let down Beams, Free-Stones, and Lumps of Lead, upon the *Rams*, as they were in Motion, and thereby deadened their Strokes. And they guarded themselves against the *Scythes*, by fixing Braces along the Parapets at certain Distances, and by Hooks, with which they pulled the Beams, to which the *Scythes* were fastened, into the City. So that these Inventions prolonged the Siege.

As for *Nicander*, he had time enough, after he had pillaged *Acarmania*, to carry his Troops back to *Stratos*, and there form new Designs against the Besiegers: And they in part succeeded. The *Ætolian* General found means artfully to convey into *Ambracia* five hundred fresh Troops, under the Command of *Nicodamus*. And *Nicander* promised this Commander, that he would, at a time appointed, come and fall upon the *Roman* Camp in the Night; not doubting, but if the Garrison made a Sally at the same time, great Effects would follow from this unexpected Attack and Battel in the Night. The Subaltern therefore obeyed his General, and narrowly watched the time, in which he was ordered to sally; but was not seconded. *Nicander* broke his Word, and did not attack the *Roman* Camp; which some imputed to timorousness. Whilst others said, that he was obliged to lead back his Troops instantly to *Dolopia*; *Perses*, the Son of the King of *Macedon*, being come to fall on the *Ætolians* on that side. But be that as it will, the Besieged still entertained hopes of being relieved by *Nicander*. They marched out in the Night, armed with Torches, Firebrands, and Vine-branches, dipped in Tow; and this Sight surprized the Besiegers. Their first Guard suffered by this sudden Salley, and the Alarm spread through the *Roman* Camp. The Soldiers

rose,



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIV.

M. FULVIUS  
NOBILIOR,  
CN. MANLIUS  
VULSO, Con-  
suls.

rose, took their Arms, and marched to meet the Enemy, in small Bodies. A Bat-  
tel was fought at the three Places, where the three Attacks were made on the side  
of *Pyrrheum*; and the Enemy were repulsed in two of them. In the third the  
*Ætolians* were more formidable. Two of their Generals were in the Fight,  
and encouraged them. They still depended on *Nicander's* Approach. And when  
they despaired of it, they retreated in time, after having burnt part of the *Roman*  
Tents, and killed more of the Enemy's Men, than they had lost of their own.  
But the Vexation of not having been seconded, much sunk their Courage. They  
were no longer so very earnest to make Sallies. They now attempted nothing  
more, than to repel Attacks, and throw Darts from the Tops of their Ramparts  
and Towers. In the mean time, *Nicander* left the Besieged to prolong the Siege  
themselves. He had enough to do elsewhere. On one hand, he had *Perfes* to  
drive out of *Dolopia*; and on the other, the Coasts of *Ætolia* to defend, from  
the Ravages of *Pleuratus*. This King of *Illyricum* assisted the *Romans* with a  
Fleet, consisting partly of *Brigantines*, and partly of *Achaean* Ships. It must be  
owned, that the *Ætolians* behaved themselves with great Bravery, whether they  
fought in the open Field, or defended themselves behind Ramparts; and they shewed  
their Activity in a remarkable manner, at the Siege of *Ambracia*. The Rams  
of the *Romans* had scarce made a Breach in any of their Walls, before another  
was built up behind it. This Vigilance broke the Consul's Measures. No *Roman*  
Battalion had yet been able to enter the Place. *Fulvius* therefore endeavoured to  
throw down a great part of the Wall at once, by Sap. The Miners began the  
Work, under cover of the *Mantelets*; and the Besieged did not perceive it, till  
they saw from the Top of the Walls, the Heaps of Earth that were brought out  
of the Mine. But then they thought it proper to countermine. They dug a  
Ditch in the City of the Depth they supposed the Mine to be, and run it along by  
the side of the Place, where they heard the Strokes of the Pick-axes of the *Roman*  
Miners. This was neither a long, nor a difficult Work. They, in a few  
Hours, came to that part of the Wall which the Miners had sapped, and which  
was yet supported by Props of Wood, which the *Romans* had put under it. When  
the two Mines met, a Battel ensued under-ground, first with Pick-axes and Spades,  
and then with Swords and Lances. But this Attack did not last long. Each Party  
made themselves a Rampart with the loose Earth. Then, in order to drive the  
Enemy out of their Hole, the *Ætolians* invented a Machine, which they brought  
to the Place where the two Mines met. It was an hollow Vessel, the Bottom of  
which was made of Iron, but bored through in several Places, and armed with  
Spikes at proper Distances, to prevent Persons coming near it. This Vessel they  
filled with Down, which they set on Fire, and with Bellows, drove the Smoke on  
the Besiegers. The *Romans* were suffocated with the Stink of burning Feathers,  
left their Work, and the Wall hanging upon its Props, and gave the *Ætolians*  
time to repair the Foundations of it.

*Polyb. in Li-  
gat. c. 28. &  
ex eo. Liv.  
l. 38. c. 8.*

§. XXIV. NEVERTHELESS, even this vigorous Resistance neither sunk the  
Courage of *Fulvius*, nor raised that of *Nicander*. The taking of *Ambracia*  
was only delayed; and *Ætolia* seemed to be on the Brink of Ruin. This Re-  
publick was attacked by Land, by the Son of the King of *Macedon*; and by Sea, the  
*Illyricans* and *Achaean*s made Descents on the Coasts, and laid them waste. Be-  
sides, the *Romans* as soon as they were eased of this Siege, would join with the  
*Epirots*, and fall on *Ætolia*. How then could she defend herself against so many  
Enemies? The Head of the Nation thought it necessary to assemble the chief Lord  
of it, that they might together take such Resolutions, as were most proper in the  
present Posture of Affairs. They were not long deliberating, or divided in Op-  
nion. All were unanimous, That a Peace was to be obtained on equal Terms,  
possible, if not, That it was not to be rejected on such, as were barely tolerable.  
Our chief Dependence in maintaining this War, was, said they, on the Power of  
*Antiochus*. That is now brought to nothing. He is confined to the other side of  
Mount Taurus, and is now only the Shadow of a King. Let us then avert the  
Torrent, that after him, threatens to overwhelm us. Accordingly a Resolution  
was immediately taken to send *Phaneas* and *Damoteles* to the Consul, with full  
Powers to conclude a Peace. These discharged their Trusts, like proud Men, but  
with Circumspection. We come, said they to *Fulvius*, to desire Favour for a City  
which



which is ready to fall into your Hands, and for a Nation formerly your Ally. A Year of Nation compelled, I won't say by Injuries, but by Misery, madly to oppose you. We have indeed now deserved as much ill at your Hands, on account of the War with Antiochus, as we formerly deserved good, in that with Philip. But as Rome was not very liberal of her Bounties to us, after the Services we then had done her. We hope she will be the more moderate in punishing us, for the Offences we have now committed against her. At these Words the Consul assumed more Haughtiness than ever, but did not reject their Request. The Ætolians, replied he, have often desired a Peace, but never with Sincerity. Let then the Fidelity of Antiochus, be for this time at least a Pattern for them! When brought to the Brink of Ruin by your Councils, he has escaped it by his Submission. He has surrendered up to us all the Cities on this side Mount Taurus. And as for you Ætolians, first lay down your Arms. This we insist on, by way of Preliminary. Then deliver up to us all the Horses in your Army, and pay us a thousand Talents; one half in ready Money upon the Spot, and the other at different Payments. And then, when we come to settle the Articles of the Treaty, this shall be one, That your Enemies shall be ours, and ours yours. These the Deputies thought heavy Terms; and could not upon the Spot resolve to accept them. They went and consulted the Heads of their Nation upon it. The Council of Ætolia was always held at Stratos; and there the Plenipotentiaries were Witnesses of the Ardour with which the Lords desired a Peace. They reprimanded them for leaving the Consul, without concluding one. We must have one, said they, whether good or bad; conclude it therefore without giving Fulvius time to reflect. So that the Assembly forced them to return without delay. But an unforeseen Accident retarded the Negotiation. As they were upon the Road to the Roman Camp, a Party of Acarnanians surrounded them, and carried them to <sup>70</sup> Tyrrheum, as Prisoners of War. But they were not long detained there. The Consul demanded them, and had them. And in the mean time, as it was Fulvius's Interest to finish the War; and he was very desirous of the Honour of settling Ætolia in Peace; he heard the Intercessions <sup>71</sup> of the Athenians and Rhodians, and of Amynder King of the Athamanes, in behalf of the Ambracians, favourably. This Prince had long resided in Ambracia, and thereby gained an Interest there; and Fulvius made use of him, to persuade the Inhabitants to capitulate. Amynder found means to get into the City, and by his Advice and Entreaties, prevailed on the Ambracians to surrender, upon the following Terms. That the Ætolian Garrison should have Leave to march out of Ambracia; That the City should \* pay five hundred Talents, two hundred down in ready Money, and the rest at six equal Payments; That the City should deliver up to the Consul all her Prisoners and Deserters; and That no Alteration should be made, as to the Jurisdiction of this City, or the present Right of Possession of the Places which had surrendered to the Romans, or which they had taken during the War. Only the Island of Cephalonia was excluded from the Privileges of the Treaty. This Treaty was carried to the Council of the Ætolians to be confirmed; and they made some Difficulties about giving up their Claim to some Places, which formerly had belonged to Ætolia. But at last all was agreed to. Ambracia made Fulvius a Present of a Crown of Gold, and delivered up to him a hundred and fifty Pounds † weight of that Mettle. But of all the Riches in the City, the Consul took nothing for himself, but the Marble, and Brass Statues, and some fine Pictures. They were no where to be found in greater Plenty, or of greater Value. Pyrrhus had long made Ambracia his Capital, and had enriched it with many valuable Monuments.

R O M E  
DLXIV.  
M. FULVIUS  
NOBILIOR,  
CN. MANLIUS  
VULSO, Con-  
suls.

\* 96875 2  
Sterling.  
Arbutnot.

† Worth  
7200 l. Sterl.  
at 4 s. per  
Ounce.

§. XXV. AFTER the Surrendry of this Place, which opened a Way into Ætolia, Fulvius penetrated into that Province, and came and encamped at Argi <sup>72</sup>, the Capital of Amphilochia. There Phaneas and Damoteles, being released

<sup>70</sup> Tyrrheum was a City of Acarnania, situated at an equal Distance from the Ionian Sea, and the River Achelous.

<sup>71</sup> Livy says, that Caius Valerius interceded with the Consul, who was his Brother, to obtain more favourable Terms for the Ætolians. They remembered, that Livinus, the Father of Valerius, had concluded the first Treaty of Alliance between

them, and the Roman Republic; and this induced them to leave all to the Arbitration of Valerius.

<sup>72</sup> This Capital of Amphilochia was then subject to the Ætolians, who had made themselves Masters of the Province. The Ancients place it between the River Achelous to the East, and The Gulph of Ambracia. It is called in modern Maps Amphiloca.



Year of out of their Confinement at *Tyrrheum*, came to him, and told him, that the *Ætolians* accepted of the Conditions he had offered him. So that nothing remained, but to send Ambassadors to *Rome*, to get the Articles ratified there; and some Deputies from *Rhodes* and *Athens* set out with *Nicander* and *Phæneas*, to intercede with the Senate. In the mean time the General granted the *Ætolians* a Truce, and retired to the Island of *Cephalonia*. Indeed, the *Ætolians* much wanted Intercessors with *The Conscript Fathers*. When they came to *Rome*, they found the People highly exasperated against them. *Philip of Macedon* had left nothing undone, to defame them. He complained bitterly, that they kept *Dolopia*, *Athamania*, and *Amphilochia*, unjustly from him. But what most tenderly affected him was, that his Son *Perfes* had been shamefully driven from *Amphilochia*. And these Intrigues had such an Effect, that the Senate would scarce hear the first Entreaties of the *Ætolians*. However, the *Athenian* Deputies who spoke in their Behalf, were more favourably received. They had an eloquent Man named *73 Damis* at the Head of them, and he spoke thus. *States, are like the Sea. Its natural Situation is a Calm. But it receives Impressions from other things, which move, and agitate it. As soon as the Winds blow, it moves. As soon as they cease, its Waves subside. Thus Ætolia was very quiet, till the Winds of Dissention disturbed it. She complied with your Desires, and lent you her Forces to reduce Macedon. But now the Weather is changed. One Thoas and one Dicaarchus have raised a Storm in Asia, and one Manestras, and Damocritus, in Europe; and presently the Tempest, put every thing into a Commotion. What then will you blame? The Waves which did not stir, till they were put in Motion by other things? Subjects, who did not take up Arms till they were forced? No; Romans. Search the Evil to the Bottom, and punish the Authors of it; but spare the Multitude, who are very willing to be at Rest and Tranquillity. In short, let not one Storm divert you from rowing on a Sea, which, by promoting your Commerce, may enrich you.* This Discourse *74* abated the Rage of *The Conscript Fathers*. Nevertheless, they suffered *Phæneas* and *Nicander*, to languish a great while in Uncertainty, whether they should obtain a Peace, or not. But at length, they made such Application, that they succeeded. The Terms *Rome* offered them were these.

1. *The Majesty of the Roman People shall be revered in all Ætolia.*
2. *She shall not suffer the Army of any Person that is an Enemy to Rome, to pass through her Dominions; and all our Enemies shall be her's likewise.*
3. *She shall, in the Space of a hundred Days, put into the Hands of the Magistrates of Corcyra, all the Prisoners and Deserters she has, whether of the Romans, or their Allies; except such as shall have been taken twice, and such as she took from the Enemy, during the time that she was in Union with Rome.*
4. *The Ætolians shall pay down in ready Money, to the Roman General in Ætolia; two hundred \* Euboic Talents, of the same Value as the Athenian Talents, and shall engage *75* to pay fifty Talents † more; within the six Years following.*
5. *They shall put into the Hands of the Consul, for six Years, forty such Hostages as he shall choose; none of which shall be under twelve, or above forty, Years of Age; neither shall the Prætor of the Nation be one, or the General of Horse, or any Person that has already been a Hostage at Rome.*
6. *Ætolia shall renounce all Pretensions, to the Cities and Territories, which the Romans have conquered since the Consulship of Flamininus, though those Cities and Territories had before belonged to the Ætolians.*
7. *The City of Oenias *76*, and its District, shall continue subject to the Acarnanians.*
8. *Cephalonia shall not be included in this Treaty.*

\* 38750 l. Sterling.  
Arbutnot.  
† 9687 l. 10 s. Sterling.

Livy, B. 38. c. 12. ex Polyb. in Legat. 28, 29. & sequentibus.

§. XXVI. WHILST *Fulvius* was thus reducing and pacifying *Ætolia*, by the taking of one single City, his Collegue *Manlius* was not idle in *Asia*. He had received, at *Ephesus*, from *Scipio*, the Command of the Army which had been victorious at *Magnesia*; and soon resolved what to do. The *Asiatick Gaul* had openly

*73* Livy calls this Prætor *Leon*.

*74* The good Offices of *Valerius*, who accompanied the *Ætolian* Deputies, did not a little contribute, according to *Livy*, to give the Senate a favourable Opinion of the Nation.

*75* *Livy* says, that the *Ætolians* were left at Liberty to pay in Gold, rather than Silver, if they pleased; provided each Gold *Drachma*, was rec-

koned at no more than ten Silver *Drachmæ*. This was the Proportion then allowed among the *Romans*.

*76* Before the *Ætolians* seized *Oenias* it belonged to *Acarnania*. It stood at the Mouth of the River *Achelous*, on the Coasts of the *Ionian Sea*. It is now called *Dragamesto*, according to *Sophian*.



declared themselves against *Rome*, no Nation having lent *Antiochus* more powerful Succours, during the War. The *Roman* Republick had no Enemies in the Levant, that were more formidable. The *Gallo-Greeks* were also become insupportable to their Neighbours. They extended their Hostilities and Ravages as far as to *The Thracian Bosphorus*. Besides, the bare Name of *Gauls* was odious to the *Romans*, wherever they found it. And these therefore were the Enemies *Manlius* proposed to subdue. The only Obstacle he found to this Expedition, was the Length of the Way that he was to march, in order to come at these new Enemies. *Galatia* was an Inland Country, beyond *Caria*, and *Phrygia*; and in order to subdue it, it was necessary to march a numerous Army thither, thro' a Country where the *Roman* Name was revered indeed; but where the *Consul* could not absolutely depend on the Good-will of the Natives. But what Difficulties will not the Desire of Revenge, and the Love of Glory, surmount! *Scipio* had given the *Consul* a great Example; and *Fulvius's* Success was a powerful Incentive to *Manlius*. He assembled his *Legionaries*, purified them with Lustrations, and made them one of those military Harangues which Generals used to make, just as they were going to enter upon some important Expedition. *What Necessity is there*, said he, *for exhorting the Victorious to pursue the Remains of the Vanquished! The Galatians, in Conjunction with the Syrians, have already been defeated by you; and it is these Enemies who are used to flee before you, which you must go and seek for in their Retreats. You have in vain driven Antiochus beyond Mount Taurus, if the Galatians are left untouched. Asia will never enjoy any Repose till we have subdued this barbarous and untractable Nation. As for me, I am not a Stranger to you. You have seen my Behaviour in Battel. Follow then a Consul who knows how to lead you to Victory.* The Proposal was approved by the Army; and the Soldiers said one to another. *We have no Body to contend with, but a few contemptible Gauls, whom we saw flee before us at Magnesia. Let us then utterly extirpate this pernicious Race, which takes not into all Places, and against whom the Alpes themselves were not a sufficient Barrier.* Then *Manlius* applied himself to get Guides, and a Reinforcement of *Asiatics*, in order to penetrate, with their Assistance, into the very Heart of *Asia Minor*. *Eumenes* would have been a faithful Guide to him, but he was at *Rome*. His Brother *Attalus* therefore supplied his Place. This brave Prince left *Pergamus*, and came to *Ephesus*, to receive the *Consul's* Orders. He desired only a few Days to prepare for his Journey; and indeed, the *Roman* Army had scarce left *Ephesus*, before *Attalus* joined it with twelve hundred of the King his Brother's Troops. *Athenæus* his third Brother was also soon to follow him, at the Head of all the *Pergamian* Forces. So great was the Deference the two Princes paid a *Consul*! He gave the Word of Command; and they immediately obeyed. *Attalus* left the Administration of a great Kingdom, to follow a Stranger, in an uncertain Enterprize. So surprizingly great was the Ascendant *Rome* assumed over all the Sovereigns in the World!

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIV.

M. FULVIUS  
NORILIOR,  
CN. MANLIUS  
VULSO, Con-  
suls.

Livy B. 38.  
c. 12.

IN the mean time, the *Consular* Army advanced by Land, and came and encamped on the Banks of the *Meander*. This winding River was deep; and it was necessary to get some Boats together to pass it. The first City in *Caria* where the *Consul* halted, was that of <sup>77</sup> *Hieracomes*. At this Place there was a famous Temple of *Apollo*, where the Priests uttered Oracles in fine Verses. From thence *Manlius* came, in two Days March, to the Banks of the <sup>78</sup> *Harpasus*. There the Inhabitants of *Alabanda* <sup>79</sup> sent to the *Consul*, to desire him to reduce a Castle, which had revolted from them; and the Castle was taken, and restored to its old Masters. From thence the Army came to <sup>80</sup> *Antioch*, another City of *Caria*; and then entered *Phrygia*, and encamped near <sup>81</sup> *Celene*, at the Head of the *Meander*.

<sup>77</sup> The Term *Hieracomes* signifies, *The Sacred Village, or Town.*

<sup>78</sup> *Pliny* speaks of the River *Harpasus*, near which there formerly stood a City of *Caria*, called *Harpaza*.

<sup>79</sup> At a little Distance from *Magnesia*, on the Banks of the *Meander*, stood *Alabanda*, a City of *Caria*, now called *Eblebanda*, according to *Leunclavius*.

<sup>80</sup> This City was one of those to which *Selencus*

*Nicator*, King of *Syria*, gave the Name of *Antioch*, in Memory of his Father *Antiochus*. It stood in *Caria*, near the River *Meander*. The *Turks*, to whom it now belongs, call it *Tachiali*.

<sup>81</sup> *Celene* had been the Capital of *Phrygia Major*, till *Antiochus Soter*, King of *Syria*, removed its Inhabitants to *Apamea*, which from that time became the most considerable Place in the Province. Near *Celene* is a Marsh, where the *Meander* and the *Marfyns* rise.

But



Year of  
ROME  
DLXIV.

M. FULVIUS  
NOBILIOR,  
CN. MANLIUS  
VULSO, Con-  
suls.

\* 1425 Quar-  
ters, 6 Bushels  
and 2 Gallons,  
English. Ar-  
butnot.

† 2906 l. 5 s. 0 d.  
Arbutnot.

‡ 4842 s. 15 s.  
o d. Sterling.

§ 9687 l. 10 s.  
o d. Sterling.

• 19375 l. 0 s.  
o d.

† 1425 Quar-  
ters, 6 Bushels  
2 Gallons,  
Engl.

But before the *Romans* arrived there, *Antiochus* sent his Son *Seleucus* to the Con-  
sul, with a Convoy of Corn, which he had promised *Scipio* to furnish his *Roman*  
Army with, whenever it was upon a March. And upon this Occasion, there  
arose a little Dispute between *Attalus* and *Seleucus*. The latter pretended, that  
his Father had not promised to supply the *Pergamian* Troops with any Provisions,  
but only the *Roman*. But *Manlius* put an End to it with an Air of great Autho-  
rity. He forbid his *Romans* to take any Corn, till the *Pergamians* had first re-  
ceived their Provisions. And the young Prince bore the Insult with Patience.  
Such Impressions did the Fear of the *Romans* make on the Vanquished! Then  
<sup>82</sup> *Gordium* opened her Gates, and received the Consul; and from thence he march-  
ed, in three Days, to <sup>83</sup> *Tabæ*, on the Confines of *Pisidia*. And there *Manlius*  
first met with Resistance. The *Pisidians* were brave; no Enemy had yet broken  
into their Country; and they could ill brook to see Foreigners draw near their  
Territories. Their Cavalry fell on that of the *Romans*; but it was repulsed, and  
returned to *Tabæ*; and the City was condemned to pay the Consul twenty five  
*Talents* of Silver, and to give him ten thousand \* *Medimnoi* <sup>84</sup> of Wheat. Then  
the *Roman* Army, continuing their Rout thro' *Great Phrygia*, came to <sup>85</sup> *Cibyra*. A  
Tyrant, named *Moagetes*, had made himself Master of it; and the Consul was of-  
fended, that he received no Embassy from the petty King. He therefore sent four  
thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, to discover his Intentions; and he acted  
the Part his Fears dictated. He sent a Deputation to the Consul, with fifteen *Ta-  
lents* †, instead of the Crown of Gold, which was the usual Present the Cities in  
the *Levant*, made to Generals, whose Protection they courted. The Deputies met  
the Detachment, and went with it to the *Roman* Camp; where they were but ill  
received by *Manlius*. Your Master, said he, has no Favour to expect from me. He  
is a Tyrant, and has made himself infamous by his Oppressions. This filled the De-  
puties with Terror; and they intreated him not to refuse the Present; and to  
give their King Leave to come in Person, and remove the Calumny. Then *Man-  
lius*, with some Difficulty, consented; and the next Day *Moagetes* came to his  
Tent. The Tyrant had no Attendants; was more negligently dressed, than the  
meanest of his Subjects; and his Speech was suitable to the low Condition in  
which he affected to appear. Nevertheless, he was Master of three Cities. And he  
promised to bring the Consul twenty five *Talents* ‡, tho' it would be stripping himself  
and his Cities bare, to raise them. Thou Deceiver, replied the Consul, was it not enough  
for you to endeavour to impose upon me by your Deputies? But must you come in  
Person to act a shameful Part before me? Either procure me fifty *Talents* § in three  
Days time, or expect to see your Fields laid waste, and your Capital besieged. But  
even this did not make the Tyrant lay aside his Dissimulation. He cried out, la-  
mented his Misfortune, and still insisted upon his Poverty. Whereas the Consul  
still rose in his Demands upon him, in proportion to his impertinent Excuses, till  
at length he insisted upon the petty King's paying him a hundred *Talents* •, and  
ten thousand † *Medimnoi* of Wheat; and then he paid it. This comical Scene  
stopped the Army for six Days; and then they continued their March, and came  
and encamped on the Banks of the <sup>86</sup> *Caularis*. From thence they passed on,  
along the Lake <sup>87</sup> *Caralitis*, to <sup>88</sup> *Mandropolis*, and to <sup>89</sup> *Lagos*, a City which the  
habitants had deserted, but had left their Provisions to be seized by the *Romans*. From

<sup>82</sup> *Xenophon* places the City of *Gordium*, in *Phrygia Major*, near the River *Sangarius*. It was there that *Alexander the Great* cut the Gordian Knot.

<sup>83</sup> The ancient Geographers mention two Cities of *Tabæ*; one in *Caria*, and the other, (which is here spoken of) belonging to *Pisidia*. Nevertheless, *Stephen of Bysantium* places it in *Lydia*, because it bordered upon it. It was called *Tabæ*, according to him, because built in a stony Soil; and he pretends, that *Marsyas*, *Apollo's* Rival, built it.

<sup>84</sup> See what we have said of the *Medimnos*, Vol. 2.

<sup>85</sup> *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* place the City of *Cibyra* in *Phrygia Major*. It stood on the Banks of the *Meander*, near the Springs of the *Xanthus*, on the

Confines of *Caria*, and *Lycia*. *Leunclavius* gives it the Name of *Baruz*.

<sup>86</sup> No Author but *Livy* mentions the River *Caularis*. By it he is supposed to mean, the Cataract, a River of *Pisidia*, which falls down Mount *Taurus* with Violence, and empties itself into the *Pamphylian* Sea.

<sup>87</sup> The Lake *Caralitis* was not unknown to *Strabo*. He places it near *Iccium*, the Capital of *Lycaonia*.

<sup>88</sup> *Mandropolis*, which *Livy* calls *Mandropus*, was a City of *Phrygia Major*, according to *Stephen of Bysantium*. Its Situation is unknown.

<sup>89</sup> The City of *Lagos* is as little known as *Mandropolis*.



the Springs of the <sup>90</sup> *Lycus*, they went on to the Banks of the <sup>91</sup> *Colobatus*; where they found the neighbouring Nations at War. The *Termessenses* <sup>92</sup> had taken the City of *Pisinda* <sup>93</sup>, and were besieging its Citadel. This gave the *Consul* a fair Occasion to enter *Pamphylia*. He delivered the *Pisidians* from the Oppression of the *Termessenses*; and obliged the latter to pay him fifty *Talents* of Silver. He also demanded as much of the other Countries in *Pamphylia*. From thence he proceeded to *Pisidia*. <sup>94</sup> *Xilines* and *Cormaca* opened their Gates to him, and received him. He found *Darsa* deserted by its Inhabitants; and gave his Soldiers Leave to plunder the Houses. *Lysinoe* submitted to the *Consul*; who went from thence into the fine and fertile Plain of *Sagalassa*. This was a beautiful Country, well peopled, and full of brave Soldiers. The Capital of it was both strong by Situation, and well fortified; and it neglected to make its Submissions to the *Consul*. *Manlius* therefore laid its Territory waste; and obliged it to give him  $\pm$  fifty *Talents* of Silver,  $\dagger$  twenty thousand *Medimnoi* of Wheat, and as much Barley. Then the Army entered *Phrygia*, and encamped about the Springs of the <sup>95</sup> *Obryma*, near a Town called *Aporidos*. There *Seleucus* came a second time to the Roman Camp; and he was ordered to conduct the Sick to *Apamea*, and find Guides to lead the Army into *Galatia*. Accordingly, *Seleucus* obeyed the Directions of the *Consul*, and assisted him in making War on his Father's old Allies. So shamefully servile and cowardly were the *Asiatick* Kings! When *Manlius* had sent his sick and useless People to *Apamea*, he came to <sup>96</sup> *Metropolis*, then to *Dinie* <sup>97</sup>, from thence to *Synnas* and *Beudi*, then to the Springs of the <sup>98</sup> *Alander*, and at length to *Abassus*, a City of *Phrygia*, on the Confines of *Galatia*. There the *Consul* rested his Troops for some Days. He had hitherto marched on like a Conqueror, and struck Terror into all the Places where he came. But now he had more formidable Enemies to engage with, than the weak *Asiatics*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIV.

M. FULVIUS  
NOBILIOR,  
CN. MANLIUS  
VULSO, CON-  
sul.

\* 9687 l. 1000.  
Sterling.  
 $\dagger$  2401 Quar-  
ters, 4 Bushels,  
English.

Livy, B 38  
c. 15.

§. XXVII. THE Gallo-Greeks, or Galatians, whether they were descended from the Gauls settled in Italy, or from the Gallic Colonies in Germany, had originally dwelt beyond the *Alpes*. Tho' it is disputed, from what Country they came last, before they settled in *Asia*; it is agreed, that they were descended from the Gauls. *Brennus*, one of their Kings, had first led them into *Dardania*; and Misunderstandings arising among them, they separated. Twenty thousand Men, under the Command of two Generals, one of which was named *Leonorius*, and the other *Lutarius*, entered *Thrace*; and there subsisted by Pillage. At length they reached *Byzantium*, and seized the Cities of the *Propontis*, and laid them under Tribute. Then the Fruitfulness of *Asia*, which was so near them, drew them thither. Thro' the natural Inconstancy of their Nation, they left a certain Settlement, to seek a new and uncertain one, amidst numberless Dangers. These Adventurers surprized *Lysimachia*, made themselves Masters of the *Chersonesus*, and could have passed the *Hellepont*, if they had not wanted Boats. To supply this Defect, they had Recourse to *Antipater* the *Macedonian*, who commanded in the Country. But he was so dilatory in complying with their Desires, that he tired out their Patience; and then they separated a second time. The Body commanded by *Leonorius* returned towards *Byzantium*; and that which obeyed *Lutarius* continued on the Shore of the *Hellepont*. At length *Lutarius* found Means, by an Artifice, to get two Galleys, and some Brigantines, from *Antipater*; and by the Help of these Ships his Army passed over into *Asia* in small Companies, and at several times.

<sup>90</sup> In the Text of *Livy*, this River is called *Lysus*. *Glareau* thinks that that Author means the *Lycus*, a little River of *Phrygia*, which runs into the *Meander*. It is thought to be the same as the *Marfyas*. *Quintus Curtius*, who calls it *Marfyam Lyci*, gives us some room to think so.

<sup>91</sup> We neither know where the *Colobatus* rises, nor what is its Course.

<sup>92</sup> The City of *Termessus* stood in the North Part of *Pamphylia*; it is now only a Village, which some say is still called *Termes*.

<sup>93</sup> *Ptolemy* places *Pisinda* in *Pamphylia*. *Livy* and *Polybius* call it *Isionde*. But we know no City of that Name.

<sup>94</sup> All we know of the following Cities is that they stood in *Pisidia*.

<sup>95</sup> The *Obryma* was a little River of *Phrygia* Major. It ran into the *Meander*, a little above *Apamea Cibotos*.

<sup>96</sup> The Surname of *Metropolis*, was given to several Cities: That here spoken of stood in *Phrygia*, at a little Distance from the *Meander*.

<sup>97</sup> *Dinie* bordered upon *Galatia*. The *Latins* also gave this Name to the City of *Digne* in *Provence*. Which makes it probable that a Swarm of the Inhabitants of the latter had removed, and settled in the former.

<sup>98</sup> We know no more of the River *Alander*, than that *Livy* places it in that Part of *Galatia* which belonged to the *Tolistoboji*.



Year of  
R O M E

DLXIV.

M. FULVIUS  
NOBILIOR,  
CN. MANLIUS  
VULSO, Con-  
suls.

Then the Jealousy of the *Gauls* which were returned to *Byzantium*, revived their former Wishes. They again desired to get into *Asia*; and *Nicomedes* furnished them with Means to transport themselves thither. This Prince <sup>99</sup>, a *Thracian* by Birth, who had seized one Part of *Bithynia*, was contending for the other Part of it, with a Rival named *Zybaeus*; and he formed a Scheme to re-unite the separated *Gauls*, and employ them in conquering all *Bithynia*; and succeeded. The *Gauls*, when united in *Asia*, fought for him, and dethroned *Zybaeus*, and drove him out of the Country. So that the Name of the *Gauls* was become formidable in the Countries where they made their new Settlement; tho' from twenty thousand, their first Number, they were reduced to ten. And at length, they penetrated into the Country, which has since been called *Galatia*; probably because the *Gauls* were whiter than the People of the East, and consequently, nearer the Colour of *Milk*. Three *Gallic* Nations were concerned in this Expedition; the *Tectosagi*, the *Tolistoboji*, and the *Trocmi*; and these made so many different Cantons, in their new Conquest. After which, each Canton being straitened in *Galatia*, broke into different Countries, and laid them under Contributions. The Coasts of the *Hellepont* were subject, if I may so speak, to the *Trocmi*; the inland Country fell a Prey to the *Tectosagi*; and *Ionia*, as well as *Æolis*, became subject to the Incursions of the *Tolistoboji*. It may be affirmed, that the *Galatians* became the Tyrants of the greatest Part of *Asia Minor*. They were situated in the Center of the most fruitful Countries in the World, and on the Banks of the River <sup>100</sup> *Halys*; and as they multiplied exceedingly, their Numbers increased their Confidence. They spread the Terror of their Arms into *Syria*; and King *Antiochus* himself became tributary to them. *Attalus*, the Father of *Eumenes*, was the first Prince who durst resist these greedy Strangers. He gave them Battel, and defeated them in the open Field. So that *Pergamus* was free from the Exactions of the *Galatians*; but this did not lessen their Robberies in the rest of *Asia*. After the Defeat of *Antiochus* by the *Romans*, the *Galatians* who were cantoned in their Mountains, so far up in the In-land Country, presumed that *Rome* would never carry her Arms so far as to their Retreats. And indeed, any other Consul would have suffered them to exercise their usual Hostilities, and enjoy the Fruits of their Rapines, in Quiet.

§. XXVIII. But *Manlius* had now brought the *Consular* Army, after the Fatigues of so long a March, near enough to reduce this Nation, which so much obstructed the Peace of the Continent. *Rome* was willing to establish Tranquillity in *Asia*, as she had done in *Greece*; and the *Galatians* were the only People who were capable of disturbing it. They seemed to have Boldness enough to withstand the Attacks of the *Romans*, it was therefore necessary to compel them by Force of Arms, to put a Stop to their Incursions and Robberies. Nevertheless, the *Legionaries* carried with them into *Asia* a Fear of the very Name of *Gauls*. They knew the Valour of this Nation; and had often experienced it, in *Italy*. It was therefore necessary for the Consul to destroy these Prejudices; and he addressed himself to his Troops, in this Manner. *Shall the Reputation the Gallo-Greeks have acquired for Arms, in these Parts, be capable of intimidating Romans? It was easy for a Company of Vagabonds to force their Way thro' Nations sunk into Effeminacy, and enervated by the Pleasures of the Country. The Gauls may have struck Terror into these timorous People, by their high Stature, fair Skins, and white Hair, as well as by their long and narrow Bucklers, and their long Swords. I am not at all surprized, that the Carians, Greeks, and Phrygians should be afraid of them. But the Howlings of these Barbarians at the Beginning of a Battel, and the Clattering they make with striking on their Bucklers all at a time, are not Things to surprize Romans. Our Forefathers first heard this Uproar on the Banks of the *Allia*; were terrified at it, and lost the Battel. But this was the only Victory the Gauls ever gained over us. During these last two hundred Years, that these troublesome People have infested Italy, what Havock have we made of them! Our*

<sup>99</sup> *Nicomedes*, the first of the Name, and surnamed the Great, was the Son of *Zipoetes*, the Founder of this Monarchy, as we have elsewhere observed. The latter had another Son, who was called *Zipoetes*, or *Zybaeus*, as well as himself; and the two Brothers were then disputing about the In-

heritance of their Father.

<sup>100</sup> The River *Halys* is in *Phrygia*. It divides *Asia Minor* into two Parts, the Eastern, and Western. There was in *Lydia* a River of the same Name, which *Herodotus* mentions.



Generals have oftener triumphed over them, than over any other Nation in the World. We have learnt to stand their first Fire, and suffer it to evaporate. It is a momentary Ardour, which soon degenerates into Weakness. Not that our Armies only have gained continual Advantages over the Gauls. We have seen many of our brave Men triumph over them in single Combats. Our T. Manlii, and Valerii Corvi, have laid their Giants in the Dust. M. Manlius threw down from the Capitol, a whole Battalion of these People, who were ready to scale it. And those Gauls whom we vanquished in Italy, had not degenerated from their ancient Valour. But these we are here to fight with, are nothing like their Forefathers. Having been softened by the Heat of Asia, and weakened by the delicious Produce of so fruitful a Country, they are like transplanted Trees, which don't retain the same Juices which they had in their native Soil. Thus those Macedonians who were invincible under Alexander, when dispersed in Syria and Egypt, after his Death, retained nothing of their ancient Valour. Properly speaking, the Men you are to fight with, are only Phrygians, dressed after the Gallic Fashion. In a Word, you have only those Galatians to engage, whom you saw fly at Magnesia: and for my part, there is only one thing that I am afraid of; which is, that the Weakness of your Enemies will lessen the Glory of overcoming them. Let us then reduce a Country whose Air is contagious, without Delay. To continue long in it, would be to expose the Romans themselves to the Danger of degenerating into the Weakness of the Asiatics.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIV.

M. FULVIUS  
NOBILIOR,  
CN. MANLIUS  
VULSO, Con-  
suls.

THUS spake Manlius; and thereby prepared his Troops for any Attempt. Nevertheless, that he might have nothing to reproach himself withal, the Consul thought it necessary to sound the Intentions of a petty Galatian King, named *Eposognatus*. He, being more moderate than the rest of his Countrymen, had refused to take up Arms against *Eumenes* and the Romans, in favour of *Antiochus*; and now, he laboured to bring about a Reconciliation between the two Nations. He intreated Manlius not to begin Hostilities too hastily, and promised him to labour to procure a Peace. I have some Credit in my Nation, said he, and I don't despair of prevailing on them to accept your Terms, if they are but tolerable ones. And the Gaul kept his Word. But he met with more Opposition from the petty Sovereigns in his Country, than he expected. In the mean time, the Consul marched his Army towards the Habitations of the Galatians. In order to this, he must first cross a Country, so open, and so ill provided with Wood, that the only Firing of the Inhabitants was Cow-Dung; and there the Army encamped, near a Castle which was guarded by some Gallo-Greeks. Out of this Castle marched a Squadron of Cavalry, and fell suddenly on the Romans; but they were repulsed, with Loss. This made the Consul sensible that he was in an Enemy's Country, and he pursued his March with Caution. At length he came and encamped on the Banks of the <sup>101</sup> *Sangaris*; at a Place where it was not very broad, but very full of Fish. A Bridge was built over it, to pass it; and as soon as the Army was got on the opposite Bank, a Company of the fanatical Priests of *Cybele* appeared. They were come from *Pessinus*, to declare to the Romans, that their Goddess would crown them with Victory. Manlius thankfully received the Prediction; and then came to *Gordium*, where he had been once before. The City was large, well peopled, and a Place of great Trade. There the Consul received the Envoys of *Eposognatus*; who informed him, That the Prince their Master had used his utmost Endeavours to soften the Minds of the Galatians; but That their Pride had got the better of their Reason. He was likewise told, That the Gallo-Greeks in all Parts were leaving their Towns and Cities in the Plain, to go and fortify themselves on the Top of Mount <sup>102</sup> *Olympus*. And this News was afterwards cleared up by the following Particulars. Advice came to the Consul, That the *Tolistoboji* had retired by themselves to Mount *Olympus*; That the *Teetofagi* had fortified themselves on the Top of Mount *Magaba*; and That the *Trocmi* had divided themselves between the *Tolistoboji* and *Teetofagi*. The *Trocmi* had committed their Wives and Children to the Care of the former; and the Warriors of that Clan had reinforced the Army of the latter. The Name of the King of the To-

Polyb. in Legat.  
c. 33.

Livy, B. 38.  
c. 18.

App. in Syriac.  
N. 115.  
Livy, B. 38.  
c. 19

<sup>101</sup> The *Sangaris* is a River in Asia Minor, which rises in Phrygia Major. After it has run through a Canton of Bithynia, it falls into the Euxine Sea. It is now called the *Sangari*, or *Zangari*.

<sup>102</sup> The *Olympus* here spoken of was a Mountain in Mysia. There was in Lycia another Mountain of the same Name, which sometimes vomited out Flames.

*tolistoboji*



Year of *listoboji* was *Ortiagon*; that of the King of the *Tectosagi*, *Combolomarus*; and that of the King of the *Trocmi*, *Gaulotus*. The Design of these Princes in posting themselves on so high Mountains, and removing their Effects and Provisions thither, was to tire out the Patience of the *Romans*, by leaving them to languish away their time in their desolate and ravaged Plains. And besides that the *Gauls* had the Advantage of the Ground, they had likewise entrenched themselves in their Retreats; and had made wide Ditches and Entrenchments in those Parts of the Mountains which were least steep. They had likewise provided themselves with Darts to throw at the Enemy, in case of an Attack. They thought the Stones, which were in great Plenty in these dry and light Places, would not be sufficient Weapons to repulse the *Romans*.

DLXIV.  
M. FULVIUS  
NOBILIOR,  
CN. MANLIUS  
VULSO, Con-  
suls.

§. XXIX. SUCH was the Situation of the *Gallo Greeks*, when the Consul entered their Territories. He was sensible that he must fight a new Way; and therefore prepared himself rather as for Sieges, than for pitched Battels. His *Legionaries* loaded themselves with great Bundles of Arrows, and all Sorts of Darts which were thrown with the Hand, or Sling. Thus provided, the *Consular Army* drew near Mount *Olympus*, and encamped only five Miles from it. The Day after the Consul arrived, he, attended by *Attalus*, and five hundred Horse, came to reconnoitre the Enemy's Posts. But the *Galatian Cavalry* fell upon them, and obliged them to retire. The Day after, *Manlius* appeared at the Foot of the Mountain, with all his Squadrons. So considerable a Body affrighted the *Gauls*, and their Fear kept them behind their Trenches. So that *Manlius* had time to march quite round the Mountain, and observe all the Ways to it. He remarked that the Ground was not so steep at the South Side of it, as at the North. It was here almost perpendicular, and consequently less accessible, than on the East, West, and South Sides. It was indeed every where very steep, but it was not unsurmountable, at least in three Places. Upon these Observations, *Manlius* formed his Scheme; and came and posted himself almost at the Foot of the Mountain. Then he immediately divided his Army into four Bodies, and assigned each its Duty. One Part continued in the Plain, to guard the Camp with the Cavalry and Elephants, which surrounded the whole Mountain. The Consul himself undertook to command in Person, at the principal Attack on the South Side. His Brother *Manlius* had Orders to lead up the Body which was to climb up on the East Side; and *C. Helvius* that which was to mount the Hill on the West Side. The Orders given to these two Lieutenant-Generals were, not to force their Soldiers to strive to march up unpassable Places, or attempt Ways which were too difficult; but to turn short about, if they found any Way too steep, and come and fall in with the Consul's Rear. And these Orders were punctually obeyed. *Manlius* followed the Road he had pitched upon; and *Attalus* kept close by his Side. The Advance-Guard consisted of the light-armed *Roman Troops*, the *Cretan Archers*, and the Slingers of the *Pergamean Army*. These were followed by the *Legionaries*, who were more heavily armed, and not so fit for climbing. As the Declivity of the South Side of Mount *Olympus* was the most easy, and the Ground was there less encumbered, they at first advanced up to a certain Height, without much Difficulty. No Enemy yet appeared to oppose the Consul's March. But at length, *Manlius* perceived about four thousand *Gallo-Greeks* posted on a Rock which he must climb over, in order to come at the Camp of the *Gauls*. The Difficulty therefore was, how to take this Post, where the Enemy was so very advantageously placed. And perhaps never was any Enterprize more bold in itself, or more wisely put in Execution.

THE Battel began between the *Galatians* on the Hill, and the light-armed *Romans*, of whom the first Line of the *Consular Forces* consisted. It was not a pitched Battel, or fought Sword in hand. Stones and Darts were the only Weapons used on both Sides. As long as the *Gauls* had Flints by them, they threw down such prodigious Quantities of them, that it was not possible to approach them. But these Weapons soon failed them. They had taken no Care to gather Heaps of them together; depending on finding enough for their Defence upon the Place. But the Case was different, as to the *Romans*. The Stock they had provided, of Darts, Arrows, and Javelins, was almost inexhaustible. They threw so many of them at the Enemy, that they overwhelmed them with them. The longer the Action lasted, the more Advantage the *Romans* had. The *Gauls* had nothing



nothing to ward off these Darts with, but flat Bucklers, which were too narrow to guard the whole Body. And they had nothing to defend themselves with, but their long Swords, which were of no Use in a Fight where the Enemy were at so great a Distance. The Darts reached them on all Sides, and they could not avoid either Wounds, or Death. Besides, they were not used to this Way of fighting. The *Gauls*, when they came to fight Sword in hand, and Man to Man, were formidable for some Hours. But now, the Bravery and Arms of the *Romans* reached and wounded them, at a considerable Distance; and when they saw their Blood run, they were like wild Beasts. It was indeed a frightful Sight. As they fought naked to the Waste, the Blood which trickled down their fair Skins made them hideous. They were all so disfigured, that they created Horror in each other. Some, in order to get the Darts and Arrows out of their Flesh, made large Incisions, and thereby their Wounds looked the more ghastly. Others, out of all Patience to see themselves cruelly wounded by so little a Piece of Iron as that of an Arrow, laid down upon the Ground, rolled about in the Sand, and trembled with Rage. Others left their Posts, and came furiously to attack the *Romans*, who soon stabbed them with their Swords. So that there were but few of the four thousand *Gauls* left on the Rock, to defend that Pass. All those that escaped Death fled, and regained their Camp; where the Alarm, and the Consternation, was general. The Cries of Women and Children were heard mixed with the Noise of the Warriors, who were hurrying to seize their Arms. In short, every one took his Post, and the whole *Galatian* Army appeared in Order of Battel, on the Ridge of the Mountain.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIV.  
M. FULVIUS  
NOBILIOR,  
CN. MANLIUS  
VULSO, Con-  
suls.

NEVERTHELESS, the *Romans* still went forward, and found no fresh Detachment to engage. The *Consular* Army was then united all in one Body. The two Lieutenant-Generals, one of which had taken the East Side, and the other the West, had not found any Ways that were passable, and had returned to the *Consul's* Corps, and made a third Line, which was of Service to the two first. This Rear-Guard made the *Manipuli* before them advance, took up those that fell, and supplied the Places of those that the Enemy beat down. At length, the *Romans* arrived all together, on the Rock from whence they had dislodged the Enemy; and there the *Consul* halted for some Hours. The great Number of *Galatians* he found dead on the Place, gave him Occasion to harangue his Troops; which he did in this manner. *These Heaps of Dead, and this fine Beginning of Victory, are the Fruits of the Valour of our light-armed Soldiers only. Our Darts only have made all this Slaughter. What then will be the Consequence when our Legionaries come to a close Fight, and break into the Enemy's Battalions? This is what remains to be done next. The Booty in the Camp of the Galatians will make you amends for your Fatigues.* Then he ordered his Soldiers to gather together on the Field of Battel, the numberless Darts, Arrows, and Javelins, which they had thrown at the Enemy. Nay, they tore them out of the dead Bodies, in order to throw them a second time. And this was not an useless Work.

WHEN the *Romans* had taken Breath, they began climbing again; and at length, they arrived near the Summit of *Olympus*. All the Top of the Mountain seemed to be every where covered with *Galatians*, who were come out of their Camp, and ready to defend the Approaches to it. The light-armed Soldiers still marched at the Head of the *Roman* Army; and when they came within Reach of the Enemy, they discharged their Darts with more Fury than at the first Attack. The *Gauls* were confined to a little Space of Ground. So that every Dart did some Execution. This Shower terrified the *Gauls*. Being most of them wounded, they retired for Refuge within their Camp; and then the *Romans* were soon able to come to a close Fight. The *Galatian* Generals who were forced to retreat, only placed great Bodies of Men before their Posts, to cover them; and it was then, properly speaking, that the *Legionaries* entered upon Action. They attacked these Advanced Guards pretty near, with the heavy *Partizans*, which were their usual Weapons; and nothing was Proof against these Arms. As the Shafts of them were long, they often pierced thro' more Bucklers than one, and sometimes fastened two Soldiers together. After this, the *Legionaries* fell upon the Enemy, Sword in hand, and stabbed them. In short, the *Gauls* could



Year of R O M E DLXIV. M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR, CN. MANLIUS VULSO, Consuls.

could not hold out against the *Roman Legions*. They broke thro' the Gates of the Camp; or rather, the *Galatians* opened them, and fled. What mighty Effects has Fear on a confused Multitude, who give themselves up to it! They run into the Jaws of Death, whilst they endeavour to avoid it. The *Gauls*, to avoid the Enemy's Swords, were not afraid to leap down from the Tops of the Rocks. The Depth of the Precipices did not surprize them. The *Consul* ordered his *Romans* to pursue them; but they came up with but few, in Comparison of those whom they forced to take these fatal Leaps. The Top of the Mountain was strewed with dead Bodies, and all the Paths down it, full of the flying, or dying. In the mean time, the Body *Helvius* commanded, fell on the Enemy's Camp, and began to plunder it. Indeed it was not just, that this Detachment, which had had no Share in the Action, should seize the first Part of the Booty. But how can Discipline be preserved, in these Times of Disorder? On such Occasions, the greedy Soldiers won't hearken to the Voice of their Commanders.

DURING the Battle, the *Roman Cavalry* continued at the Foot of the Mountain; and now they had their Turn. They fell on the Remains of the Fugitives, and either killed them, or made them Prisoners of War. It is not possible to say exactly what Number of Men the *Galatians* lost in this unfortunate Action. Some make them amount to forty thousand; and others reduce them to ten thousand. But it is more generally agreed, that there were at least forty thousand Captives taken, including Men, Women, and Children. The *Consul* made a Sacrifice to *Vulcan*, of all the Arms taken from the Enemy. The other Spoils he ordered to be brought together; and such of them as of Right belonged to the Republick, the *Quæstor* sold, and distributed the rest among the Soldiers. And lastly, after the *Consul* had highly extolled the Behaviour of his Troops in general, he distributed the Rewards of Valour. And *Attalus* was not forgotten. This Prince had behaved himself with as signal Courage and Prudence as he had done in the Affair of *Magnesia*.

Plut. de Virt. Fæmin. Liv. B. 38. c. 4. Auth de Vir. Illust. Val. Max. B. 6. c. 1. Exter §. 2.

§.XXX. As for the King of the *Tolistoboji*, he retired, after his Defeat, into a Corner of his Dominions; and found, to his great Grief, that he had lost the best Part of Himself, the Queen his Wife. The Name of this Heroine, whom History has immortalized, was *Chiomara*. This Princess had all those good Qualities which are the Ornaments of her Sex, and had a superior Degree of Merit, to that of the most accomplished Women. *Polybius*, who afterwards saw her, and entertained her at *Sardis*, says, that her Beauty was excellent, her Imagination lively, her Understanding solid, and her Courage worthy of the greatest Heroes. *Chiomara*, among the great Number of Captives which the *Romans* made on Mount *Olympus*, was put into the Hands of the *Consul*. But the General being engaged in numberless Affairs, on so distracting a Day, committed her to the Care of a *Centurion*, whose Name the *Romans* have been ashamed to transmit to us. During the Licentiousness of the Soldiers, the *Roman* suffered himself to be led to commit the most brutal Action. He was struck with the Queen's Beauty; and, without any Regard to her Royal Dignity, offered Violence to her: And then the same Passion of Love which had made the *Centurion* thus rash, led him to seek out proper Means to appease her, whom he had so much injured. Or perhaps Avarice succeeded Lull in the *Centurion's* Breast. He gave *Chiomara* Hope, that she should soon be released from her Captivity, provided she would pay him the Sum he demanded. He gave her Leave to send one of the *Galatian* Prisoners to her Husband *Ortiagon*, to negotiate the Ransom of his Queen with him; and it was agreed, That two Relations of the Princess should come by Night to the Banks of a neighbouring River bring thither the Sum stipulated, and there have the Queen delivered up to them. And both Parties kept their Words. The *Centurion* led *Chiomara* to the Warside by Night, and at the Hour appointed the two *Galatian* Lords came thither with the Ransom. But whilst the greedy *Centurion* was wholly intent upon weighing or counting the Money, the Brave Princess said to her two Relations, in the Language of her own Country, which the *Roman* did not understand, *Strike! and purge the Earth of a Monster whom I detest*. They did so; and with one Stroke of a Sabre cut off the *Centurion's* Head. *Chiomara* took it up, put it into a Corner of her Robe, carried it with her, and threw it down at her Husband's Feet.



strange Salutation! which might well surprize *Ortiagon*; and he said to her, *Have you done Justice to my Bed?* To which the virtuous Queen replied, *I call the Gods to witness, that if my Body has suffered the Violences of a servile State, I have revenged them. That is the Head of the infamous Ravager, who robbed us of our Honour.* The King was charmed with the Virtue and Courage of his Wife; and had a greater Affection and Esteem for her than ever. Did *Rome* ever produce a Heroine comparable to the generous *Gaul*? *Lucretia* indeed has been more celebrated; but was the Loss of her Honour repaired with as much Prudence, and Greatness of Soul, as that of *Chiomara*? But to return.

*Livy, B. 38.  
c. 25.*

§. XXXI. THE War with the *Galatians* was not yet finished. *Manlius* had subdued only the *Tolistoboji*. The united *Tectosagi* and *Trocmi* were yet untouched. Indeed the *Romans* were at the Gates of *Ancyra*, the Capital of *Galatia*; but the Remains of the Nation were on Mount *Magaba*, and were resolved to try all Means, both of Artifice, and open Force. Whilst the *Consul* was in the Plains of *Ancyra*, there came an Embassy to him from the *Tectosagi*, who intreated him to advance no farther, but put a Stop to all Hostilities, till a Peace should be concluded, which the whole Body of the *Galatians* would accept on what Terms he pleased. *Manlius* consented to appear at the Place appointed; but the *Galatians* were not there, and excused themselves under several Pretences. The *Consul* therefore returned to his Camp, and tho' invited to return to the Place of Conference the next Day, he excused himself, and sent only *Attalus*, with a Guard. There some Steps were taken towards a Peace; but because neither the *Consul*, nor the *Galatian* Kings were present, nothing was signed; the Conclusion of the Affair was postponed to the next Day. A Promise was made the Prince of *Pergamus*, that all the Kings of *Galatia* should appear at the first Conference, and put an End to the Affair. The *Tectosagi* affected these Delays to gain time. Whilst they were amusing the *Romans*, they removed their Wives and Children, and the best of their Effects, beyond the River *Halys*. And they had likewise a more important Point in View. They designed to surprize the *Consul*, and either seize, or kill him. *Manlius* was not suspicious. He came to the Place appointed with *Attalus*, at the Head of five hundred Horse, too inconsiderable a Number to secure him. And therefore the Officers of the *Roman* Army, who thought the Confidence of the *Consul* too great, ordered six hundred Horse more to be gathering near the Place where the *Consul* was to meet the Enemy; and this proved to be a very useful Precaution. The Enemy had posted a thousand of their best Troops in the Road *Manlius* was to take, to come to the Conference; and no sooner was he out of sight of the Army, but the *Galatian* Squadrons fell with great Impetuosity on his Guard. The *Consul* sustained this unforeseen Attack with Intrepidity. But at length, he was forced to give way to Numbers, and he retreated fighting, and in good Order. However, the Enemy pressed hard upon him, and began to surround his Detachment; and then these *Romans* had no Resource, but Flight. It is said that several of them were killed on the Spot; and they could all have been cut in Pieces, if the *Roman* Forragers had not, upon hearing the Noise, immediately come up. Then both Parties were equal in Number, and the Success different. The Fugitives rallied, and fell on the Enemy with this Reinforcement of fresh Troops, which seemed to have come accidentally to their assistance. The *Galatians* fled, and not one of them escaped. The *Romans* would not give any Quarter, or lose Time in making Prisoners. These perfidious men were treated with the utmost Rigour, as Infringers of the Law of Nations, and their Defeat was entire. As for the *Consul*, it is easy to judge of his Resentment, after his Life had been in such imminent Danger. The more Gentleness he had shewn the Traitors, the more he thought they deserved Punishment. And therefore he prepared for a Battel without Delay, and came and posted himself at a little Distance from the Mountain which was the *Asylum* of the *Tectosagi*. NEVERTHELESS, his Anger did not blind him. Before he began his Attack on Mount *Magaba*, he took two whole Days, to make his Observations: and he observed, That the Army of the *Tectosagi*, and *Trocmi*, was regularly formed on the top of the Mountain which he must climb up; and That their main Body was linked with two Wings. The first consisted of ten thousand Horse, which were dismounted, because of the Inequality of the Ground. In the second were four thousand

*R O M E  
DLXIV.  
M. FULVIUS  
NOBILIOR,  
CN. MANLIUS  
VULSO, Con-  
suls.*

*Polyb. in Legat.  
c. 34.*



Year of thousand Auxiliaries; which <sup>103</sup> *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*, and <sup>104</sup> *Morzes*, King of *Paphlagonia*, had sent to assist the *Gauls*. According to this Disposition there fore the *Roman* General divided his Troops into four Parts, as if he had been to storm a Town. *Manlius* in Person, with two fourths of his Army, marched directly up the middle of the Mountain, and made Head against the main Body of the *Galatians*. The two other Columns of *Roman* Troops marched, one to the right, and the other to the left, in order to attack the Enemy's Wings. On all sides, the heavy-armed Troops were preceded by the light-armed, who were furnished with vast Numbers of Darts of all sorts. In that Particular, the first Onset here was much the same as that of Mount *Olympus*; and it had the same Success. A Shower of Darts was thrown at the *Gauls*; and none of them durst leave his Rank, for fear of being wounded. On the contrary, they all closed their Ranks, and thereby exposed themselves the more to the *Roman* Darts. Then the uncertain Motions of the Enemy, made the *Consul* believe, that if he ordered his *Legionaries* to advance, the *Gauls* would not be able to bear their Shouts, or Presence. And therefore he ordered his light-armed Soldiers to fall into the Spaces in his *Legions*, and suffered only the Infantry, who were used to fight without stirring off their Ground, to fall on the Enemy. Then the *Tectosagi* and *Trocmi* remembered the Defeat of the *Tolistoboji*; and not being able to bear the Sight, or resist the Swords of the *Legionaries*, who were climbing up towards them, they hastened back to their Camp. Some indeed fled down those Parts of the Hill, which the *Romans* had not seized. But the *Legionaries*, without amusing themselves with pursuing the most desponding, stuck to those only, who fled to their Tents; they were greedy of Plunder, and entered the Camp of the *Galatians*, mixed with them. Thus began the Rout of the main Body of the *Gauls*, which the *Consul* opposed. However, the two Wings of the *Gauls* still made a good Appearance. They were not attacked till last, because they were the most difficult to be come at; but when they came to engage, they made less Resistance, than the main Body. Upon the first Onset they were put into Disorder. And the *Consul*, angry that he could not draw off those of his Soldiers from the Plunder, whom he had himself led on to the Battel, ordered those who vanquished the two Wings to pursue the Enemy. But as earnestly bent as they were upon Slaughter, they killed but eight thousand of them. The rest escaped by the Paths of the Mountain, crossed the River *Halys*, and secured themselves. As to the *Roman* Troops, one part of them spent the Night in the Enemy's Camp; the other returned to their own. They did not find any considerable Booty in the Camp of the *Galatians*, the Fugitives had removed their best Effects beyond the River. But in the Cities of *Galatia*, which were all plundered, the *Roman* Army found many valuable Spoils. The *Galatians* had been famous, ever since their Settlement, for their Robberies in all Countries of *Asia*; and in these two Battels, they lost all the immense Riches they had amassed together. In short, being now reduced to their primitive Poverty, their Pride abated. Their Kings sent a Deputation to *Manlius*'s Camp, to intreat him to give Law to them, and grant them a Peace upon his own Terms. But the *Consul* was not inclined to continue long enough in that Country, to spend much time in Conferences with the Vanquished. Autumn was far advanced, and it already began to be cold, at the Foot of the high Mountains of *Galatia*. He therefore ordered the *Galatians*, and other *Asiatick* Nations, to send their Ambassadors to *Ephesus*, whither he led back his Troops. And nothing better shews the low State of these *Gauls*, and the Terror of all the Nations in *Asia*, than the blind Obedience they paid the *Consul*. Even after his Departure, the *Gauls* submitted to send their Deputies to him, to obtain a Peace of him upon what Conditions he pleased.

*MANLIUS* no sooner arrived at *Ephesus*, but Ambassadors came thither from almost all the Kings, free Cities, and petty Sovereign Princes, in *Asia*. It was also expected, that the ten Commissioners appointed by the *Roman* Senate to

<sup>103</sup> *Ariarathes*, the fifth of that Name, of whom we have already spoken, was the Son of another *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*, and of *Stratonice* the Daughter of *Antiochus*, surnamed *The God*. He had married *Antiochis*, the Daughter of *Antiochus the Great*.

<sup>104</sup> *Strabo* speaks of one *Morzes*, a King of *Paphlagonia*, who had made the City of *Gangra* the Capital of this Kingdom. And this Geographer adds, that this Monarchy subsisted till the time of *Deiotarus Philadelphus*, who was the last King of this Country.



represent the Republick, and settle the Affairs of the Country, would soon arrive there. Hence the great Numbers of *Asiatics* that crowded to the *Consul* at *Ephesus*; and there were few of the Princes, or Cities, that sent their Deputies to him, which omitted to make him the usual Present. They laid a great Number of Crowns of Gold at his Feet; which was to shew their Satisfaction in his Expedition, and the Reduction of the *Galatians*. The Nations of *Greece*, and the Cities beyond Mount *Taurus*, received more Benefit from the Defeat of the *Tolissiboi* and *Tectosagi*, than from that of *Antiochus*. The Government of the King of *Syria* had been moderate. But the Incursions and Robberies of the *Gallo-Greeks* were intolerable. *Manlius* graciously received the sincere Congratulations of so many Nations; but was chiefly employed in giving Audience to the Ambassadors of the Chief of the Sovereigns. The first who was admitted into his Presence was *Musæus*, who came from *Antiochus*. This Ambassador told him, That his Master was ready to pay the two thousand five hundred *Talents* \*, and the Corn with which he was obliged to furnish the *Roman* Armies for some Years; and *Manlius* answered, that he would soon set out for *Pamphylia*, and there receive the Tribute. The Envoys of *Ariarathes* were next introduced. This Prince was under great Uneasiness, on account of the Punishment he had deserved, for having assisted King *Antiochus* and the *Galatians*. Nevertheless, his Conduct in this Matter was very excusable. Could he, in Decency, withstand the Solicitations of the King of *Syria* his Father-in-Law? And this Consideration affected the *Consul*. Though the King of *Cappadocia* was rich and powerful, *Manlius* demanded of him only two hundred † *Talents*. At length the Ambassadors of the *Gallo-Greeks* appeared as Supplicants; and the *Consul* took Pleasure in letting them languish in Uncertainty, what their Fate would be. He gave them only this short Answer. *We shall not determine what is to be done in your Affair, till King Eumenes is returned from Rome.* This Prince had tarried there during the whole Campaign that *Manlius* had made in *Galatia*. But at length he returned to *Ephesus*, with the ten Commissioners, appointed by the *Romans* to dispose absolutely and finally, of the several Conquests which the Republick had made in *Asia*. And by them *Manlius* received an Account from *Rome*, of the State of Affairs in the Capital.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIV.

M. FULVIUS  
NOBILIOR,  
CN. MANLIUS  
VULSO, Con-  
suls.

Polyb. in Legat.  
c. 35.

\* 484375 l.  
Sterling.  
Arbutnot.

† 28750 l.  
Sterling.  
Arbutnot.

S. XXXII. As the War with the *Gauls* in *Asia* was just finished, a new War was going to be begun with the *Gauls* in *Italy*, and the *Ligures*. The latter, notwithstanding the Peace, had assassinated a *Roman* *Prætor*, who thought himself safe in their Dominions. *L. Bæbius* was the *Prætor's* Name. After the last Elections, the Government of *Further Spain* had fallen to his Lot. He was going to take Possession of his Province, carrying with him a thousand *Legionaries*, fifty *Roman Knights*, six thousand Auxiliary Foot, and two hundred Horse. These were to reinforce the *Roman* Armies in *Spain*; but the *Ligures* opposed his March. As these Troops were passing very peaceably through their Country, these treacherous People surrounded them, fell upon them, killed a good Number of them, and dangerously wounded the *Prætor*. *Bæbius* escaped with Difficulty out of the Battel; got to *Marseilles* without Guards, or *Lictors*; there expired at the end of three Days; and his Death was a just Cause for a new War for his Republick. The Senate filled up his Place, and nominated *D. Junius Brutus*, to command in his room in *Further Spain*, in quality of *Pro-Consul*. The *Spaniards* still persevered in their Revolt; and the Success was often doubtful between them and the *Romans*. The last Year *Emilius Paulus* had been shamefully beaten by the *Lusitanians*; but he had very lately recovered his Credit. He had beaten the *Lusitanians* in a pitched Battel, killed eighteen thousand of them on the Spot, and made three thousand three hundred Prisoners of War. By this Succession of good and bad Success, *Emilius Paulus* was formed to be one of the greatest Generals in the Republick. By his last Victory he had in some Measure restored Tranquillity in *Spain*.

Livy, B. 37.  
c. 57.

But these were not the only Advices the ten Commissioners, and King *Eumenes*, brought from *Italy* to *Ephesus*. They brought *Manlius* another piece of News, which much more nearly affected him. The Elections had been made at *Rome*. His Colleague *M. Fulvius* had been recalled from *Greece*, to preside in them. The



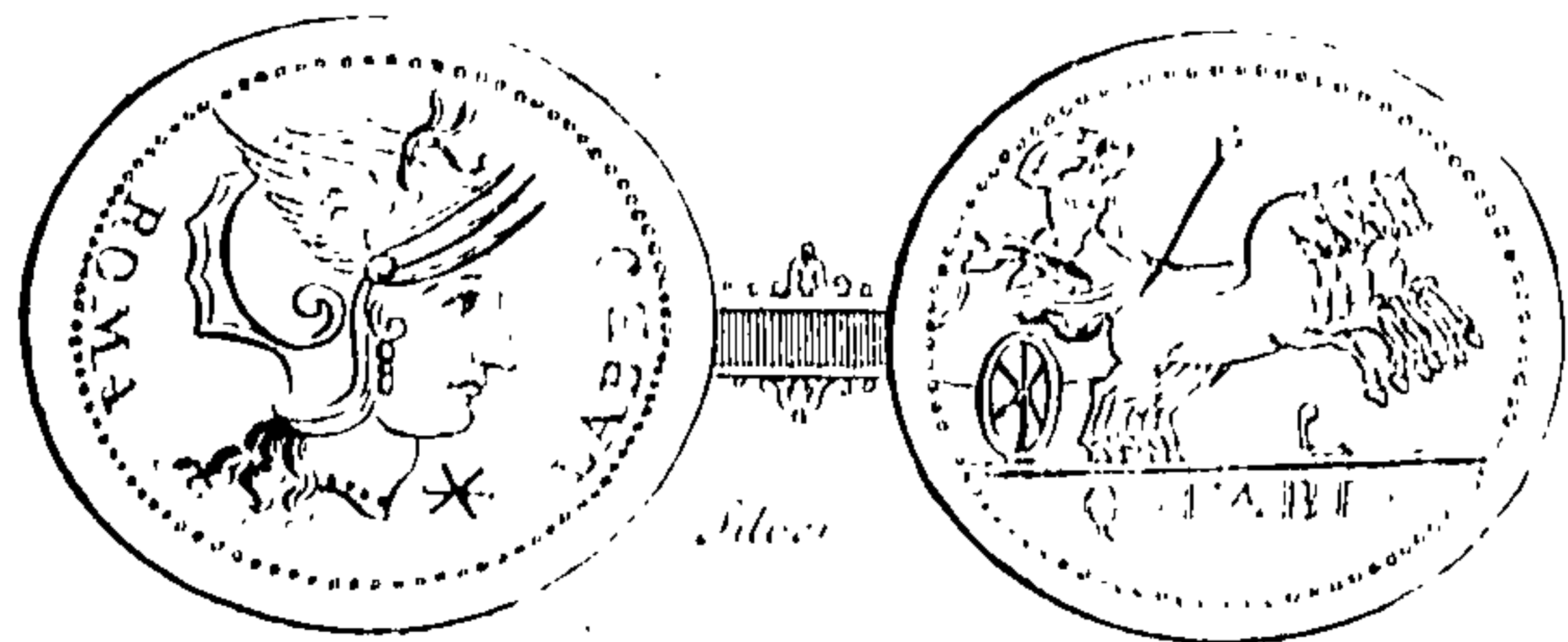
Year of *Centuries* had promoted *M. Valerius Messala*, and *C. Livius Salinator* to the *R O M E* *fulate*, and had excluded *L. Æmilius Lepidus*. And what gave *Manlius Plea-*  
 DLXV. sure was, that they had continued him, in his Province in *Asia*, for another Year,  
 M. VALERIUS in quality of *Pro-Consul*. Besides, the Republick had also continued *Fulvius* in  
 MESSALA, C. his Province, in *Greece*. These Appointments detained the new *Consuls* in *Italy*.  
 LIVIUS SALI- Besides, the War with the *Gauls* and *Ligures* seemed ready to break out again.  
 NATOR, Con- It was therefore determind by Lot, that *Messala* should go and reside at *Pisa*, to  
 suls. watch the *Ligures*; whilst *Salinator* marched an Army to *Cisalpine Gaul*, to keep  
 the Natives there to their Duty. So that neither of the Commissions of the *Con-*  
*suls* could procure them much Glory; whilst those of the two *Pro-Consuls* in the  
*Levant* gave them more Lustre.

§. XXXIII. AFTER the Election of *Messala* and *Salinator*, and before they en-  
 tered upon the Exercise of their Office, *Rome* applied herself wholly to Works  
 of Religion, Justice, and Policy. In the Temple of *Hercules*, a Statue was erected  
 to this Demi-God: *Scipio Africanus* made a Present to *Jupiter Capitolinus* of a  
 Chariot, drawn by six Horses; and the *Curule Ædiles* hung up in his Temple  
 twelve Bucklers of Brass. They were bought by the Fines, levied upon the Corn-  
 Merchants, who, out of Covetousness, had raised the Price of Bread. One of these  
 Usurers, was condemned separately to pay as much Money, as would purchase two  
 Brass Statues gilt. The Fines raised at *Rome*, were then wholly applied to the  
 Service of the Gods, and the Decoration of their Temples. To which we must add,  
 that by a Decree of the *Decemviri*, all the Temples were now opened, and fre-  
 quented by the People, for three Days; in order to avert the ill Effects of certain Prog-  
 nosticks, whether true or false, which the credulous People had turned into Miracles.

Livy, B. 38.  
c. 36.

AFTER these Decrees concerning the publick Worship, some political Regula-  
 tions were made. It was ordered, That for the future, the *Roman Citizens* trans-  
 planted into *Campania*, who had no particular *Censors* of their own, should be included  
 in the *Census* of the Inhabitants of *Rome*. They were also suffered to marry *Roman*  
 Women, and their Children were to be deemed *Romans*. By another Decree of  
 the People, made at the Motion of *Valerius Tappa*, their *Tribune*, the Right of  
 Suffrage in the *Comitia* was granted to the Inhabitants of *Formiæ*, *Fundi*, and *Arpi*.  
 These *Municipia* had till that time, only the bare Right of *Citizenship*, without any  
 Votes at all in the Assemblies of the People. But now, those of *Formiæ* and *Fundi* were  
 incorporated into *The Æmilian Tribe*, and those of *Arpi* into *The Cornelian*. This was  
 a necessary Formality, in order to their enjoying a Right of Suffrage. And almost at  
 the same time, the *Censor*, *Claudius Marcellus*, presided at a new *Census* of the  
 People. This Preference before his Colleague *Flaminius* fell to him by Lot. In  
 this Enumeration of the *Roman Citizens* fit to bear Arms, there were reckoned  
 up two hundred fifty eight thousand three hundred and twenty eight. This was  
 reckoned to be the forty eighth *Lustrum* since their Institution. And before the  
*Consuls* set out for their Provinces, they assisted at several Shows. The *Curule*  
*Ædiles* caused *The Roman Games* to be presented no less than three times; and  
 the *Plebeian Ædiles* entertained the People with other Games, no less than five  
 times.

BUT nothing made a finer Sight, than the naval <sup>105</sup> Triumph of *Q. Fabius Labeo*.  
 This *Prætor* had been appointed the last Year to command the *Roman Fleet* on the



<sup>105</sup> The Triumph of *Quintus Fabius Labeo*, is attested by a Silver Medal. The Prow of the Ship on the Reverse, points out the Naval Expedition, which this General undertook against the Island of *Crete*, and performed to the Advantage of his Republick.

Coins



Coasts of the *Levant*. He had convoyed the *Consul Manlius*, to *Ephesus*: And Year of there found, that he had nothing to do. The Peace was concluded with *Antiochus*; and the *Consul* was going to carry on the War in the inland-Countries. *R O M E* DLXV. That therefore he might not continue idle, he sailed towards the Island of *Crete*, M. VALERIUS where he thought he might employ his Fleet, to the Advantage of his Republick. MESSALA, C. Ever since the Wars with *Philip*, *Antiochus*, and the *Ætolians*, almost all the LIVIUS SALI- Prisoners that were taken from the *Romans*, had been sold to the *Cretans*; and to NATOR, Con- deliver so many unfortunate Men from Slavery, was a Design worthy of the Ge- nerosity of a *Roman*. *Labeo* had therefore appeared off *Crete*, and filled it with Terror. The Islanders, without his fighting a Battel, or offering them any Violence, upon his bare Summons, put into his Hands four thousand *Romans* and *Latins*; and *Labeo* conducted them back to *Italy*, and demanded a Triumph. The Motion was new. The Admiral had neither fought any Fleet, or taken any City. Nay, he had not found any Enemies to oppose him. Some of *The Tribunes of the People* therefore opposed the granting his Request; but the Senate were too equitable to deny it. They thought that *Labeo* had done the Republick as much Service, by delivering a Multitude of faithful Subjects out of Captivity, as if he had covered the Ground with the dead Bodies of many Enemies. There was nothing magnificent, but something very affecting, in his Procession. The four thousand Captives which were restored to their Country, followed the triumphal Chariot, wearing *Pilei*, as Marks of their obtaining their Freedom, and making the Air resound with their Shouts. The Proof of this Triumph, is the Medal, on which the Memory of it is conveyed to us. The Reverse is a *Jupiter* in a Chariot, holding a Thunderbolt in his Hand, and under him, the *Prow* of a Ship. Nothing could be a more proper Representation of the Conquest of *Crete*, where, according to Fable, this God had been brought up.

§. XXXIV. THE *Consuls* were present at all these Shows, and then set out, each for his Province. And one Historian surprizes us, with an Account of a considerable Event, which ought to immortalize the *Consulship* of *Messala* and *Salinator*. In the Campaign they made, says this ancient Author, one in *Liguria*, the other in *Cisalpine Gaul*, they drove all the *Gauls* beyond the *Alpes*. But the Silence of other Writers, and the Course of the History, makes us at least suspect the Truth of this Fact. And therefore we rather choose to say with *Livy*; that in *Italy*, the present Year produced no considerable Exploits. So that our Attention must now be fixed wholly on *Greece* and *Asia*. We will begin with what *Fulvius* did after his return from *Rome*, to govern *Greece* in quality of *Pro-Consul*.

IN the Treaty he had concluded with the *Ætolians*, he had excepted the Island of *Cephalenia*. He had in his *Consulship* established all the other free Cities of the Continent in their ancient Freedom. But the Case was otherwise as to *Cephalenia*. *Fulvius* had a Design to conquer it, and add it to the *Demefns* of the Republick. He therefore carried over his Troops thither, and summoned all the Cities and Towns in the Island to surrender to the *Romans*; and Fear made the *Cephalenians* tractable. They gave Hostages, and the Island seemed to be entirely reduced. But in the mean time, the Inhabitants of <sup>106</sup> *Sama* were seized with a sudden Panic, which made them fall off from the *Romans*. Their City being the most advantageously situated of any in the Island, they fancied they should be driven from their Country, as soon as the *Romans* got Possession of it. Perhaps some *Roman* had dropped this Design in Conversation. But be that as it will, the Inhabitants of *Sama* chose rather to sustain a Siege, than to be condemned to Banishment, after a voluntary Surrender. They had already given their Hostages; but they sacrificed them to the Common-Good, and shut their Gates against the *Roman* Army. *Fulvius* in vain shewed them at the Foot of their Walls, those of their fellow-Citizens and Relations, which they had delivered up to the *Romans*, in order to raise their Compassion. The Death or Slavery which awaited

<sup>106</sup> *Sama* was the chief City in the Island of *Cephalenia*. *Strabo* mentions it, as well as three other Cities, which were formerly in being there. But he says, that in his time, there were only two left. Nevertheless, *Pliny* says, that there were three, which continued to be inhabited in his time; and adds, that only the Ruins of *Sama* were then

remaining, since it had been destroyed by the *Romans*. *Pliny* also makes this City a different Island from *Cephalenia*; and *Thucydides* seems to have been of the same Opinion. Nevertheless, it is certain, that *Sama* was only a part of the Island of *Cephalenia*. This City stood in the Place which the *Italians* now call *Porto Guiscardo*.



Year of these Hostages, did not move the *Samans*. They prepared to sustain the Attacks of a *Consular* Army. *Fulvius* brought before the Place all the Machines of War, which he had employed in the Siege of *Ambracia*; and the Walls were battered with *Rams*, in two Places. The Besieged were animated with a Desire of preserving the Liberty of their Country, and they thought nothing difficult, which was necessary to that end. If one part of the Wall was battered down, another was immediately built behind the Breach. The Besieged often made *Sallies*, sometimes to repulse Attacks, and sometimes to destroy the Machines of the Besiegers. And the *Samans* had almost always the Advantage in these several Battels. Insomuch, that his Losses and Fatigues almost discouraged *Fulvius*. But at length he found out a new Method of attacking; which indeed seemed inconsiderable, but it produced the Reduction of the City. He knew that the Inhabitants of <sup>107</sup> *Ægium*, and some other neighbouring Cities, were used to sling the little round Flints, which were found on the Sea-shore. These *Greeks* had made this Exercise their Diversion from their Youth, and had the Reputation of being better Slingers, than any in the *Baleares* Islands. *Fulvius* therefore sent for a hundred of them to reinforce his Army. A few in Number indeed; but enough to drive back the *Samans* behind their Walls, whenever they ventured to make a *Sally*. These Slingers threw their Flints so dexterously, that the Besieged could not raise their Heads above the Parapet, without being wounded. They were sometimes heard to say, on the Tops of the Rampart; *If the Ægians would let us alone, we should manage the Romans easily enough*. Nevertheless, the Siege lasted four Months; and then the *Romans* scaled the Walls at an Eminence, which overlooked the Sea, and penetrated into the Heart of the City. The *Samans*, with their Wives and Children, retired into the Citadel, and desired to capitulate. But *Fulvius* forced them to surrender at Discretion, sold them to the best Bidder, and they were all reduced to Slavery.

DLXV.  
M VALERIUS  
MESSALA, C.  
LIVIVS SALI-  
NATOR, Con-  
suls.

And ever after the taking of *Cephalenia*, *Greece* had only an Appearance of Liberty. When this Island was become *Roman*, it opened a Way for the *Legions* into *Peloponnesus*, which was only divided from it, by a small Arm of the Sea, about twenty four Miles over. *Fulvius* had made himself Master of *Cephalenia*, during his *Consulship*; and now that he was only *Pro-Consul*, he made it his Place of Residence, and from thence gave Laws to all *Greece*. All Disputes that arose between any of the *Greek* Cities, or Republicks, were brought to the *Pro-Consul's* Tribunal; and *Fulvius* was sole Arbiter of them. Under the Character of a Peace-maker, he was in reality the Sovereign of the Country. A Difference arose in *Achaia*, concerning the Places where the National Diets should assemble for the future. The immemorial Custom had been for them to assemble at *Ægium*, a City which had been preferred for its Ancientness and Situation. *Philopæmenes* was then the supreme Magistrate in *Achaia*, and his Design was, to divide the Honour and Advantages, that those Assemblies brought to the Places where they were held, between all the Cities in the Country. But when *Philopæmenes* was ready to have made this Regulation, he found an Opposition made to it by the chief Men in some Cities. These insisted, that the Diet should be assembled at *Ægium*, according to Custom. Whereas *Philopæmenes* had named *Argi*, for the Place of the next Diet. Upon Information of this, *Fulvius* came into *Peloponnesus*; and the Dispute was referred to his Determination. He therefore came to *Argi*, where most of the Deputies were already assembled. Nevertheless, though he inclined to favour the *Ægians*, after he had heard both Parties, he would not pronounce. It was enough for him to shew, that *Rome* had an absolute Authority in *Greece*.

§. XXXV. But *Fulvius* thought the Dispute between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achaians* of more Consequence. Since the Defeat of the former, *Flamininus* had given all the Places on the Coast of *Laconia* to the latter. The Persons of Distinction, whom the Tyrants had driven out of *Lacedæmon*, returned thither; and there enjoyed their Repose, under the Protection of *Achaia*. But at length the *Lacedæmonians* were out of all Patience, to see themselves deprived of those Sea-

<sup>107</sup> We have already spoken of *Ægium*, a City situated on the Coast of The Gulph of Corinth, between *Patra* and *Sicyon*. It is now called *Vestiza*.



Ports, which formerly had belonged to them; and were very uneasy not to have one single maritime City, from whence they could send their Ambassadors to Rome, or to which they could bring any Traders. To deliver themselves therefore from this Slavery, they attacked in the Night, a little City on the Coast named *Las*; but the Attempt was unsuccessful. The Townsmen of the Place, and the *Lacedæmonian* Exiles, took up Arms, and repulsed the Aggressors. In the mean time, upon the Noise, that this vile Attempt made in the Country, all the Cities and Towns brought their Complaints to the Council of the *Achaïans*. *Philopæmenes* was the President of it; and he had always had a Design to humble the Pride of the *Lacedæmonians*. Besides, he was an avowed Friend and Protector of the *Lacedæmonian* Exiles. He therefore represented to the Diet, that the nocturnal Attack of the Inhabitants of *Las*, was an open Attempt upon all *Achaia*. *It is to us*, said he, *that Titus Flamininus committed the Care of guarding the Sea-Coast which has been attacked. And it is our Business to revenge the Injury. Let us demand of the Lacedæmonians, that they deliver up to us the Authors and Promoters of the Enterprize, by way of Satisfaction.* Accordingly the Decree passed, agreeably to *Philopæmenes*'s Motion. An Embassy was sent from *Achaia* to *Lacedæmon*; but this served only to exasperate the Minds of a proud People. They would instantly have taken up Arms, if their Strength had been equal to their Pride. What the *Lacedæmonians* most resented, was the Authority and Power the *Achaïans* assumed over them. *What will they not venture upon hereafter*, said they, *if we suffer their first Attempt on our Liberty, to escape unpunished? Shall we sit still, till Philopæmenes has restored the Exiles he protects; and the Achæans, by his Interposition, are become Masters of our Deliberations!* These Discourses, sown among the People, irritated the *Lacedæmonians* against *Achaia*. The latter indeed was well known to have Friends among the former; and thirty of them being discovered, they were sacrificed to the publick Resentment. This was done to renounce the Alliance, and break the Peace. A violent Step indeed; and such a one as could not be maintained, without the Interposal of the *Romans*, and the Assistance of *Fulvius*. The *Lacedæmonians* therefore sent Deputies to *Cephallenia*, where the Consul was then residing; and were so strangely inconsiderate in their Resentment, that they gave up their own Liberty, out of Hatred to *Achaia*. They offered *Fulvius* to surrender themselves up to him, and become Subjects to his Republick; and entreated the Consul to come and take Possession of their City. Nevertheless, these Proceedings at *Lacedæmon* did not surprise the *Achæans*. Notwithstanding the powerful Protection this mad City was gone to implore at *Cephallenia*, *Philopæmenes* thought it necessary to declare War with *Lacedæmon*; and it would have been immediately declared, if the Season had not been so far advanced. But the *Achaïans* contented themselves with only committing some Hostilities during the Winter, and harassing the *Lacedæmonians* with Incursions.

At the return of the Spring, the two Enemy-Republicks made all Preparations for War. The Disputes ran so high, that they forced *Fulvius* to leave *Cephallenia*, and come into *Peloponnesus*. However, he did not forget his Character of Peacemaker; and ordered an Assembly to be held at *Elis*, there to discuss the Preensions of *Achaia*, over *Lacedæmon*. And never was Cause pleaded with more Animosity. The *Greeks* are naturally captious and subtle; and all kinds of Evasions and Chicanery, and all the Arts of Eloquence, were practised by both Parties. Whence it is easy to judge of the Perplexity of *Fulvius*, when he came to pronounce. He used all means to appease their Minds, and effect an hearty Reconciliation; but they were too untractable to come to any Accommodation. The Mediator therefore had nothing to do but to order both Parties to send Ambassadors to *Rome*; to have the Cause tried in the Senate; and to suspend all Hostilities, till the Decision of the Affair. Thus *Rome* ordered the Causes, even of the Nations she had set at Liberty, to be brought before her Tribunal. She had only enfranchised them, in order to enslave them. The Deputies of *Greece* set out, and with them some Agents for the *Lacedæmonian* Exiles. The Embassy from *Achaia* consisted of only two Great Men, who had often been of different Opinions, as

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXV.

M. VALERIUS  
MESSALA, C.  
LIVIVS SALI-  
NATOR, Con-  
suls.

<sup>108</sup> *Las* was a Town, or at least a little City, situated on *The Laconic Gulph*, South of *Sparta*. The *Lacedæmonians* borrowed its Name from the Greek Word *Λᾶς*; because it stood in a stony Soil, and a Country full of Rocks.



Year of to the Affairs of the Republick. One was *Diophanes*, a Man of Moderation, and  
 R O M E of a tractable Disposition. The other was *Lycortas*, the Father of *Polybius* the  
 DLXV. Historian; a Man entirely devoted to *Philopæmenes*. *Diophanes* referred the Inte-  
 M. VALERIUS rests of *Achaia* to the Arbitration of the Senate. *Lycortas* maintained the Decree  
 MESSALA, C. of *Philopæmenes*; and pretended that *Rome* could not disannul it, without de-  
 LIVIUS SALI- stroying the Regulations of *Flaminius*. The Sea Coast of *Laconia*, said he, was  
 NATOR, CON- committed to our Care. The Peace was broken there; and it was our Business to  
 fuls. punish those who broke it. *Rome* cannot declare herself against us, without being  
 guilty of such Inconstancy, as is unworthy of the Dignity of her Senate. And in-  
 deed, Appearances favoured *Lycortas*; but *Lacedæmon* deserved some Regard.  
 The Conscrip Fathers therefore passed a very ambiguous Decree, which each Party  
 interpreted in their own Favour, and which gave rise to new Hostilities. The  
*Achæans* made this their Pretence for attacking the *Lacedæmonians* with Vigour.  
*Philopæmenes* immediately led the *Achæan* Troops within reach of *Lacedæmon*;  
 sent from his Camp to summons the City to deliver up to him the Authors of the  
 Attempt upon *Las*; and promised that he would not condemn them till they had been  
 heard. Upon these Promises, all those, whom *Philopæmenes* demanded by Name,  
 offered voluntarily to give an Account of their Conduct, to the Chief of *Achaia*.  
 They thought this Sacrifice necessary for the publick Good: and therefore went  
 to the *Achæan* Camp, accompanied by Men of Distinction, who were able to  
 give them Protection and Advice. But these unfortunate Men knew not, That  
 they should find there the Exiles of their City, and That these Men would prove  
 their implacable Enemies. As soon as the *Lacedæmonians* were got within the  
 Verge of the *Achæan* Camp, their Malecontent Countrymen crowded round  
 them, and received them with Hisses and Reproaches. Nay from Words, they  
 immediately came to Blows; and the *Achæan* Officers were forced to exert all their  
 Authority to appease the Tumult. And this Calm did not last long. As the Ex-  
 iles still kept complaining of their hard Treatment, they engaged *Philopæmenes*'s  
 Soldiers in their Quarrel; and one of them cried out *Kill, Kill*. At which  
 Words a Shower of Stones was thrown at the unfortunate *Lacedæmonian* Depu-  
 ties, and seventeen of them were murdered. The rest were produced before the  
 Multitude, who condemned them, almost without hearing their Defence; and this  
 rigorous Act of *Philopæmenes*, how unjust soever, answered his End. His Point  
 in view was to humble *Lacedæmon*; and he did so, even beyond his Wishes. The  
*Lacedæmonians* were seized with Terror and Dejection; and never were People  
 so servilely submissive. The *Achæan* ordered them to demolish their Walls, send  
 Home all their Mercenaries, drive out of their City that vast Number of Slaves to  
 whom the old Tyrants had given the Right of Citizenship, receive the Exiles, and  
 lastly, renounce the Laws of *Lycurgus*, and for the future, govern themselves only  
 by those of *Achaia*: And the Cowards obeyed. They readily demolished the Walls  
 of their native City. But did not so readily receive the Exiles. A Decree was  
 forced to be passed by an Assembly of *Achaians*, at *Tegæum*, to force them to it.  
*Philopæmenes* also drew some useful Advantages from the Submission of *Lacedæ-*  
*mon*. He ordered those Slaves, who were formerly Citizens, to be sought out in  
 the Country, and sold them. And with the Money arising from the Sale of them,  
 a Portico, which the *Lacedæmonians* had destroyed at *Megalopolis*, was rebuilt.  
 Such <sup>109</sup> was the Fate of one of the most illustrious Cities of *Greece*. She had  
 been Mistress, but now was enslaved to the *Achæans*. The most deadly Wound  
 she received, was the Abolition of the Laws of the wise *Lycurgus*. As severe as  
 they were, the *Lacedæmonians* observed them about seven hundred Years. *Achaia*  
 disannulled them; but it was the *Roman* Policy that utterly destroyed them. *Ful-*  
*vius* could not prevent the Consequences of an ambiguous Decree. *Livy* indeed  
 has placed all these Events in the Consulship of *Fulvius*; but it is more probable, that  
 some of them at least, did not happen till his *Pro-Consulship*; and therefore we  
 have placed them here.

<sup>109</sup> *Livy* adds, that the *Lacedæmonians* were forced to restore to the Inhabitants of *Megalopolis*, the Territory of *Belbinites*, which the Tyrants of *Lacedæmon* had unjustly usurped. This Canton was so called from the Name of the City of *Belbin*, which was in *Laconia*, near the River *Enolus*.



§. XXXVI. As for *Manlius*, he now governed *Asia* in quality of *Pro-Consul*, with as much Prudence, as he had shewn Bravery, in subduing the *Gallo-Greeks*, when *Consul*. As soon as good Weather would suffer him to take the Field, he offered expiatory Sacrifices for his Army, left *Ephesus*, and in eight Days march, arrived at *Apamea*. There the *Pro-Consul* halted, three Days only; and then proceeded to enter *Pamphylia*; where he received the two thousand five hundred *Talents*, and the Corn which *Antiochus* had promised the *Romans*. The latter was immediately distributed among the Troops, and the Money sent to *Apamea*. The *Pro-Consul* had one Expedition to carry on in *Pamphylia*. The City of <sup>110</sup> *Perga* was still under the Dominion of *Antiochus*. The Governor had not yet evacuated it; which was contrary to the Treaty of Peace. In order therefore to force the Garrison to leave it, *Manlius* advanced towards it, with his Troops. Upon which the *Syrian* Officer came to meet the *Pro-Consul*, excused himself by saying he had not yet received his Master's Orders to deliver up *Perga*, and had thirty Days more allowed him for it. This was time enough for him to send to the Court, where *Antiochus* was spending the Remainder of his Days, under greater Concern, how to guard against Death, than how to maintain Quarrels; and *Perga* was set at Liberty, at the time appointed. The *Consul* also made all the petty Sovereigns in the Country, pay the Taxes that had been imposed on them. And during these Transactions, *Manlius* received the News, That the ten Commissioners sent by the Republick to regulate Affairs there, were at length landed at *Ephesus*; and That King *Eumenes* also was arrived with them. Upon this Report the *Consul* returned to *Apamea*, whither the Commissioners came; and there they all together put the last Hand to the Treaty which was brought from *Rome*, with the Alterations and Additions which the Senate had made in it. And this being a very material Part of History, we shall give it the Reader at full Length, just as several Authors have transmitted it to us. It was this.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXV.

M. VALERIUS  
MESSALA, C.  
LIVIVS SALI-  
NATOR, Con-  
suls.  
Polyb. in Le-  
gat. N. 35.

App. in Syriac.  
N. 112.  
Polyb. Loco  
citato.  
Liv. B. 38.  
c. 38.

*Peace and Friendship shall be established between the Roman Republick, and Antiochus King of Syria, on the following Conditions.*

1. *The King shall not suffer any Army, of any Enemy to the Roman People, or their Allies, to pass through his Territories; neither shall Rome, or her Allies, suffer any Army to pass through their Territories, to make War on Antiochus.*
2. *The King of Syria shall have no Right to extend his Conquests to the Islands near Asia; and he shall renounce all his Pretensions to Europe.*
3. *Antiochus shall withdraw his Troops from all the Cities, Towns, and Castles, on this side Mount Taurus, as far as to the River <sup>111</sup> Halys; and out of all the Plain, which separates Pamphylia from Lycia on one side, and from Lycaonia on the other.*
4. *When the Syrian Troops evacuate any Place, they shall not carry the Machines of War with them; and if they have done so in any Case, they shall restore them.*
5. *Antiochus shall not receive or harbour in his Dominions, any Fugitive of the Kingdom of Eumenes.*
6. *The Inhabitants of the Cities given up by the King of Syria, shall not continue in Syria, but repair to Apamea on a Day appointed, to be sent Home to their native Countries.*
7. *But the Syrians, who have a mind to continue in the Roman Cities, or in those of the Allies of Rome, shall be suffered to do so, without Molestation.*
8. *Antiochus shall, if it be in his Power, deliver up into the Hands of the Pro-Consul, Hannibal the Carthaginian, and Son of Hamilcar, Mnesilochus the Acarnanian, Thoas the Aetolian, Eubulis and Philo two Chalcidians, and all Persons who have enjoyed any Magistracy in Aetolia.*
9. *The King of Syria shall deliver up all his Elephants to the Romans, and train up no more of them for War.*

<sup>110</sup> *Perga*, a City situated on the Banks of the *Cestrus*, is now almost buried in its Ruins. The Remains of it are yet called *De Pirgi*.

<sup>111</sup> In most of the Copies of *Livy*, the River *Tanais* was put for the River *Halys*. The former di-

vides *Asia* from *Europe*, and falls into *The Palus Mæotis*; and neither the *Romans* nor *Antiochus* had then any Quarrels with the Nations in that Neighbourhood, which was at a great Distance, from the Provinces of *Asia Minor*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXV.

M VALERIUS  
MESSALA, C.  
LIVIVS SALI-  
NATOR, CON-  
suls.

10. He shall put the Romans in Possession of all his armed Gallies; shall have no more than ten Ships at Sea, which shall only be of thirty Oars; and shall not sail beyond the Promontories of <sup>112</sup> Calycadnus, and Sarpedon, unless it be to bring to Rome Money, Ambassadors, or Hostages.

11. Antiochus shall not raise Mercenaries in the Roman Countries, or receive the Voluntiers, which shall offer to serve him.

12. The Houses and other Buildings, which were built, before this Treaty, by the Rhodians, or other Allies of Rome, in the Syrian Territories, shall still belong to the Rhodians, or those other Allies who built them.

13. Both Parties shall be at Liberty to demand the Money that shall be respectively due, and to demand the Restitution of any thing that has been taken from them.

14. They, to whom Antiochus has given the Possession of any Cities, shall evacuate them, and put them into the Hands of their old Possessors.

15. Antiochus shall pay the Romans for twelve Years, the annual Sum of a thousand \* Talents <sup>113</sup>, of the purest Silver, such as that of Athens; and a hundred and forty thousand † Modii <sup>114</sup>, of the best Wheat.

16. He shall pay King Eumenes, in the Space of five Years, three hundred and fifty Talents; and a hundred and twenty seven Talents more, by way of Satisfaction for the Corn he received from Attalus.

17. Antiochus shall put into the Hands of the Romans twenty Hostages, of whom his Son Antiochus to be one; shall change them all, except his Son, every three Years; and these Hostages shall all be between eighteen and forty five Years of Age.

18. If he is defective in the Sums he is to pay annually, or brings any bad Money, he shall make Satisfaction the next Year.

19. If any of the Allies make War on King Antiochus, he shall have a Right to defend himself; but he shall not keep any of their Cities to himself, as his right of Conquest; or take them into Friendship with him; or draw them from them by Corruption. The Dispute shall be determined by pitched Battels.

20. If either Party shall be inclined to add any further Articles to these, it may be done by mutual Consent.

NOTHING now remained but to ratify the Treaty by religious Ceremonies, and to begin to put it in execution. The *Pro-Consul* took the usual Oath of the Romans; that is, he struck a Sow on the Head with a Flint, and sacrificed it. Then *Q. Minucius Thermus*, one of the ten Commissioners, and *L. Manlius*, the *Pro-Consul's* Brother, were dispatched to the Court of Syria; where they made *Antiochus* swear, that he would inviolably observe the twenty Articles. They were engraven on Brass, and a Copy of them transmitted to Rome, to be put up in the Capitol. The Syrian Fleet was then in the Port of Patara. *Fulvius Labo* therefore went thither on board the Roman Gallies, and beat in pieces, or burnt all *Antiochus's* Ships, according to the Conventions. The Romans chose to give the maritime Nations this Example of Severity, rather than apply the Spoils of the Navy of the unfortunate *Antiochus* to their own Use. And they <sup>115</sup> affected to shew the same Disinterestedness, with respect to the King of Syria's Elephants. They made a Present of them to the King of Pergamus. Nay, *Manlius* did something more in favour of *Eumenes*. *Ariarathes*, the King of Cappadocia, had lately married the Daughter of the Pergamian; and in Consideration of this Marriage, the *Pro-Consul* received *Ariarathes* into the Friendship of the Roman People, remitted him half the Tribute he ought to have paid, and forgave him his former

\* 258333 l.  
6 s. 8 d. Dr-  
buth.  
† 35000 Eng-  
lish Bushels.

Livy, *ibid.*

\* 258 l. 6 s.  
8 d. Sterk.  
Drbuth.  
† 3100000 l.  
4 s. 0 d. Arb.

<sup>112</sup> The Promontory of *Calycadnus*, or Cape *Zephyrium*, as *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* call it, stood at the Mouth of a River of *Cilicia*, called also *Calycadnus*. It runs into the Sea; and near it is the Promontory of *Sarpedon*. The River is now called *Salefo*, according to *Niger*; and *Fiume del Ferro*, by the *Italians*.

<sup>113</sup> The Senate also required, that each of these twelve thousand Talents should weigh eighty Pounds. The Weight of the *Attick Talent* was but sixty Pounds. So that the Overplus of twenty Pounds per Talent, made a considerable Difference. At

this Rate, the Talent of eighty Pounds contained eight thousand *Attick Drachmae*\*, or four thousand *Franks*; and the twelve thousand Talents amount in French Money†, to ninety six Millions of *Livres*.

<sup>114</sup> In order to know how much the Roman Modius contained, see what we have observed of the Roman Measures, Vol. 2.

<sup>115</sup> According to *Livy*, *Telmiffum*, a maritime City of *Lycia*, was so terrified at the Sight of the Roman Fleet, that she prevented the Conqueror, by a voluntary Surrender.

Hostilities



Hostilities against *Rome*. So that, the *Pergamian* was as amply rewarded for having assisted the *Romans*, as the *Syrian* was severely punished for having drawn them upon him. The one became a powerful Monarch; the other lost the best part of his Dominions. But the unfortunate *Antiochus* did not long survive his Fall. He died, after a Reign of thirty seven Years, sunk as low into Contempt towards the End of his Days, as he had appeared great, in the Beginning of them. The Prophet *Daniel* had beforehand foretold, c. xii. both his great Exploits, and his Misfortunes. It is surprising, that the prophane Historians have given us no certain Account of the manner of his Death. And as for the Sacred Books, all they say of it is, *That he shall turn his Face towards the Fort of his own Land; but he shall stumble, and fall, and not be found.* St. *Jerom* thought, upon the Testimony of *Strabo*, That *Antiochus the Great*, turned his Arms against the Country of the *Elymeans*<sup>116</sup>; That he would have plundered the Temple of *Belus* there; and That those Barbarians surrounded him, and killed him. But does not this Account agree better with *Antiochus Epiphanes*, than *Antiochus the Great*? One of the *Latin* Historians gives a very different Account of his Death, from this of St. *Jerom*. According to him, *Antiochus*, after his Retreat beyond Mount *Taurus*, gave himself up to Debauches; and was killed at an Entertainment, where, in the Heat of his Wine, he struck some of the Guests. The Difference of these Accounts have therefore made the wisest of the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians, to pass over his Death in Silence. And be it as it will, he was certainly succeeded by his Son *Seleucus*, who, according to the infallible Testimony of Holy Writ, was a Prince utterly unworthy of a Throne; a Prince, who minded nothing but raising Tributes; and who lived in Indolence, and died without Glory. But to return to the Affairs of the *Romans*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXV.

M. VALERIUS  
MESSALA, C.  
LIVIVS SALI-  
NATOR, Con-  
suls.

*Daniel* xi. 19.

*In Daniele*.

*Aurelius Vic-  
tor. de Viris  
Illustri.*

§. XXXVII. THE *Pro-Consul* and ten Commissioners, in the next Place, determined the Fate of the Princes, Republicks, and Cities, of *Asia*. They settled the Limits of the Dominions of *Eumenes*, and the *Rhodians*. The Cities which were formerly tributary to *Antiochus*, or *Attalus*, were ordered to pay the same Imposts to *Eumenes*, which they had formerly paid his Father, or the King of *Syria*. Some Cities of *Ionis* and *Caria* were entirely made independent; and <sup>117</sup> *Clazomene*, besides her Liberty, obtained also the Sovereignty over the Island of <sup>118</sup> *Drymusa*. The Inhabitants of *Ilium*, from whom the *Romans* originally descended, by *Aeneas*, were put in Possession of the Port of *Rhæteum*, and the City of <sup>119</sup> *Gergithum*; and upon the same Consideration, *Dardanum*, a City of *Troas*, was set at Liberty. Considerable Advantages were given to the *Chians*, *Smyrneans* and *Erythæans*, who had distinguished themselves by their Zeal for the *Romans*. The *Phocæans* recovered the Possession of their ancient *Demefnes*. The first Decree of the Senate was put in execution. So that *Lycia* and *Caria*, as far as to the *Mæander*, were given to the *Rhodians*. *Lysimachia*, with the *Chersonesus* in *Europe*, the two *Phrygia's*, *Mysia*, *Lycaonia*, and *Lydia*, with the Cities of *Mylias*, *Trallis*, *Ephesus*, and *Tilmessum* in *Asia*, were the Dominions now allotted to King *Eumenes*. This King of *Pergamus* had also some Disputes with the King of *Syria*, about *Pamphylia*, one part of which lay on this side Mount *Taurus*, and another beyond it; and the Cause was transferred to *Rome*. Thus the *Romans* disposed of all these Kingdoms, in the rich Continent of *Asia*, without so much as reserving one Foot of Ground to themselves. These Conquerors were satisfied with having spread the Glory of their Name, and the Terrors of their Arms there; and with carrying from thence immense Spoils, in Gold and Silver, and rich Moveables. They left behind them such strong Impressions of Fear on the Minds of the People, as kept the whole Country in Subjection to them, notwithstanding their great Distance from it. The Sovereigns of *Asia*, were no longer any thing

*Livy, B. 38  
c. 39.*

<sup>116</sup> The Country of the *Elymeans*, or *Elymais*, was a Western Province of *Syria*. It lay between the *Persian Gulph* to the South, and the Kingdom of the *Medes*, to the North.

<sup>117</sup> *Clazomene*, a City of *Asia Minor*, was situated in *Ionis*, on the Coasts of the *Ægean Sea*, near the *Gulph of Smyrna*. It is now called *Urla*, or *Vourla*.

<sup>118</sup> The Ancients gave the Name of *Drymusa* to an Island in the *Gulph of Smyrna*, over-against *Clazomene*.

<sup>119</sup> The two Cities of *Gergithum* and *Rhæteum* belonged to *Little Mysia*. They both stood on the Coasts of the *Hellepont*.



Year of better than Subalterns to the predominant Republick. They received her Orders  
 R O M E with Submission, and brought all their Affairs before the Senate, as if they had  
 DLXV. been really her Subjects. By this means Union was preserved among these Princes.  
 M VALERIUS Their Corn was no longer stolen by Robbers', or their Estates plundered,  
 MESSALA, C. and the Greek Cities on the Coasts (some of which were exempted from Tribute,  
 LIVIUS SALI- and others paid very small ones) lived according to their own Laws, in Plenty  
 NAIOR, Con- and in Peace. Rome was the Land that united all Hearts. Happy, exceeding  
 fuls. happy, were these Asiatics, if they could have known their own Happiness, and  
 how to perpetuate the Enjoyment of it!

§. XXXVIII. THE great Work of the Pacification of Asia being thus accom-  
 plished, nothing remained for the *Pro-Consul*, but to withdraw his Troops from  
 thence, and return to Rome to triumph there. He therefore took his Rout towards  
 the *Hellespont*, with the ten Commissioners, and marched at the Head of his Army.  
 And *Manlius* gloried in making the Kings of *Galatia* follow him. He had suspend-  
 ed giving them his final Instructions, on purpose to mortify them, by keeping them  
 long attending upon him. When he arrived at the Sea-shore, he ordered them to  
 be brought into his Presence, and declared to them his last Orders. They chiefly  
 related to the Instructions he required them to observe, in order to maintain Peace  
 between them and King *Eumenes*, who, by the new Increase of his Dominions,  
 was become their near Neighbour. The most severe Law he imposed upon them,  
 was that of keeping themselves within their own Limits, and abstaining from those  
 Incursions, which they used to make far from their own Territories, in order to  
 bring the Nations under Contribution. After he had dismissed the *Galatians*, the  
*Pro-Consul* then was wholly intent on repassing the *Hellespont*, and returning to  
*Europe*. *Eumenes*, who was very diligent in making his Court to his Benefactors,  
 had sent his youngest Brother with a Fleet, to assist the Roman Army, in crossing  
 the Water; and *Manlius* having landed in the *Chersonesus*, proceeded by easy  
 Marches to *Lyfimachia*. There he rested his Troops, which were overburdened  
 with the Booty they had brought from Asia; and gave himself time to get together  
 Beasts of Burden, and fresh Horses enough, to carry the Baggage cross *Thrace*, a  
 mountainous Country, and full of hollow Ways, and narrow Passes. At length  
*Manlius* decamped, and arrived, the first Day, on the Banks of the *Melas* <sup>120</sup>.  
 From thence he came to *Cypsela* <sup>121</sup>; to which Place the Roads had been very passable.  
 But when he came out of *Cypsela*, he was forced to enter into a Forest, where the  
 Roads were both narrow and rough. The *Pro-Consul* therefore divided his Army  
 into two Bodies; which both marched in one long Column, and could not widen  
 themselves. In the middle were the Baggage, Waggon, Cart-Horses, and Carts  
 which carried the Money designed for the publick Treasury. Thus the Roman  
 Army entered into the Wood in good Order, when on a sudden ten thousand  
*Thracians*, out of the neighbouring Countries, assembled at the Entrance into it.  
*Philip* King of *Macedon* was suspected of having underhand stirred up these  
*Thracians*, to come and oppose the Romans. This Prince very well knew, that  
 they would return through *Thrace*, and bring with them the immense Riches they  
 had gathered together in Asia. The Robbers had hid themselves in the Bushes  
 and Coppices, so that they could not be seen. *Manlius* commanded the first  
*Corps* of his Army, and was continually uneasy about the Hazard he run, in so  
 dangerous a March; and he first came out of the Wood into the Plain. The  
*Thracians* let him pass, without attacking him. But as soon as he was got at some  
 Distance from his Baggage, and this Multitude of Carriages were within reach of  
 the Persons laying in Ambush, they came out of their hiding Places, fell on the  
 Guard, plundered some Chariots, and led away some Horses which were loaded.  
 This Plunder however could not be made without some Noise; and upon hearing  
 it, the Troops that were before, and came after, hastened to the Place where it  
 was. And then a tumultuous Battel was fought, in which there was much Blood  
 spilt. The *Thracians* came through Paths with which they were acquainted, and

<sup>120</sup> There were several Rivers called *Melas*. That here spoken of waters a little Canton of *Thrace*, and falls into the Gulph anciently called by the Name of *Melas*, as well as the River. *Herodotus* says, that the Army of *Xerxes* drank up this

River. *Bellonius* calls it *Larissa*. *Nardus* gives it the Name of *La Mera*.

<sup>121</sup> *Cypsela* stood on the Banks of the Hellespont at a little Distance from the Gulph *Melas*.



fell on the *Romans*, who were not used to these sorts of Attacks. The Robbers fought in small Bodies, made their Attacks, and then retired into deep Valleys. Sometimes the *Romans* intercepted them, and gained that Ascendant over them, which Valour gives the brave; and the Carriages often screened both Parties from Swords and Darts. The Success of the Skirmishes was different, according to the Number of the Combatants. When the Detachment of the *Romans* was stronger than that of the *Thracians*, the former prevailed, and so *vice versa*, of the latter. The rest of the Day was spent in these reciprocal Advantages and Disadvantages; when Night came on, it put an end to the Slaughter; and then the *Thracians* marched off; not to avoid Fighting, or Death, but because they had got Booty enough to enrich themselves. As for the *Romans*, their first Corps encamped by itself in the open Field, near a Temple of <sup>122</sup> *Diana*. The second continued in the Forest, to guard the rest of the Baggage; and to secure themselves, they threw up double Trenches, and spent the Night there. As soon as it was Day, Scouts were sent out to discover the Enemy; but they appeared no more. The Rear of the *Roman* Army therefore marched through the Defile, and joined the first Corps; and did not so much lament the Loss of the publick Treasure, as the Death of the brave *Minucius Thermus*. He had lost his Life, in defending the Treasure which was for the *Roman* Exchequer.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXV.  
M. VALERIUS  
MESSALA, C.  
LIVIVS SALI-  
NATOR, Con-  
suls.

THIS Accident made the Army march on with greater Precaution, and they came and encamped on the Banks of the <sup>123</sup> *Hebrus*. Then they entered the Country of the *Enians*; and there another Defile, almost as dangerous as the first, gave the *Pro Consul* fresh Apprehensions. But he was easy, when he saw it was in an open Country. It was indeed rough and uneven, and full of Ditches and Hollows; but there were no high Forrests, or Woods, on either side. There was room enough for an Army to make a large Front; and there were no Bushes or deep Valleys to hide an Enemy. This Place was called *Tempyra*; and the Militia of a People of *Thrace*, called the *Thrausians* <sup>124</sup>, were assembled there, in hopes of Booty. But this gave *Manlius* little Uneasiness. They were repulsed with Loss, upon the first Onset. The Unevenness of the Ground fatigued them as well as the *Romans*; and they dispersed, and returned to their Villages. Then the Army continued its Rout through the Territory of *Maronea*; and there found the People more tractable. They brought him Corn from all Parts; and Provisions were sent from the *Roman* Fleet (which coasted along by the Army) to the *Pro Consul*, who distributed them among his Soldiers. Then in one Day they came to *Apollonia* <sup>125</sup> in *Thrace*, and passing through the Territories of the *Abderites*, entered *Macedon*. This being a Country less suspected, the *Romans* had no <sup>126</sup> Ambuscades to fear in it; and their March through *Thessaly* was yet more quiet. They gained *Epirus*, and at length arrived at *Apollonia*, where they were to embark. But the Season was too far advanced, to expose an Army to Storms at Sea; and *Manlius* chose rather to halt in *Epirus*, and pass the Winter there.

§. XXXIX. IN the mean time, the great Elections were made at *Rome*, a little later than usual. Though the *Consul*, *Valerius Messala*, had done nothing memorable in *Liguria*, he had delayed his return to *Rome*. But as soon as he arrived there, the *Comitia* were assembled in the *Campus Martius*, to choose *Consuls* and *Prætors*. The People promoted to the first Dignity in the Republick,

Liv. B. 38.  
c. 42.

<sup>122</sup> *Livy* calls this Temple of *Diana*, *Bendidi-um*, from the Name of *Bendis*, which the *Thracians* gave this Goddess, according to *Hesychius*.

<sup>123</sup> The *Hebrus* is one of the largest Rivers in *Thrace*. It rises by Mount *Hemus*, on the Confines of *Macedon*; and after it has run through part of *Thrace*, falls into the *Ægean* Sea. Its modern Name is *La Mariza*, according to *Leunclavius*.

<sup>124</sup> The *Thrausi* were a People of *Thrace*, who were very different from the People of the same Name, who inhabited a Canton of the ancient *Cythians*.

<sup>125</sup> This City of *Apollonia* lay between *Abderos* and *Maronea*. We must take care not to confound it with another City of the same Name, situated on the *Euxine* Sea.

<sup>126</sup> Nevertheless, according to the old Annalist *Claudius*, quoted by *Livy*, fifteen thousand *Thracians* attacked in Front a Body of four hundred *Numidian* Horse, which were supported by some Elephants. This was a Detachment from the Army, which marched before, to make Discoveries, under the Command of *Mutines*. The Commander's Son was so courageous, as to break into the Enemy, at the Head of a hundred and fifty chosen Horse; and *Mutines*, after he had formed his little Squadron, fell furiously on the Rear of the *Thracians*. And the Success of these two Attacks was such, according to *Claudius*, that this Army of Robbers dispersed, and left the Ways open to *Manlius's* Troops.



Year of *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *C. Flaminius*. The former had twice failed of the *R O M E* Consulship. He had made himself hated by the Commons, by having left the Province where he was *Prætor*, without Orders, and come and canvassed for Suffrages at *Rome*. But the Anger of the People at length abated, and they promoted him to the Dignity he so earnestly sought. The new *Consuls* were chosen, before *The Twelfth of the Calends of March*; and as soon as they were in Possession of their Office, they began the Exercise of it, with an Act of Justice, much commended by the Ancients. Though *Rome* was arrived at so high a Pitch of Glory, and *Carthage* was so much humbled, the Conquerors did Justice to the Conquered. An Embally had been sent from *Carthage* to *Rome*; perhaps, to congratulate her upon her Conquests in *Asia* and *Greece*: And two young *Roman* Lords had had the Boldness to strike the Ambassadors. It is easy to judge by their Names, that these Lords were of two of the most illustrious Families in the Republick; one was *Minucius Myrtillus*, the other *L. Manlius*. The insulted *Carthaginians* had the last Year brought their Complaints before the *Prætor*, *P. Claudius Pulcher*, who was the Judge of all Causes between the *Citizens* of *Rome*, and Foreigners, and the new *Consuls* now determined the Affair, to the Satisfaction of the Ambassadors. The two *Romans* were delivered up by the *Feciales*, into the Hands of the *Carthaginian* Ambassadors, who carried them to *Carthage*. So much Regard was shewn at *Rome* to the Laws of Nations, even in favour of a tributary People! Perhaps indeed, there might be something of Interest in this equitable Determination. *Rome* was become the Place, to which all the Kings, and all the Republicks in the World resorted, one after another, either in Person, or by their Ambassadors. And if the least Violation of the publick Faith, had been suffered to escape there unpunished, this would have put a Stop to that Concourse, and the *Romans* would have lost the best part of their Grandeur. It was very agreeable to them to see the People of the East, West, and South, have recourse to *Rome* for more judicious, and more effectual Answers to their Enquiries, than any that were given, by the Oracle at *Delphi*.

*Val. Max.*  
*B. 6. c. 6.*  
*Livy, B. 38.*  
*ibid.*

*Livy, B. 38.*  
*ibid.*

BUT *Æmilius* and *Flaminius* had not yet chosen their Provinces by Lot. It belonged to the Senate to judge, where it would be most proper to carry on the War; and to the *Consuls* to determine by Lots, to which Province each should go. They both seemed very desirous to divide *Greece* and *Asia* between them, and relieve the *Pro-Consuls*, *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. But the *Conscript Fathers* had other Views. There was nothing more to do in the *Levant*. The time was almost come for shutting the Temple of *Janus*, a second time. *Rome* had now no other Enemies to subdue, but the *Ligures*, and a few *Spaniards*, who continued obstinate in their Revolt. And as to the latter, the *Prætors* for the last Year were sufficient to keep them to their Duty; and they were continued in their Provinces, with the Title of *Pro-Prætors*. So that *Liguria* was the only Place left for the *Consuls*; and they were both sent thither. *Æmilius* in vain represented to the Senate, That it was a shameful thing to shut up two *Consuls* in Valleys, where they had no room to display their Courage, whilst the two *Pro-Consuls* were at the same time giving Law to *Greece* and *Asia*; That it better became the Dignity of the *Roman* People to send two *Consuls* thither; and That notwithstanding the Peace concluded with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, there was Business enough in the East, to employ two Armies. The *Conscript Fathers* persisted in their Opinions. They would not, without Cause, multiply their Armies, or increase the Expences of the Republick; and insisted, that the *Consuls* should only go to those Places, where *Rome* had open Enemies to subdue. And the *Ligures* being the only People, whom they thought to deserve Chastisement, the two Collegues were sent only against them. It must be owned, their Enterprize was difficult and laborious, though they could acquire but little Glory by succeeding in it. In *Greece* and *Asia*, *Æmilius* and *Flaminius* would have met with nothing but agreeable Climates, well cultivated Fields, Cities finely adorned, and generally speaking magnificently built, polite Nations, and tractable and civilized People. Where as on the contrary, *Liguria* was a rough and mountainous Country. The Roads were rough, narrow, and surrounded with Forests; it was difficult to find out convenient Posts there, and more difficult to dispossess the Enemy of them. The *Ligures* were brave, active, robust, and equally expert in forming Ambuscade



Ambuscades, and fighting pitched Battels. Their Country was barren; and Provisions must often run short there. Besides, it was a poor Country; and no considerable Booty was to be found there. The *Ligurian* Armies marched without that Train of Servants and Carriages which chiefly embarrass an Army in their March. The Soldiers carried no other Provisions than their Arms. Such was the Scene on which the two *Consuls* were to act. And there was a great deal of Policy in this Appointment. *Rome* knew very well, That her Troops in *Asia* had already breathed but too much of that delicious Air; That they were softened by it; and That the Difficulties of the *Thracian* Passes was what alone had a little rouzed their ancient Vigour. In order therefore to inure her *Legionaries* again to Discipline and Constancy under Fatigues, the Republick was glad to have a War to carry on in a Country where the Toils of it would be great, and Vigilance absolutely necessary. So that the two *Consuls*, upon the express Orders of the Senate, both entered *Liguria*, and made War there separately. *Flaminius* had, for his Share, the Country of the <sup>127</sup> *Friniates* to reduce; and in the Plain these *Ligurians* could not withstand the *Consular* Army. They were beaten several times, and forced to lay down their Arms. But these Mutineers did not faithfully execute the *Consul's* Orders. They fled to a high <sup>128</sup> Mountain for Refuge. He pursued them thither. Part of them escaped by Ways unknown to the *Romans*, abandoned their Villages, and fled to the other Side of the *Apennines*. The rest, who kept in their Territory, were cut in Pieces, or reduced to Slavery, and more effectually disarmed, than after the first Defeat. The same *Consul* also led his Army into another Canton of *Liguria*, which was inhabited by the People called *Apuani*, from the Name of their Capital, which stood near the *Macra*. They being pretty near Neighbours to *Bolonia* and *Pisa*, infested the Territories of these two Cities, disturbed the Husbandmen at their Work, or reaped the Harvests. *Flaminius* therefore put it out of their Power to do any more Mischief. Their Country being almost inaccessible, thro' the Badness of the Roads, he enlarged them. From *Aretium* to *Bolonia*, and from *Rome* to *Ariminum*, he made one of those great Roads which were called *The Military Ways*, because they made it easy for great Armies to march thro' those Countries. All the *Consul's* Troops were employed in this Work, which contributed more to the Reduction of *Liguria*, than the Sword, or Battels. As for *Æmilius*, he first entered the Country of the *Ligures* by the Valley which is formed by two of the *Apennines*, one of which was called *Ballista*, and the other <sup>129</sup> *Suisfontium*. There he plundered and burnt the Villages, and forced the Inhabitants to retire to the Mountains. Then, being first harrassed with slight Skirmishes upon these steep Rocks, they were obliged to come down from them, and give Battel in the Plain. And the *Consul* thought the Action of such Importance, that in the Heat of the Battel, he made a Vow to erect a Temple to *Diana*, if he gained the Victory. And he did indeed obtain it, thro' the Valour of his Troops. So that all was quiet on this Side the *Apennines*. *Æmilius* therefore passed over to the other. There were yet some of the <sup>130</sup> *Friniates* to subdue, beyond this Chain of Mountains. *Flaminius* had not marched so far. *Æmilius* therefore reduced them to Reason. After he had disarmed these Mountaineers, he forced them to quit their Dens, and come and live in the Plain. So that *Liguria* was now almost entirely pacified. Nothing remained but to make the Approaches to it more easy, and Revolts less frequent. To

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVI.  
M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, C.  
FLAMINIUS,  
Consuls.

Strabo, B. 5.  
Livy, B. 39.  
c. 2.

<sup>127</sup> By the Name of the *Friniates*, we judge that they inhabited a Canton of the Duchy of *Modena*, which the Natives call *Frignana*.

<sup>128</sup> This high Mountain is called by *Livy* Mount *Ægæus*. Some modern Geographers think it was Mount *Augon*, which terminates the Territory of *Emilia*. But *Cluver* thinks *Livy* meant Mount *Corvæ*. It is there that a River rises, called *Boates* by the Ancients, and now *La Verra*, and *La Vella*. It runs into the *Macra*.

<sup>129</sup> *Cluver* does not distinguish these two Mountains from those which are now called *Monte Cerreto*, and *Monte Penese*. They stand in East *Liguria*, near the Head of the River *Lavagna*. But *Cluver* thought Mount *Ballista* the same as Mount

*Balestra*, which lies between *Lucca* and *Rhegio*, towards the Confines of *Liguria* and *Tuscany*.

<sup>130</sup> *Sigonius* is of Opinion, that the *Briniates* are here spoken of, and not the *Friniates*. The latter, says he, lived on this Side the *Apennines*, and *Flaminius* had already subdued them. Whence he concludes that the Nation subdued by *Æmilius* was different from that of the *Friniates*. But we cannot be too cautious how we admit Corrections, especially if they don't help to explain the Passage in Dispute. Nothing appears to the contrary, but that the *Friniates*, who inhabited a Canton on this Side the *Apennines*, might surrender to *Flaminius*; and those on the other Side of them be vanquished and disarmed by *Æmilius*.



Year of this End, *Æmilius*, after the Example of his Collegue, cut a large and broad Way thro' *Cisalpine Gaul*, for the easy Passage of Armies to *Liguria*. This Road which was called *The Æmilian Way*, reached from *Placentia* to *Ariminum*. And as it joined to *The Flaminian Way*, there was now an open and safe Passage for Travellers, and Carriages, from *Rome* quite to *Liguria*.

DLXVI.  
M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, C.  
FLAMINIUS,  
Consuls.

DURING these Motions of the *Ligures*, the *Gauls* their Neighbours continued quiet. Nevertheless, the *Prætor* whom *Rome* had sent thither entertained unjust Suspicions of them; and either from an unreasonable Fit of Zeal, or in order to have an Opportunity to signalize himself, this *Prætor M. Furius* quarrelled with the *Cænomani*, disarmed them, and treated them as Rebels. This innocent People therefore had Recourse to *Rome*; the Senate referred the Decision of the Affair to the *Consul Æmilius*, who was upon the Spot; and after many Debates, he pronounced Sentence in favour of the *Gauls*. Their Arms were restored them, and the *Prætor* who had reduced them so low by very unworthy Proceedings, was recalled. Thus *Rome*, partly by Equity, and partly by Force of Arms, appeased all the Nations from *Hetruria* to the *Alpes*.

§. XL. WHILST the *Consuls* were busy in making War, or settling Peace, in *Liguria*, the *Pro-Consul Cn. Manlius* appeared in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, after his Expedition in *Asia*. And as he was ambitious of a Triumph, he did not enter the City, but lodged in the Suburbs with his Army. The Senate assembled in the Temple of *Bellona*, as usual, to receive his Petition; and his Exploits in *Galatia* plainly spoke in his Favour. But most of the ten Commissioners which had been sent into *Asia*, seemed either dissatisfied with his Conduct, or appeared to have little personal Regard for him. *Æmilius Paulus* and *Fulvius Purpureo*, declared themselves against the *Consul* with most Warmth; and the Complaints they brought against him appeared to be of Importance. They long ballanced, in the Minds of the Judges, the favourable Prejudices arising from his having conquered a Nation, and gained several Battels. *Manlius's* Adversaries reproached him with having done his utmost to renew the War with *Antiochus*; with having laid such Snares for this Prince, to surprize him, and take him Prisoner, that it was not without great Caution that the King of *Syria* escaped them; and lastly, with having shewn an immoderate Zeal for carrying on the War beyond Mount *Taurus*, contrary to the Articles of the Treaty, and the Answers of the *Sybilline Books*. And tho' these first Accusations were only Prejudices spread against *Manlius*, to give his Judges ill Impressions of him; the Malice of his Accusers did not fully appear, till they made this Speech in the Senate. *Has then Manlius deserved a Triumph*, said they, *by a mad Incursion which he made of his own Head, and without any Authority? Where is that Submission which our Generals always paid to the Orders of the Senate, and their Deference for the Roman People? In the Wars with Antiochus, Philip, and Carthage, did any Man take up Arms, till the Senate had consented to it, and the People ordered it? Is Manlius alone above the Laws? A sudden Transport of Passion carries him into Gaul; he flies thither rather like a Robber than a General of a Roman Army; marches after Attalus rather like a Mercenary, than the Commander of our Legions; and turns wherever the Pergamian Prince leads him. From Pisidia he passes on to Lycaonia; and from thence to Phrygia. He visits all the Corners of it, and puts all the Cities, Castles, and petty Sovereigns in the Country, under Contribution. But what Honour does he thereby procure himself, or the Republick he represents? Is making War like a Robber, doing it like a Roman? At length, he arrives in Galatia. But by what Exploits does he signalize himself there! The Fortune of the Roman People contributed more to his Victory, than Manlius's Conduct or Prudence. What Sort of Enemies had he to contend with? Gallo-Greeks indeed; but their Gallick Bravery had been enervated ever since they had assumed the additional Name of Greck. These Galatians were no longer like those Gauls whom we had so much Difficulty to subdue in Italy. If they had retained the Courage they carried with them out of their native Country, there would not have been one Soldier left in the Roman Army in Galatia. They fled to steep Rocks for Refuge; and the rash Manlius ran thither to force their Fortresses. If instead of throwing their Darts, the Enemy had come down naked on the Romans, they might have overpowered them. But the Terror of the Roman Name chilled their Courage. Like Birds, which*



are affrighted by the least Noise, they upon the first Shout fled down from the Top of the Mountain on which they had perched. Indeed some Stones were thrown up at them; but they by their Flight prevented a Battel, and scarce one Person was killed by the Sword. A fine Victory indeed! The Pro-Consul did not fight any pitched Battel, till he returned to Thrace. And then, how weak were our Soldiers grown since their Abode in Asia! Would any one have thought them Romans, who had seen the Attack of their Baggage? An Handful of Robbers put them into Disorder. They fled cross the Forests, and hid themselves in Busbes, thereby to guard against Death, which they could not escape. And what Sort of a General had they! He enters into any Defiles, without Scruple; divides his Army into three Corps; and separates the Soldiers from one another, so that they cannot assist one another. They are pillaged, and pass a melancholy Night in the midst of a Forest. These are the Exploits for which a Triumph is demanded! Will you then grant it, Conscrip Fathers? In the War Acilius made with the King of Syria, in that wherein Flamininus conquered King Philip, and in the Enterprizes the Great Scipio formed against Antiochus, and against the Africans, not only the Senate, but even the Feciales, were consulted. Shall then Manlius alone be exempt from the general Law? Or if no Regard is had to Religion; yet Respect ought at least to be shewn to the Dignity of the Roman People. Let then Manlius go and present his Petition for a Triumph to those who gave him a Commission to carry the War into Galatia!

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVI.  
M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, C.  
FLAMINIUS,  
Consuls.

THUS spake two of the Adversaries of Manlius; who answered them in these Words. They who ought to have maintained my Cause, are become the Enemies of my Glory. Some of the Tribunes of the People have indeed often opposed the Petitions of Consuls for Triumphs. But I am envied the Honours of a Triumph by the Asiatick Commissioners themselves. A Furius, and an Æmilius, to whom I should have appealed as Witnesses of the Merit of my Services, had they been questioned by the Tribunes, are become my Accusers; and act out of Character. But my Comfort, Conscrip Fathers, is, that the Objections made against the Triumphs of Conquerors don't always influence you. The Remonstrances of some of the Tribunes of the People did not hinder Fabius Labeo from triumphing; tho' they pretended that he had made War unjustly, and had not so much as seen an Enemy. Shall I then be refused that Honour, who have seen a hundred thousand Gauls flee before me; have killed upon the Spot, or made Prisoners, forty thousand; and taken two Camps from them? There are indeed two Things laid to my Charge; one of which is, That I began the War without Orders, and ended it without Glory. But, were then the Galatians new Enemies to us? I don't speak of the Hatred all their Nation in general have always had to Rome, or of the Tumults they have raised in Italy. But in Asia too, was not their Cause the same with that of Antiochus? Did not Scipio see them in the Wings of the Syrian Army, in the Battel of Magnesia? Did he make any Scruple of fighting them, putting them to flight, and killing them? Did he wait for new Orders from the Senate, before he would treat them as Enemies? Those that I have pursued with the Sword to their Mountains, are only the Remains of the Syrian Troops. Those that I have obliged to keep themselves within their own Limits, are only the Enemies of our Allies. And was it necessary for this, That the Ceremonies of Religion should be repeated, or the Feciales called, or express Orders given by the Senate? The Enemies I have subdued were comprehended under the general Name of Syrians. Nevertheless, what Tendernefs did I shew them! I intreated them to live peaceably in their new Habitations; and their Obstinacy alone was the Cause of their Ruin.

My other Charge is, That there was Rashness in the Manner in which I forced their Retreats. But where is this Reproach cast upon me? at Rome, or Carthage? The Carthaginians indeed may punish their Generals, tho' victorious, under Pretence of some Imudence in the Conduet of an Action which was successful. But far be this African barbarity from You, Conscrip Fathers! Again; it is added, That my Success was more owing to Fortune, than my own Prudence. O ye Immortal Gods! it is to You then that I am indebted for my Success. It is You who have procured me Victory, almost without any Loss. Will Rome then not vouchsafe to present me before your Altars; suffer me to carry my Incense and Victims to the Capitol; and not conduet me to return You my Thanks, in the most pompous Manner? O ye Great Gods! let my triumph be yours! Again; shall it be made a Crime in a Roman, that he attacked the

Livy, B. 38.  
c. 45.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVI.  
M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, C.  
FLAMINIUS,  
Censurs.

an Enemy, without having first seized the upper Ground? At this Rate, the Galatians must have continued for ever untouched in their Retreats; Antiochus ought not to have had his Trenches forced at Thermopylæ; or Philip in the Desiles of the Aous. Must no Consul, for the future, dare to besiege Places, or attack an Enemy's Camp? Pernicious Maxim! which leaves nothing for an Officer but a timorous Prudence! But to speak more closely to the Point. If these Galatians were as much altered as my Adversaries pretend, it was then no Rashness in me to climb up to them. Or if my Troops were as much softened as is pretended, whence had they that Boldness which amounted even to Rashness? Let my Enemies reconcile these Things, if they can. Their Jealousy makes them contradict themselves. Pardon me, Conscrip Fathers, if I exceed the Bounds of Modesty, in speaking of my Exploits. The Necessity I am under of justifying myself forces me to it. Nor was my Conduct justly more blameable in Thrace, than in Galatia. We there found difficult Roads, Forests scarce passable, and dangerous Passes. Could I make the Roads as I pleased? Or could I otherwise march thro' the Roads I was forced to take, than in a long Line divided into three Corps? Was it possible for me to hinder Robbers from lying in Ambush, surprizing us, or taking a little Booty from us? New Robbers beset us; and our Troops then shewed that the Air of Asia had not enervated them. They gained a Victory, which alone deserved the Triumph for which I sue.

MANLIUS's Cause was good; but either the Interest of his Adversaries, or the Vexation of the Senate, to find that Part of the Riches of Asia were fallen into the Hands of the Thracians, was such, that he would have been refused a Triumph, if the Affair had been immediately determined. But it fortunately happened, that Night came on, before Sentence was given. So that the Senators had time to reflect, and the Friends of the *Pro-Consul* to speak in his Favour. They represented to the *Conscrip Fathers*, that it was a Thing unheard of, to refuse a Triumph to a General who had conquered a whole Nation, and gained three pitched Battels. And at length, Reason got the better, and prevailed over the Malice of *Manlius's* Accusers. The next Day, a Triumph was decreed him, by a Majority of Voices.

Plut. Life of  
Cato.

§. XLI. AND now, by I know not what Turn of Imagination, there sprung up an almost universal Virulence against the most illustrious Heads of the Republick. Perhaps, for want of foreign Kings to subdue, the *Romans* took Pleasure in stirring up intestine Wars against the Chief Men in the State. Or perhaps they thought it Matter of refined Policy, to humble those in Times of Peace, whom they had raised in Times of War. In Republican States, Precautions are often carried to Ingratitude and Injustice. To have done great Services, is sometimes enough of itself to make a Man suspected. Men of distinguished Merit are highly honoured and revered, as long as they can be of Service to the State, in great Emergencies. But as soon as the present Want of them is past, the People endeavour to destroy them. Their Elevation becomes suspected, and their Grandeur odious. After the War with *Antiochus* was ended, the two *Scipio's* found by Experience, how far the Ingratitude of an inconstant People, and the Ill-will of those who envied them, would carry them. *Cato* had always been a secret Enemy to *Scipio Africanus*; and a Man of seeming Probity is a dangerous Adversary. As long as *Scipio* was considered at *Rome*, as a necessary Person to the State, *Cato* would not venture to attack him. But as soon as the Republick could do without him, he took Measures to destroy him. There were then two <sup>131</sup> *Petili*, *Tribunes of the People*; and having both the *Prænomen* of *Quintus*, it is from thence supposed, that they were Cousin-Germans. These two Men were the Instruments *Cato* made use of, to gratify his Malice. He, under-hand, solicited them to accuse the Great *Scipio*; and accordingly, the *Petili* cited him to appear before the Assembly of the People. This unexpected Affront offered to a Man in the highest Credit, caused much Speculation. Nothing was talked of, but the Great *Scipio*, during the whole twenty seven Days which were allowed the Persons cited, before they appeared before the *Tribes*. Every one judged of the Attempt, according to his Passions, Caprice, or Understanding. Some compared *Scipio* with *Hannibal*, and

<sup>131</sup> *Aulus Gellius* and *Valerius Maximus* say, that *M. Nevius* was the *Tribune of the People* who acted with most Fury against *Scipio Africanus*. What

*Livy* says of the *Petili*, the same things they say of *Nevius*.



Rome with Carthage. Hannibal, said they, has not received worse Treatment in his own Country, than Scipio has in his native City. All the Difference is, that Rome uses ill that very Scipio to whom she owes her Conquests; whilst Carthage only banishes a General whose Subjection brought on hers. Others, who had more of the Republican Spirit, than of Equity, approved of the Proceedings of the *Petili*. Every Citizen, said they, to what Degree of Honour soever his Merit may have raised him, is still accountable to his Republick for his Conduct. By this means a just Equality is preserved, and the Laws are maintained. They ought to be treated with the greatest Severity, who pretend to be above Law. But after all, the greatest Part were Men of too much Sense, not to be inclined to favour Merit, spare Great Men, and free them from a Subjection to the same Rules as vulgar Persons. Few of the Romans looked on Scipio with the Eyes of a Cato, or a *Petilius*. There were Multitudes of them present, on the Day he appeared before the People; and Scipio never left his House with a more noble Train of Attendants, in either of his *Consulships*, or his *Censorships*. One would have thought that all the Nobility of Rome were come to him, to conduct him to the *Comitium*, as it were in Triumph. And he did not change his Habit, to appear before his Judges. There appeared in his Looks more Constancy than Pride; and more Indignation than Gaiety. When he came to the *Forum*, he mounted *The Tribune*, where his Accusers already were; and he was ordered to say what he thought proper in his own Defence. But Scipio did not demean himself so far, as to endeavour to clear himself of the Charge laid against him, and answer the Particulars of his Accusation. To make an Apology was beneath him. The Accused made his own Panegyrick; and in his Mouth Self-Commendation was not so odious as it usually is. Scipio was born eloquent; and he painted his Victories in Spain, with as much Vivacity and Spirit as he had shewn in gaining them. The Tribes were charmed to hear him. They owned, that of all the Orators who had made Panegyricks on the illustrious *Africanus*, none had done it so finely as himself. Nevertheless, he did not say any thing of his *African* Expedition, the Defeat of *Hannibal*, or the Reduction of *Carthage*. He reserved these Topicks, for a Reply to the Invectives of his Accusers. In short, Scipio concluded; and gave his Adversaries their Turns to speak.

EACH of the Tribunes chose one of the Articles which had been brought against Scipio, and in his Turn expatiated upon it to the People. One made it Matter of Accusation against him, That he spent a whole Winter in Effeminacies and Pleasures, at *Syracuse*, before he went into *Africa*. Another charged him with the Pillage of *Locri*, and the mad Violences *Pleminius* exercised upon its Inhabitants. But these old Accusations, which had been so often refuted, made little Impression on the Tribes. Their first Speeches were therefore only Preliminaries to the grand Accusation; which was, That Scipio had received from *Antiochus* great Sums of Money, which the latter gave him, to procure a Peace on advantageous Terms. But certainly, the Accused had too great a Soul to have betrayed his Republick, for sordid Gain; and this Prejudice in his Favour got the better of his Accusation, and was universally entertained by all the People. In Point of Evidence, the Tribunes, for Want of Proof, had Recourse to Conjectures. They insisted much on the mutual Civilities that had passed between Scipio and *Antiochus*, at their Interviews. They gave an ill Turn to the supposed Superiority which the Lieutenant-General had assumed over the Consul his Brother, in the Army. He managed the Affairs of Rome, said they, rather as a *Dictator*, than a subaltern Officer. He represented himself to Foreigners, as the Sovereign of his Republick, and the Arbitrer of the Decisions of the Senate and People. To which they added, That Scipio, like an absolute Master, had imposed no other Conditions on *Antiochus*, after his Defeat, than he had required of him, when that King was in Europe. And they represented his Thirst of Dominion in very odious Lights. But all these Declamations were not sufficient to convict Scipio of having been corrupted by *Antiochus*. Indeed there was room to suspect, that the sending back his Son in so very generous a manner, had made the Great Scipio the more ready to comply with the *Syrian's* Desires. But was that a Fault? It was not laid to his charge as such. However, the Number of the Accusers who spoke successively was so great, that the whole Day was spent in their Speeches. So that the Sen-

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVI.

M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, C.  
FLAMINIUS,  
Consuls.

Liby, B. 38.  
c. 50.

App. in Syrac.  
N. 113.

Zonaras, B. 9.  
App. in Syrac.  
N. 113.  
Aul. Gell. B. 4.  
c. 18.  
Author de Vir.  
Illustr. &c.



Year of  
ROM E  
DLXVI.  
M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, C.  
FLAMINIUS,  
Consuls.

tence was postponed to another time; probably to twenty seven Days after. *Scipio* likewise knew that the *Tribunes* his Enemies had moved in full Senate, That he should be obliged to give an Account of the Spoils he had brought from *Asia*, and produce the Books in which he had set down the Sums he had received from *Antiochus*. But he thought it an Injury to his Character, to be brought to be publicly examined in an Assembly of the People, as if he was accountable to them. Since he had filled the Exchequer with immense Riches by his Victories, That ought to have exempted him from giving an Account of a little Sum which he was suspected of having misapplied. And this Affront roused his Passions; and he warded off the Blow with Constancy.

§. XLII. ON the Day appointed for the *Tribes* to determine the Affair by their Suffrages, they assembled in the *Forum*, and the *Tribunes* appeared there very early. It happened to be the same Day of the Year, on which the Illustrious Accused had gained that famous Victory over *Hannibal*, which had determined the Fate of *Carthage*, and of *Rome*. And this was a good Omen of the Victory he was now to gain over lesser Enemies. *Scipio* went out of his House with the same Confidence, and the same Attendance, as on the first Day of his Trial. Nevertheless, he did not forget to take with him the <sup>132</sup> Book of Accounts which the cowardly Senators obliged him to produce. But he hid it under his Robe. When he was come to the *Forum*, he shewed the People from *The Tribune*, the Register <sup>133</sup> which had been so much expected, and which the *Tribunes* wanted to have put into an Officer's Hands, to be examined. But to their great Surprise, the Brave *Scipio* tore in Pieces, in the sight of all *Rome*, that Book which might have occasioned a thousand Tricks and Artifices to have been played by captious Men. Nor was this all. Without losing time in Justifications, he said to the People; *On this Day Hannibal was conquered, and Carthage subdued. Why then do you trifle it away in hearing idle Declamations? The Gods expect us at the Capitol. Let us go thither, and offer up our Vows and Thanksgivings! There intreat Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, to grant you often Generals like me! If you have heaped Honours upon me for seventeen Years together, it is no more than I have deserved at your Hands.* At these Words, all the *Tribes* began to move. Each *Tribe* left its Place, and followed *Scipio*. Even the *Apparitores*, and other Officers, whose Business it was to attend the *Tribunes*, deserted them; and the *Comitium* was left empty. The *Tribunes* with their Domesticks, and the Herald who cited the Accused to appear, were left alone on *The Tribune*. The whole Day was spent in visiting the Temples in the City. The People went from one to another, and were never tired with following the Conqueror of *Carthage*. A glorious Triumph for *Scipio*; which did him more Honour than those he had obtained after the Defeat of *Syphax* and *Hannibal*! A remarkable Day! But the last in which this Great Man displayed his Courage to Advantage! The *Tribunes* cited him to appear a third time, in thirty seven Days more; and then, tired out with so much Chicanery, and too proud to be brought so often before the People, he gave way to the Storm. He had a Country-Seat in *Campania*, about *Liternum*, pretty near *Naples*; and he retired thither. It was believed in *Rome*, that he only went to spend some Days there, till the time came for his Appearance. But the People were all deceived. This was a Place of Banishment, to which the Hero confined himself all the rest of his Days. And his Enemies would not even suffer him to enjoy the Tranquillity he had promised himself there. The *Tribunes* persecuted him, even after his Retreat. The Day of his third Citation came; and he was proceeded against, and condemned, as by Default. *Lucius Scipio* indeed appeared, and to excuse his Brother's Absence, told the People, that he was sick at his Country-Seat. But the *Tribunes* thought this a frivolous Excuse. They imputed his Absence to the same Pride which had caused him to lead the People to the *Capitol*; and looked upon it as an Insult upon the Republick. *You are well rewarded for your Complaisance,*

<sup>132</sup> This Book of Accounts was produced, according to *Valerius Maximus*, by *Lucius Scipio*, who was indirectly accused, in the Charge brought against his Brother.

<sup>133</sup> According to *Livy*, *Scipio Africanus* took the Book of Accounts, and shewed it to the Senate, with that Air of Confidence which he had formerly

shewn, when he forced the *Questors* to put into his Hands the Keys of the publick Treasury, that he might take out of it the Sums for which he had agreed with the Senate. This masterly Stroke is taken Notice of by *Valerius Maximus*, and by *Plutarch*, in his *Apothegms*.



said they to the assembled Tribes; you deserted us to follow Scipio to the Temple of Jupiter; and now he deserts you. He has the same untractable Disposition now at Liternum, which formerly made him despise the Orders he had received, to return to Rome, from Sicily. Why shall not we venture to summons him to appear, to take his Trial? But the People were satisfied with only ordering his Brother to be told, that if Africanus's Sicknefs was not a Pretence, he should return to Rome, as soon as he was recovered.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVI.  
M. EMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, C.  
FLAMINIUS,  
Consuls.

AND at last, all this Fury against so venerable a Person, raised the Compassion, even of his Accusers. A Tribune of the People, named Tib. Gracchus, had long prided himself in being an avowed Enemy to the Scipio's. He was a Man as much esteemed for Probity, as Cato; but was of a very different Character. There was something wild and austere in Cato's Virtue. That of Gracchus was seasoned with Sweetness and Humanity. The one appeared full of Dissimulation and Mystery; in the other you saw nothing but Honesty and Openness. The Zeal of the former breathed nothing but Gall and Bitterness. The latter was for correcting Abuses only by the most gentle Methods. The one was ready to receive Prejudices, and never laid them down. The other was susceptible of ill Impressions; but conquered them, as soon as better informed. Such were the two chief Enemies of the Great Scipio. Cato persisted in pursuing him to the uttermost, without any Mitigation. But Reflection brought over Gracchus to be of the equitable Side. Whether he was struck with that heroick Magnanimity, which had sunk under the Power of a formidable Tribunal; or whether he thought the Steps Scipio had taken, so many tacit Proofs of his Innocence; whatever was his Motive, he ceased to be an Enemy to this Great Man. He changed his Language all on a sudden. To the great Surprize of his Collegues, he declared that he thought Scipio Asiaticus ought to be believed, concerning the Sicknefs of his Brother; and went on thus. *I will never suffer the Great Scipio to be condemned by Default; and if he was at Rome, I would oppose his appearing to take his Trial. What! shall an Hero whom the Gods and Men have conspired to advance to the highest Pitch of Glory, be exposed as a Criminal to the Hisses of an insolent Populace? Shall the Conqueror of Carthage appear at the Foot of our Tribunal, to be reviled there? His Confusion must at last return upon ourselves. What! did he drive four formidable Armies out of Spain; did he force Syphax to wear our Chains; did he force Hannibal to demand Peace; and did he oblige Antiochus to retire beyond Mount Taurus; only to fall a Sacrifice at last to the two Petilii? Shall we pretend to triumph over a Man who has been honoured with so many Triumphs of the noblest Kind? Let him, at least, find a safe Retreat, in his old Age, in the Post to which he is retired for Refuge!* And these unexpected Declarations from an old Enemy of the Scipio's, had a great Effect on the rest of the Tribunes themselves. They were afraid that Tiberius Gracchus would protest against their Measures; and declared to the People that they would consider more maturely what they had to do. The Tribes were dismissed; and Scipio continued untainted, in his Retreat at Liternum. The Senate thanked Gracchus for having sacrificed his personal Dislike to the publick Good; and the Petilii sunk into Contempt, for having endeavoured to gain themselves Fame, at the Expence of Virtue and Innocence.

Plut. Lives of  
Cato and  
Gracchus.

Livy, B. 38.  
c. 52.

§. XLIII. WHETHER Scipio's Sicknefs was feigned, or real, we are not able to determine. But this at least we are assured, that Death soon put an End to his Uneasiness. Not that Solitude was uneasy to him. He had habituated himself to it, even in the time of his Prosperity. He often retired, for the sake of free Contemplation. He was the Author of that famous Saying, which has been so often repeated since, and was so true in his Mouth; *I am never less alone, than when I have no Company.* Besides, his Solitude was very much interrupted at Liternum. His House was resorted to by Multitudes of Foreigners, who came thither to pay their Acknowledgments to that beneficent Soul, who, even after Victory, dried up the Tears of the Vanquished. Scipio was as great in his Retreat, as when at the Head of Armies. Indeed his Son<sup>134</sup>, that dear Son, whom he had received

Incert. in vita  
Scipionis.

Val. Max. B. 3.  
c. 5. §. 1.

<sup>134</sup> The disadvantageous Character Valerius Maximus gives us of Scipio's Son, does not very well agree with what Cicero has said of him, in his Book Of Old Age, and especially in his Dialogue, Of Ill-

lustrious Orators. In this last Work, he expresses himself thus. Publius Scipio, says he, the Son of the Great Africanus, wanted nothing but a better State of Health, to enable him to vie with the most famous



Year of with so much Joy, from the Hands of *Antiochus*, gave him no great Hopes. He was a narrow Genius; and all the Education his Father could give him could not repair his natural Defects. Nevertheless, the Father flattered himself, that Age and Experience in Business, would enlarge his Mind, which was now set only on Trifles. It is highly probable, that what most deeply pierced the Heart of the generous *Africanus*, was his Grief to find that *Rome* was so silent concerning him, and that his Country could so soon forget him. He is thought to have died in the first Year of his voluntary Exile. But some Historians postpone his Death two Years, and others <sup>135</sup> six, after his Retreat. But be that as it will, we shall, without pretending to fix so uncertain an Epocha, place his Death in the Year of *Rome* 566. He died at *Liternum*, at the Age of forty eight Years. All Civil, Military, and Political Virtues were united in him, to such a Degree of Perfection, as was never attained by the greatest Man in his Republick. *Camillus* alone might have been compared with him, if he had had a larger Sphere of Action, and if the Manners of the *Romans* had been as refined in his Age, as they were in the Time of *Scipio*. The latter was a perfect Pattern of Continnence and Frugality, in an Age when Luxury and Debauchery began to be introduced. So different was his Character from that of *Cato*, that he ran into no Extream whatsoever. His good Sense made him avoid Excess, even in Virtue itself. This Man, who was so fierce in Battel, was Good-nature itself, as soon as the Action was over. The Enemies of *Rome* experienced his Clemency, as soon as they had felt the Effects of his Valour. He was quite another Man when he was to give Battel, from what he was when a Treaty of Peace was to be concluded. In the latter Case, the Superiority of his Understanding made him lay aside the Vivacity of the Warrior, or seasonably restrain it. To say that his Glory in his last Years was not equal to that of his first Exploits, is not to understand the true Merit of his Virtue. He perhaps never shewed so much of the Great Man, no, not in *Spain*, *Africa*, or *Asia*, as when he appeared in the *Forum Romanum*, before his Judges and Accusers. All the People declared for him, in the last Storm that was raised against him. The Senate congratulated *Gracchus* on having undertaken his Defence; and all the *Tribes* followed him to the *Capitol*, when he retired thither. What more sensible Proof could be given of the deep Impressions his Reputation had made on all their Minds! After this, one single Man delivers him out of the Hands of his Enemies. Was his Prosecution then owing to a Weakness in the Senate, or the People? No; it was rather a Defect in the Government of the *Roman* Republick. She had suffered the College of *Tribunes* to gain too great an Ascendant. Neither the *Conscrip*t Fathers, nor the *Comitia*, could oppose their Injustice. Tho' the People were Judges in criminal Affairs, they sacrificed even those whom they loved, to the Fury of the *Tribunes*. None but a *Tribune* could have secured *Scipio* from a Condemnation, which otherwise all would have passed upon him, tho' against their Judgments and Inclinations. Had not then the Conqueror of *Hannibal* Reason to leave *Rome*, never to return to it more? He was so displeased at the Cowardice of some, and the Iniquity of others, that he is said to have desired his Wife <sup>136</sup> *Emilia*, at his Death, not to carry his Bones to *Rome*, and place

*Auth. de Vir.  
Illybr.*

famous Orators. We have Proofs of his Genius, in those Harangues of his which are transmitted to us; and we may judge of the Sweetness and Elegance of his Style, by his Greek History, which is in every ones Hands. It is no easy Matter to find out how such different Characters could suit the same Man. And therefore most Criticks have, with Reason, concluded that *Scipio* had two Sons. The first, who is mentioned by *Cicero*, was probably surnamed *Publius*, as well as his Father. And this, it is presumed at least, was he who adopted the Son of *Paulus Æmilius*. The second, who, according to *Valerius Maximus*, degenerated from the Virtues of his Ancestors, had the Surname of *Lucius*, according to *Livy*.

<sup>135</sup> If *Scipio Africanus* lived six Years after his Retreat to *Liternum*, we must postpone his Death till the Year of *Rome* 572. And then it will follow, that he was fifty four Years of Age, when he died, according to the Author of his Life, which is in-

serted among those of *Plutarch*. Whereas *Livy* inclines to believe, that he died before his Brother *Lucius* was condemned; and consequently, the first Year of his Exile was the last of his Life. *Scipio* did not live above forty eight Years, if we suppose, with *Livy* and *Polybins*, that he was but seventeen, at the Beginning of the second *Punic* War. Nevertheless, the *Roman* Historian honestly confesses, that the exact time of *Scipio's* Death cannot be fixed with any Certainty. The little Agreement among the Ancients, as to this Fact, only leaves Room for uncertain Conjectures. Besides, *Livy*, at the End of his 39th Book, seems to have altered his Mind, when he places the Death of *Scipio* in the Year 568; the Year before *Cato's* Censorship; and *Cicero* prefers this Epocha, in his Book *Of Old Age*.

<sup>136</sup> *Emilia* was the Daughter of *Æmilius Paulus*, who died so gloriously at the Battel of *Cannæ*.

them



them in the Tomb of his Ancestors. She erected a *Mausoleum* for him at *Liternum*, and placed in it his own Statue, and that of *Ennius* the Poet. *Ennius* was probably a faithful Friend, who comforted him in his Retreat. Men of Letters, whom the Great know to be sincere in their Affection, are very proper Company for them, especially in time of Disgrace, and Uneasiness. As to another Tomb which was found at *Rome*, near the Gate *Capena*, and in which were the Statues of *Publius* and *Lucius Scipio*, and *Ennius*; it might perhaps be the Tomb of the younger of the two Brothers.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVI.  
M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, C.  
FLAMINIUS,  
Consuls.

§. XLIII. But even the Death of the Great *Scipio* did not extinguish the Hatred of the implacable *Cato*. The Eyes of *Africanus* were scarce closed, before this Enemy of his Family turned his Fury, or if you will, the Bitterness of his Zeal against *Asiaticus*. Since the Death of the elder of the two Brothers, *Cato* was become more bold. Whilst he was alive, the artful *Cato* had contented himself with stirring up Enemies, and inveighing, privately, against the vast Authority of the *Scipio's*. Could he then have any Reason to think it might prove dangerous to his Republick? Indeed, if the Great *Scipio* had, in his Discontent, lent the Enemies of *Rome* his Assistance, it would have proved more fatal to her, than that of *Coriolanus*. But on the contrary, his Uprightness of Heart, and Love for his Country, never left him. Nevertheless, *Cato* exclaimed openly against his Brother. He drew up a Petition to the People against him, and got it presented by the two *Petilii*. It was this: *That the Tribes would be pleased to order the Senate to appoint the Prætor Sulpicius, to enquire what Money had been brought from Asia, as well that which was received from Antiochus, as from the Cities in his Dominions.* The Petition was accepted, and passed into a Law. *Cato* was the Promoter of it; and he, by his Eloquence, prevailed over the *Mummii*, who opposed it. The latter did not deny, that the Senate had a Right to order the Money to be brought to the publick Treasury, which had been imbezelled; but they pretended, that the *Scipio's* had misapplied none, and not given themselves those Airs of Sovereignty, with which they were reproached. And then *Furius Purpureo*, one of the ten *Asiatick* Commissioners, thought it necessary to add another Clause to *Cato's* Petition, to this Effect, *That Enquiry should likewise be made after the Money received of Antiochus's Allies.* *Purpureo's* Design in this Clause, was to include *Manlius* in the Process. It was probable, that the Conqueror of the *Galatians* had received great Sums from them. *L. Scipio* spoke against this last Article, not so much to rescue *Manlius* from the Enquiry, as to get a fair Opportunity to speak for himself. In his Speech, he complained, That his Enemies had waited for the Death of *Scipio Africanus*, to procure a new Process to be brought against him. *Was it not enough*, said he, *not to honour my Brother's Memory in Rome with funeral Orations? Must his Ashes be dishonoured with repeated Accusations? The Carthaginians were satisfied with banishing Hannibal; and shall Rome carry her Hatred to Scipio Africanus beyond the Grave; brand him with Infamy when dead; and not be content without sacrificing his Brother also?* *Cato* answered *Scipio*, and by his Authority, made the *Mummii* desist from the Opposition they would have made to the last Law of the People. So that it passed as well

Liv. B. 35.  
c. 54.

Livy, lib.

137 *Livy* says, that the Remains of this Statue, which had been blown down by an Hurricane, were to be seen at *Liternum*, in his time.

138 The Ancients differ as much, in relation to the Circumstances of *Lucius's* Accusation, as to the Order and Time of the Proceedings of the *Tribunes* against *Scipio Africanus* his Brother. The latter, according to *Anulus Gellius*, was yet alive, when his Brother was accused of having applied to his own use considerable Sums, which he had received from *Antiochus*. And he from thence takes Occasion to accuse *Valerius of Antium*, of a Falsehood. The latter, according to him, had affirmed, upon the Credit of some ancient Annals, that the Opposition *Tiberius Gracchus* made, in favour of *Scipio Asiaticus*, was not till after the Death of his elder Brother. And if this Reproach be just, *Livy*, who declares himself of the same Opinion, is as much to be blamed as *Valerius of Antium*.

139 *Anulus Gellius* here contradicts *Livy* again. He says, one *Minucius Augurinus*, a *Tribune of the People*, was *Lucius's* chief Accuser. Nor is this all. The Author of the Life of *Scipio* assures us, from some Memoirs, whose Credit he durst not vouch for, that the Conqueror of *Hannibal* was employed in the Service of the Republick in *Hetruria*, when his Brother was cited before the Tribunal of the People. Upon this News, say they, *Scipio Africanus* came in all haste to *Rome*. But Sentence of Condemnation was already past; and the Officers, in Obedience to the Order of the *Tribunes*, were ready to lead *Lucius* to Prison. As soon as the Great *Scipio* heard this, he flew to his Brother's Rescue, and with that Air of Fierceness, which checked the most enterprising Spirits, snatched *Lucius* out of the Hands of the *Tribunes* Officers. And this Fact, which *Livy* thinks fabulous, is pretty agreeable to what *Anulus Gellius* relates.

Y y y

The



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVI.  
M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, C.  
FLAMINIUS,  
Consuls.

<sup>a</sup> Worth  
288000 l.  
Sterl. at 4 l.  
per Ounce.  
<sup>b</sup> Worth  
1440 l. Sterl.  
at 5 s. per  
Ounce.  
<sup>c</sup> 960 l. Sterl.  
<sup>d</sup> 1209 l. Sterl.  
<sup>e</sup> 6240 l. Sterl.  
<sup>f</sup> 600 l.

well as the former ; and it was enacted, *That an Enquiry should be made after a Sums of Money, which had been brought from Asia, whether they came from Antiochus himself, or the Cities in his Dominions, or those of his Allies.* In order to proceed in form, it was necessary to nominate a Commissioner to make the Enquiries, and take Depositions. And a Man was pitched upon, who was very capable of imposing on the Publick by his Hypocrisy. This was that *Terentius Culeo*, whom the Great *Scipio* had delivered out of Captivity in *Africa*; and who had appeared at his Triumph, wearing the *Pileus*, as a Mark of his having regained his Liberty. He had also honoured the Obsequies of the Great *Africanus* out of an ostentatious Shew of Gratitude; and had distributed Wine, sweetened with Honey, among those who had assisted at his Funeral. But notwithstanding these Appearances, *Culeo* was a secret Enemy to the *Scipio's*. He was now *Prætor* and the Faction that opposed *Scipio Asiaticus*, pitched upon him, before any other to take the Depositions in the Cause. Then *Lucius* was immediately cited to appear before this unjust Judge. The *Prætor* also cited *Aulus*, and *Lucius Hostilius*, the two Lieutenant Generals of the Army, young *Scipio* had commanded in *Asia*; and *C. Furius* his *Quæstor*, was likewise accused. After the Charge was heard against *Scipio*, *A. Hostilius*, and *Furius*, they were all three declared convicted; the first for receiving from *Antiochus*, to procure a favourable Peace for him, six thousand <sup>a</sup> Pounds weight of Gold, and four hundred and eighty <sup>b</sup> Pounds weight of Silver; the second for having received from the same King, twenty <sup>c</sup> Pounds weight of Gold, in Ingots, and four hundred and three <sup>d</sup> Pounds weight of Silver in Bars; and the third of having received a hundred and thirty <sup>e</sup> Pounds weight of Gold, and two hundred <sup>f</sup> of Silver. And whatever these Sums were, for as the Historians don't agree in them, this at least is certain, that *L. Scipio*, and *Aulus Hostilius*, and *C. Furius*, were condemned to pay large Fines. The two latter immediately gave Securities. But *Scipio* still insisted, that he had put into the publick Treasury all the Money he had brought from *Asia*. And upon his refusing to give Security for his Fine, the Officers were ordered to carry him to Prison. But then *Scipio Nasica* appealed from the *Prætor's* Sentence to the People.

§. XLIV. *MY Father*, said he, *and the Father of Scipio Africanus, and Scipio Asiaticus, lost their Lives in Spain, in the Service of the Republick; and their Children have supplied their Places with Honour. Not to mention myself, or the illustrious Africanus, whose Virtue will never be forgotten; Cast your Eyes on Scipio Asiaticus. Forget, if you can, his first Exploits in Spain and Africa. Being Lieutenant General in his Brother's Armies, he had at least some Share in his Victories; and you have since judged him worthy of the Consulate. You also sent him to make War with Antiochus, without Regard to the Lots. His Brother indeed served under him, as Lieutenant General; but Heaven decreed, that the Conduct of the Action of Magnesia should not be imputed to the elder. Scipio Africanus was left sick in the Neighbourhood. What an Army had Antiochus? Had Hannibal ever so many Troops in Africa! Who knows whether this famous Carthaginian did not fight himself in the Syrian Phalanxes? Yet the Victory of L. Scipio was complete. It is allowed to be so on all Hands. But it is said, that he sold the vanquished King an advantageous Peace; and applied the Money he received to his own Use. The Syrian redeemed his Dominions only by the Force of his Money. A strange Paradox! Is this the Language of the ten Commissioners, who were sent into Asia, to conclude this Peace with Antiochus? Or if they have any Suspicions, are there sufficient Grounds for a Prosecution against an illustrious General? Did their Report hinder Manlius's Triumph? The Asiatick Money has been all paid into the publick Treasury. There was more in Scipio's Triumph alone, than any ten of our Generals had brought into the Treasury. But the vanquished King was treated with too much Lenity.*

The latter supposes, That *Scipio Africanus* was yet alive; That he defended the Accused with great Zeal; and lastly, appealed from it to the College of *Tribunes*. To which he adds, that these Magistrates confirmed the Sentence passed by their Colleague *Minucius*. He gives us, *B. 7. c. 19.* the Form of this confirming Sentence, which he says was taken out of some ancient Annals. In this Con-

fusion of Opinions, which represent the same Fact in such different Lights, it is not possible to discover the Truth. Amidst these Contradictions therefore, we have adhered to *Livy*. Besides that his Authority is superior to that of some Authors, whose Fidelity is not free from Suspicion; he has likewise the Advantage of having lived nearer to the time of *Scipio*, than *Aulus Gellius*, and *Valerius Maximus*.



He was again put into Possession of all his Dominions. Monstrous Delusion! Don't you know the Distance from the Ægean Sea to Mount Taurus, and from Europe to Syria? All this vast Continent was subject to the Syrian; and we have stripped him of it. Is a Country, which is thirty Days march long, and ten broad, a small Conquest? Or ought the Syrian to have been deprived of Syria itself? Did Rome carry her Pretensions so far? The Design of the Senate never went farther than to set at Liberty all the Greek Cities which Antiochus had seized in Asia. And did not Scipio do something more than this? But, say his Accusers, he suffered Antiochus to enjoy Syria. What then? Did not Flamininus suffer Philip to reign in Macedon, after his Defeat? Did not here-establish the Tyrant Nabis on the Throne of Lacedæmon? And was this imputed to him as a Crime? No. Flamininus had no Brother, whose Glory gave Umbrage to jealous Minds. Whilst Nasica was haranguing the People in favour of Lucius Scipio, the Prætor Culeo ordered his House to be searched, and his Goods confiscated. But he did not find Effects enough to pay the Fine laid upon him. And when Nasica was informed of this, he took Advantage of it, to justify his Relation. What then is become of those immense Riches, said he, of which Antiochus is said to have been so profuse? The Inheritance Lucius received from his Ancestors, the large Estates that have fallen to him, his savings, the Overplus of what he spends in his frugal House, his Lands, and his Moveables, all together are not sufficient to pay the Sum demanded of him. Very well, says the cruel Judge, if he cannot pay the Money, let him starve in Prison. Shall then one of the brightest Ornaments of the State be buried in a Dungeon? Shall a Scipio, a Conqueror, a triumphant Victor, be ranked with Profligates, and die of Grief in a Prison, and his Body be stripped, exposed naked in the open Air, and not be buried? Romans, can you be guilty of such an Act as this?

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVI.  
M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, C.  
FLAMINIUS,  
Consuls.

Liby, B. 38.  
c. 60.

BUT how much soever the People might be affected with this Discourse, the Prætor Culeo immediately read to them the Petition of the Petilii, the Decree of the Senate, who had constituted him Judge of the Affair in the first Instance, and the Sentence he had just pronounced. And what have I more to do, added he, but either to force the Offender to give Security for his Fine, or cause him to be carried to Prison? Thus spoke the Prætor; and the Tribunes consulted among one another, whether they should oppose the Sentence given, or get the People to disannul it. But of all the ten Tribunes, only Gracchus opposed it. This generous Plebeian was ever consistent with himself. He protected Merit and Innocence even in his Enemies. Nevertheless, the rest would not come over to his Opinion. So far from it, that they declared to the People, that the Tribunes would confirm the Sentence passed by the Prætor. Upon which Gracchus exalted his Voice, and addressed himself to the assembled Tribes in these Words. I don't oppose the selling of Scipio's Goods which are seized, for the Benefit of the Publick. Some Deference must be paid to the Authority of the Prætor. But I will never suffer the Man who is now the most venerable Man in Rome to be dragged to a Prison. By him Antiochus was disabled from hurting us. By him our Conquests have been extended to the Ends of the World. By him numberless Nations in the East were forced to declare in favour of Rome. By him Eumenes, and the Rhodians, were rewarded for their Services. And a Name so famous in Asia shall not be thus stigmatized in Rome. Receive then my Protest, Romans, and don't give Foreigners an Occasion to laugh, at the Expence of a Republick, which they esteem and fear. The Judgment of this single Man was applauded; and the Multitude expressed as much Joy at it, as if they had not been inclined to follow blindly the Passions of their Tribunes. In an instant, Truth seized all their Minds, and changed their Affections. Nevertheless, L. Scipio's Effects were confiscated. And it was much for his Justification, that among all his Moveables not one thing was found, which could be judged to have been brought from Asia. Thus L. Scipio became all on a sudden the poorest of all the Romans. Indeed, his Relations, Friends, and Clients, endeavoured to persuade him to accept of their Presents; and had he done so, he would have been richer than he was before his Effects were seized. But it was in vain: he had Courage enough not to fear Poverty; and would receive nothing more from his Relations than mere Necessaries. Could then a Man, who was Proof against the severe Temptations of Beggary, be capable of betraying his Country



Year of Country for base Gain? Even his Glory was increased by his Humiliation. *Rom*  
*R O M E* afterwards sent him Ambassador into *Asia*, at her own Expence, to settle a Dis-  
 DLXVI. ference that had arisen between King *Eumenes*, and *Antiochus*, or rather his Son  
 M. ÆMILIUS *Seleucus*: And the Republick was pleased to enrich him. Upon his return, he  
 LEPIDUS, C. assigned him considerable Sums, which he employed in the Discharge of the Vow  
 FLAMINIUS, he had made during the *Syrian Wars*. He, at his own Expence, celebrated Games  
 Consuls. in a very handsome manner, for ten Days together, by way of Thanksgiving for  
*Valerius An-* his Victory. All the Shame of his Disgrace fell on the *Prætor Culeo*, and the  
*tias apud Lic.* *Tribunes*.  
*B. 39. c. 22.*

*Plut. in Sci-*  
*piis; & in*  
*Gracchis.*

As for *Cato*, he only kindled the Fire, and disappeared, when it burned with  
 most Fury; and the People being disposed to think his Intentions good, he  
 lost little of his Reputation. We shall see him promoted to the greatest Ho-  
 nours. So easy is it for deceitful Men to impose on the Multitude, by affecting  
 an Appearance of Probity! He so disguised his Ambition, Revenge, and Injustice  
 that they were all overlooked. And as to *Tiberius Gracchus*, besides the Appro-  
 bation of the Publick, he had an Honour done him by the *Cornelian* Family, which  
 he did not expect. After the Death of the Great *Africanus*, the *Scipio's* consulted  
 together about marrying his youngest Daughter. The eldest was married to *Scipio*  
*Nasica*: And the Relations were of Opinion, that the youngest could not be dis-  
 posed of, better than to *Tib. Gracchus*. In point of Birth indeed, there was a great  
 Disproportion between the two Families. *Gracchus* was as *New* a Man as *Cato*.  
 But his Merit and Probity supplied what was wanting in Nobility. Besides, it was  
 highly becoming the *Cornelian* Family, to acknowledge the Services *Gracchus* had  
 done the two Heads of it. The Marriage was therefore proposed to *Tib. Gracchus*;  
 and he thought himself honoured by it. Perhaps, never were two Persons more  
 suitably matched. The Wife was the famous *Cornelia*, the Mother of *Gracchi*,  
 whose Virtues are so much extolled by the Ancients. And the following Story,  
 as fabulous as it appears, has some Probability in it, so far as it relates to the emi-  
 nent Qualities, which all the Historians give *Gracchus*. It is said, that the Bride  
 and Bridegroom found two Snakes in the nuptial Bed. This was too extraordinary  
 an Accident, not to have the *Augurs* consulted upon it; and they answered, That  
 if the male Snake was killed, *Cornelia's* Husband should die before her; and if the  
 female, she should die before *Gracchus*. To which the Historians add, that upon  
 this Declaration of the Diviners, *Gracchus* ordered the male Snake to be killed,  
 and preferred his Wife's Life to his own. But be that as it will, it is at least cer-  
 tain, that *Cornelia* survived her Husband, after she had brought him a great many  
 Children. When a Widow, she was a perfect Pattern for all those of her Sex,  
 which were so. And it is much for her Honour, that her Name is preserved in  
 History. The *Roman* Historians, who are so liberal of their Praises to their great  
 Men, are very sparing of them to their famous Women.

*Livy, B. 39.*  
*c. 4*

§. XLV. THE *Consular* Year was now near expiring. But this new Zeal of  
 some *Romans* still continued; and their Politicians thought it necessary to humble  
 their greatest Generals at a time, when a sort of Peace made them the less wanted.  
*Fulvius*, the *Pro-Consul*, who had lately reduced *Ætolia*, came and demanded a  
 Triumph, in the Absence of the *Consul*, his personal Enemy. The Senate assem-  
 bled to examine into his Claim; and *Fulvius* gave them a full Account of his  
 Exploits. He mentioned the Siege, and Surrendry of *Ambracia*, and his Con-  
 quests in the Island of *Cephalenia*; and chiefly insisted upon the Necessity to which  
 he had reduced the *Ætolians* of submitting, and accepting of a Peace. But he  
 found, to his Surprise, that one of *The Tribunes of the People*, named *Abutius*  
 was his Enemy. The latter had received Orders from the *Consul Æmilius*, not  
 to suffer *Fulvius* to receive the Honours he sought for; and the *Tribune* was but  
 too regardful of the *Consul's* Desires. He protested against *Fulvius's* Petition, and  
 insisted, that it should not be granted till the *Consul* returned. *Fulvius*, on the  
 other hand, represented to the Senate, that it was not just to determine the Re-  
 wards to be given to a General of an Army, by the Fancies of a declared Enemy.  
 That *Æmilius* had carried his Resentment to him to a great height; and That  
 he had extorted a Decree from an unlawful Assembly of Senators, by which it  
 was declared, that *Ambracia* had not been taken by Force. But nevertheless  
 said he, is it not certain that I battered it with my Machines? Is it not well known  
 that



that my Miners were employed fifteen Days in sapping the Walls? Does not the Slaughter of three thousand of the Enemy, who were killed in the Attacks, shew that they were vigorous? Æmilius also accused me before the Pontifices, of having plundered the Temples in the City, after its Reduction. But the Testimony of my Troops have destroyed this Calumny, and shewn the Hatred of my Adversary. Indeed I brought from Ambracia some Ornaments for the City of Rome. And are not our Temples and publick Places to this Day adorned with the Spoils of Syracuse? Shall it then be in a Consul's Power, to prevent paying the Gods those Thanksgivings, which we owe them for our Victories? Shall my Glory be postponed, till a Man returns, who may capriciously delay coming? Must I, and my Army, continue in the Suburbs, till he shall think fit to appear? Restrain, Conscrip Fathers, and You Tribunes of the People, these Extravagancies of a Consul, who would govern us like a King. Which said, the equitable Gracchus, who seemed to have been born to support Merit, wherever he found it, assented to the Force of his Reasoning. He declared openly for Fulvius; and in order to put a Stop to the Opposition made by Abutius his Collegue, he took him aside, and addressed himself to him thus. It would be a shameful thing for you to revenge yourself upon your own Enemy, by depriving him of the Glory he deserved: And how much greater then will be the Reproach, if you make yourself the Tool to gratify another Man's Resentment! Our own Hearts ought to regulate our Hatred and Affections, and not another Man's Resentments. Do you consider, that you will disgrace your own Office, if you become the Tool of a Consul? A Tribune receives Law from no Body. His Authority is sacred, and if he becomes a Consul's Slave, he casts a Reflection on his whole College. You are then, it seems, to be Æmilius's Agent! It is not your Reason, but he, that governs you. How different are your Proceedings from mine! I have twice sacrificed my own Hatred, in order to do Justice to two great Men; whereas you adopt another Man's Malice, contrary to all Law and Equity. Which Words brought Abutius to himself. He dropped his Opposition, and left the Assembly. Then the Senate decreed Fulvius a Triumph; and he demanded a second Favour of The Conscrip Fathers. This was, that he might make use of a hundred and sixty Pounds weight of Gold, of the Money he had brought from Ætolia, to discharge the Vow he had made to Jupiter, on the Day that Ambracia surrendered. But the Senate thought this Sum too great to be spent in Games, and reduced it to eighty Pounds weight of Gold. Fulvius was well satisfied with this, and fixed the Day for his Triumph; but was forced to anticipate it. He received Advice, That the Consul Æmilius had left the Army, in order to come and oppose him; and That he was fallen sick on the Road. Lest therefore he should have more Battels to fight in Rome, than he had had in Ætolia, Fulvius made haste to enter the Capital in triumph, before his Enemy arrived. He made his Procession on The Tenth of the Calends of January. What distinguished it was, the great Number of Crowns of Gold, the vast Quantities of Gold in Ingots, and Silver in Bars, of Attick and Macedonian Money, the Multitudes of Marble, and Brats Statues, and the Ballistæ and Catapultæ, which he had brought from Greece. A great Number of Greek and Cephallenian Lords followed his Chariot. And after he had made rich Presents to his Officers, Fulvius gave twenty five Denarii to every common Soldier, fifty to every Centurion, and seventy five to every Horseman. As for his Games, they were celebrated with the greatest Magnificence, and Judgment. The Greeks were excellent Workmen for these sorts of Representations; and many of them had followed him to do him Honour. <sup>140</sup> Athletæ were now first seen to fight in the Arena, at Rome; and the People were also entertained with the hunting of Lions and Panthers. Indeed, these several Games were not celebrated till the next Year; but we have joined them with his <sup>141</sup> Triumph, that we might not too often break the Thread of the History.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVI.  
M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, C.  
FLAMINIUS,  
Consuls.

<sup>a</sup> 7680l. Sterl.  
at 4 l. per  
Ounce.

<sup>b</sup> 3840l. Sterl.  
Fasti Capit.

<sup>c</sup> 16 s. 1 d. 3 q.  
Arbutnot.  
<sup>d</sup> 1 l. 12 s. 3 d.  
<sup>e</sup> 2 l. 8 s. 5 d.

<sup>140</sup> The Combats of the Athletæ, and the several Shows used in Rome, shall be particularly examined into hereafter. They are some of the most entertaining Points of the Roman History, and most worthy of the Curiosity of the Reader.

<sup>141</sup> Fulvius's Triumph was followed three Months after, by that of Cneius Manlius Vulso, the Conqueror of the Galatians. He chose to delay

his Procession till the next Election of new Magistrates. His only Reason for this Delay, was his Fear, of meeting with an Opposition from the Tribunes of the People, and of being included in the Prosecution against Lucius Scipio. He was also desirous of avoiding the Enquiries of the Prætor Terentius. This Magistrate would certainly have disputed his Triumph. Besides, Manlius knew that he was charged



Year of  
ROME  
DLXVI.

M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, C.  
FLAMINIUS,  
Consuls.

<sup>a</sup> Worth

115200 l.

Sterl. at 4 l.

per Ounce.

<sup>b</sup> Worth

660000 l.

Sterl. at 5 s.

per Ounce.

<sup>c</sup> Worth

105744 l.

Sterl.

<sup>d</sup> 16404 l. 3 s.

4 d. Arbuth.

<sup>e</sup> 4304 l. 8 s.

$\frac{2}{3}$  of a Penny.

Arbuthnot.

<sup>f</sup> 14756 l.

Sterl. Arbuth.

<sup>g</sup> 1 l. 7 s. 1 d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

<sup>h</sup> 2 l. 14 s. 3 d.

<sup>i</sup> 4 l. 1 s. 4 d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

charged with having promoted Effeminacy, and a Relaxation of Discipline among his Troops. All Rome were Witnesses of the Luxury of the Soldiers lately returned from Asia. By them the Extravagance of the Greeks began to be introduced among the Romans. Only a few Marks of their ancient Simplicity were now left. The valuable Moveables, costly Tables, rich Carpets, and stately Couches adorned with Brass, which were lately brought from Asia, dazzled the Eyes of the Citizens. Then says *Livy*, Concerts of Musick, and droll Representations, began first to be used at great Tables. Musick and Dancing became necessary Parts of an Entertainment. The Rich had Girls in constant Pay, whom they hired to sing with the Instruments. The most exquisite Meats were bought at great Prices, and served up with a State unknown in Rome, till the time of *Manlius's* Conquests. The Love of good Eating, and a Refinement of Taste, soon brought the Art of Cookery into Credit. A skilful Man, who understood it well, became a Man of Consequence. The Care of dressing Meats was no longer left, as formerly, to the meanest Slaves. It was thought an Employment, that required Experience and Discernment. Nevertheless, says the *Roman* Historian, these Disorders, which were then thought intolerable Excesses, were only the Preludes to that general Corruption, which Affluence, and the Delights of Asia, afterwards spread, in the Capital of the World. And as *Manlius* knew that the Accusers of the two *Scipio's*, and especially *Terentius Culco*, openly declared, That his last Expedition against the *Asiatick Gauls*, was the fatal Epocha, when Licentiousness, and a Corruption of Manners, were introduced: He therefore postponed his Triumph, till the *Prætorship* of

the latter was expired. In his Procession, which was made on *The Third of the Nones of March*, that is, the fifth Day of that Month, there were carried before his Chariot, the two hundred Crowns of Gold, each weighing twelve Pounds, which the Cities of the Allies had presented him with; two hundred and twenty thousand Pounds weight of Silver Bars; two hundred and twenty weight of Gold in Ingots; a hundred and twenty seven thousand *Attick Tetradrachmæ*; two hundred and fifty thousand *Cistophori*; and fifteen thousand three hundred and twenty *Philippus's* Gold. But what most attracted the Eyes of the Spectators, were the *Gallick* Chariots loaded with the richest Spoils of Asia. Fifty two of the chief Men in *Galatia* walked before their Conqueror. But of all this Riches, only forty two *Denarii* were given to each Soldier; eighty four to every *Centurion*, and a hundred and twenty six to every Horseman. They who had distinguished themselves by any signal Action, then received the Rewards allotted to military Valour. During the Ceremony, the Air resounded with the satyrical Songs, and severe Jests of the Soldiers upon their General. His too great Indulgence and Ambition, were the Subjects of their Satyrs. And the Friends of *Manlius*, to regain him the Favour of the People, got a Decree of the Senate passed, whereby it was enacted, That part of the Sums brought from *Galatia*, should be given to such of the Inhabitants of Rome, as had lent their Money towards defraying the necessary Expences of the second Punic War. And the *Quæstors* raised a sufficient Fund to discharge this Debt, by taking only 25  $\frac{1}{2}$  *Asses* per thousand, or of all the Gold and Silver Money brought from *Galatia*.





T H E

# Roman History.

## B O O K XLII.

§. I. **W**E are at length arrived at that Period, whence we cannot look back on the *Roman* Republick, without Surprise and Astonishment. If we consider what is past, we shall see her, at her Birth, starting up in a manner out of nothing, struggling from her earliest Infancy with her Neighbours, scarce able to resist weak Enemies, and not overcoming at last, but by numberless Labours, and the most painful Virtues. Frugality, Continence, a strict Observance of severe Discipline, Intrepidity in Danger, Patience under Misfortunes, and above all, an invariable Constancy in being never tired with War, in not giving herself the least Interval of Peace, in keeping her *Legions* continually employed, and in perpetually exposing them to Hazards, sometimes by Sea, and sometimes by Land, in *Sicily, Spain, Africa, Greece, and Asia*; were the only Means she made use of to enlarge her Dominions. And if we look forwards, we shall find the succeeding Scene little less astonishing. *Rome* will now appear, in such Grandeur, as was never attained to, by any other Republick, or any Monarchy in the World. She now began to taste the Fruits of her Virtues and Labours, in Opulence and Splendor. The *Roman* Senate and People now saw, in the East, Provinces, Kings, the free Cities of *Asia, Macedon, and Greece*; in the West, *Spain, and Cisalpine Gaul*; and in the South, the *Carthaginian* State, and *Numidia*, pay a ready Obedience to their Orders. Ambassadors brought thither from all Nations in the World, some their Tributes, others their Presents. And all came to implore the Protection of the predominant Republick. Wherever she had carried her Arms, no Prince, or Nation, durst enter into any War, but with her Consent. She settled all Differences, and determined all Claims. The Decrees of the Senate were as faithfully executed in *Africa, Asia, and the furthest Parts of Europe*, as in *Rome*. This City, now embellished with the Spoils of *European and Asiatick Greece*, and enriched with the Gold and Silver of *Spain, and Syria*, was, as it were, the Capital of the World. Indeed, she had yet reduced into *Provinces*, only *Sicily, Sardinia, Hither and Further Spain, and the Continent of Italy*. But the rest of the World was no less enslaved. The Nations which continued subject to their old Masters, and preserved an Appearance of Liberty, obeyed indeed their own Sovereigns; but those Sovereigns themselves were Slaves to *Rome*. It may be truly affirmed, that all her *Citizens* were more revered, and more powerful, than Kings. The latter came to solicit the Votes of the meanest *Plebeians*, who, in their *Comitia*, determined the Fate of Monarchs, took away their Crowns, and disposed of Thrones as they pleased. Besides, Politeness and Magnificence now reigned at *Rome*; their ancient Rusticity was changed into a kind of Luxury, in which, nevertheless, there was no kind of Excess, and which was scarce to be perceived in private Houses. But in the Temples, publick Places, *Circus's*, and Theatres, the *Greek* Taste seemed to be transplanted to *Rome*. Comedies were brought to Perfection there. *Plautus* already equalled the <sup>1</sup> *Aristophanes's*, and the <sup>2</sup> *Eupolis's*

Year of  
*R O M E*  
DLXVI.  
M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, C.  
FLAMINIUS,  
Consuls.

<sup>1</sup> *Aristophanes* flourished about the 86th Olympiad, three hundred and nineteen Years after the Foundation of *Rome*. He wrote above fifty Comedies:

Of which only eleven are transmitted to us; and these shew the Licentiousness of the Theatre at *Athens*. This Poet spares neither Gods nor Men.  
2 Religion,



Year of <sup>2</sup> *Eupolis's* of *Greece*. The *Latin* Tongue was softened; and Eloquence was become something more than Flights and Enthusiasm. The Orators began to compose their Harangues according to Art, improve them by Method, and make their Sentences and Periods numerous and harmonious. Nevertheless, the Felicity of the *Romans* was not yet complete. They wanted to enjoy these Delights which the whole World procured them, in perfect Tranquillity. Whereas the Republick had still two troublesome Wars to maintain. They did not appear so formidable as those of *Macedon* and *Syria*, but it was really more difficult to finish them. The first was in *Liguria*, the second in *Spain*. Providence seems to have left the *Romans* these two laborious Works, on Purpose to keep their Virtue in continual Exercise. Since they had breathed *Asiatick* Air, it was visible that the Contagion of the Country where they had lived, had affected their Manners. The Love of Idleness got the better of that martial Ardour, which made them formerly prefer Camps to Rest and Repose in the City. *Rome* had now new Charms. The Inhabitants of *Latium* came from all Parts to settle there; and usurped the Privileges of old *Citizens*. The City was so much overstocked with *Latins*, that it was found necessary to drive <sup>3</sup> out twelve thousand of them. And in so delightful an Abode, the Valour of the *Legionaries*, which were annually raised there, to be the main Support and Strength of the *Roman* Armies, would have degenerated, if the Necessity of marching against the *Ligures* and *Spaniards* had not drawn them out of it. So that these People, who were yet to be reduced, were Preservatives against that Softness and Effeminacy which *Rome* had to fear. The Senate therefore employed the *Roman* Generals and their Troops in rough and difficult Countries, during the whole time between the War in *Syria*, and the second War with *Macedon*.

DURING the Sickness of the *Consul Æmilius*, whose Hatred to the *Pro-Consul Fulvius* had drawn him too precipitately to *Rome*, his Collegue *Flaminius* came thither, much about the time, that it was necessary to assemble the *Comitia* to elect new *Consuls*. *Flaminius* presided in them, and seemed to have inspired them with his own Love of Peace. There was never less canvassing, or Trouble, in the *Field of Mars*, than in the Assembly which raised *Sp. Postumius Albinus*, and *Q. Marcius Philippus*, to the *Consulship*. Six *Prætors* were also chosen, as usual. Two for the City; one to judge all Causes between one *Citizen* and another; and the second, to decide all Disputes between *Citizens* and Strangers. The former was *T. Mænius*; the latter *M. Licinius Lucullus*. The other four were, one for *Sicily*, another for *Sardinia*, and two for *Spain*. *Hither Spain* fell to *L. Quinctius*; and *Further Spain* to *C. Calpurnius*. The *Spaniards* wanted to be suppressed. In *Hither Spain* the *Celtiberians* were in Arms, and gave the *Romans* a great deal of Trouble. *Manlius Acidinus* had lately fought two Battels, one of which had ended doubtfully, and the other had been so favourable to the *Romans*, that the Rebels, after they had lost twelve thousand Men in it, would have been totally subdued, if the Arrival of his Successor had not interrupted the Course of *Acidinus's* Victories. In the *Further Spain*, the *Legionaries* continued in their Revolt. The *Pro-Prætor Atinius* had just defeated them in a pitched

Year of *R O M E* DLXVII.  
 SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS,  
 Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS,  
 Consuls.  
 Liv. B. 39. c. 21.

Religion, Merit, and Dignities, were the Subjects of his Ridicule. By his unbridled Boldness in defaming Magistrates, and the most venerable Heads of the Republick of *Athens*, he obtained of the People a Crown made of the Branches of a sacred Olive-tree, which grew in the Citadel. A Mark of Distinction, which the *Athenians* gave only to Heroes.

<sup>2</sup> *Eupolis* was the Cotemporary and Rival of *Aristophanes*; and like him, made his Court to the People by bringing the Great Men of *Athens* upon the Stage, and turning them into Ridicule. *Pericles* himself, who was famous for his Virtue all over *Greece*, could not escape the unlucky Reflections of this insolent Poet. It is said of him, that he was naturally Vain. When he had gained some Prize, he was very fond of appearing in publick Assemblies, where he shewed the Marks of his

Victory, with great Vanity. It is pretended, that he entered into the *Athenian* Troops; and that having gone to Sea during the *Lacedæmonian* War, he perished upon the *Hellepont*. And according to *Suidas*, the Concern of the People at the Loss of a Man of so great Reputation, was what produced a publick Decree, excluding all Poets from the Profession of Arms. But others say, that *Alcibiades* was so enraged against *Eupolis*, that he caused him to be thrown into the Sea.

<sup>3</sup> The *Prætor, Quintus Terentius Culeo*, was ordered by the Senate to enquire after all the *Latins* that had settled in *Rome* since the *Censorship* of *Caius Claudius*, and *Marcus Livius*; and at the repeated Instances of the *Latian* Deputies, who complained that their Country was deserted, the new Comers were all obliged to return to their old Habitations.

Battel,



Battel, killed six thousand of them, and taken from them 4 *Asta*, the Capital of Year of *Bætica*; but this brave General had lost his Life before the Place. He had rashly *R O M E* advanced too near to the Walls, was wounded with a Dart, and died of his *DLXVII.* Wound. So that it was necessary to send Reinforcements to *Spain*. Nevertheless, the two new *Prætors* set out a little too late for their Province. When they arrived there, it was too late to take the Field. They therefore postponed Hostilities, till the Spring of the next Year, when we shall see them jointly gain a glorious Victory. But though the *Romans* had then no Enemies out of *Italy*, but in *Spain*; they don't seem to have increased their Troops there very considerably. So that the *Spaniards* struggled for their Liberty near two hundred Years; and strictly speaking, the *Romans* did not so subdue them, as to make them peaceable, till the Empire of *Augustus*. *Sc. POSTUMUS ALBINUS, Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS, Consuls.*

§. II. THERE was no other *Province* for both the *Consuls* but *Liguria*; and each prepared to lead thither an Army newly raised in *Rome*. But no immediate Danger called them in haste to their Province. The *Ligures* had no Thoughts of acting offensively; they were very well content to defend their Liberty, by cantoning themselves in their Rocks and Forests. The two Collegues therefore had time enough to tarry at *Rome*, till the Conclusion of an Affair which the Senate had at Heart. This was to disperse and punish a monstrous Society of Debauchees, which had been formed at *Rome*, under the Name of *Bacchanals*. The *Consuls* were ordered to enquire after the Offenders; and it is not to be expressed, with what Zeal, *Rome* prosecuted the Heads, and Accomplices, of this clandestine Association of Men, given up to all kinds of Wickedness. The bare Recital of it is enough to make one tremble. Opulence, no doubt, and the Concourse of foreign Nations, were what facilitated the forming this infamous Cabal, in a City which had hitherto shewn the utmost Abhorrence to all Incontinence.

SOME unknown *Greek*, a Man of an obscure Birth, but artful, insinuating, and very corrupt in Morals, had landed in *Hetruria*. In his own Country he had been initiated in the Mysteries of a Sect, which held their Assemblies in the Name, and under the Protection, of *Bacchus*. But we have Reason to believe, that these abominable Conventicles had not their first Rise in *Greece*. Their Origin was more remote. There is so great a Resemblance between the execrable Ceremonies, which the Children of *Ammon*, and the *Israelites* themselves performed in *The Valley of Tophet*, and the Mysteries of the *Bacchanals*, as makes it probable, that the one was an Imitation of the other. If we only put the Name of *Bacchus*, instead of that of 5 *Moloch*, we shall find, that the same Sacrifices of Modesty, and the Lives of Men, were made in private to the former, as to the latter. The *Jews* borrowed these Customs from their Neighbours; afterwards they reached to the *Greeks*; and at length were fatally propagated in *Italy* too. The living God had severely punished them in his own People. And the *Romans* so severely punished them in their Republick, that they exterminated them; at least, for a time. It is well known, that *Hetruria* was very ready to receive all Novelties in religious Worship. It was from thence, that *Auspices* and *Augurs* were brought to *Rome*; and from thence likewise these *Bacchanals* were brought to the Capital, where they produced a terrible Corruption of Manners. The *Greek* beforementioned had made himself the Head, or if you will, the Priest of this secret Association.

2 Kings xxiii.  
Jerem. xxi.  
Jerem. vii.

Livy B. 39.  
c. 8.  
Val. Max. B. 1.  
c. 3. §. 1.

4 *Morales* places the City of *Asta* in a Canton of *Andalusia*, where there is now a Village called *Maffa de Asta*. Nevertheless, most modern Geographers think it stood in the Place, where we now find *Xeres de la Frontera*.

5 *Moloch*, whom some have taken for *Saturn*, and others for *Jupiter*, was a God of the *Ammonites*. They represented him under a monstrous Figure; which was the Head of a Calf on a Bust of Brass. In his Stomach there were several Holes, from which there was a Communication with several Furnaces, which were designed for different sorts of Victims; and these People made it a barbarous Law among them, to cast their own Children into one of these burning Furnaces. They imagined they could no otherwise appease the Wrath of their God, than by sacrificing to him what was

most dear to them. Drums were beaten, and several other Instruments of Musick used, during this horrible Sacrifice; and by that means, the Cries of those whom the Fire consumed could not be heard. Some indeed have thought that these Pagans never carried their Barbarity to so great an Excess. They pretend, that the Ceremony was only that of making these Children pass through the Flame, by way of Purification. But be that as it will, *The Valley of Tophet*, where these Impieties were committed, took its Name from the Noise made by the Cymbals and Drums during the Sacrifice. In this Place there was a Temple erected in honour to *Moloch*. And near it was a Grove consecrated to him, where his Priests committed Brutalities, which Modesty forbids us to name.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVII.  
SP. POSTUMI-  
US ALBINUS,  
Q. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
Consuls.

He did not gain himself Followers, by appearing in publick, and openly proclaiming the Power of a beneficent God. He only whispered his infamous Doctrines private. The Women were first seduced; all the Assemblies consisted only of them, for some time; and Priestesses were chosen out of them. Afterwards the Men were admitted, and the Assemblies were held in a Wood, consecrated to the Goddess <sup>6</sup> *Simila*, or as others *Stimula*.

BUT it was not so much Curiosity, as the prevailing Corruption of Mens Hearts that gained the Impostor Credit. Wine and good Cheer were the Attractive first made use of, to draw intemperate Men to the Feast of *Bacchus*. Their Numbers encreased; the Feast was held by Night; and the *Greeks* took care to introduce among them, such young Persons of both Sexes, as were most capable of irritating the Passions. They were first enlivened with Wine and Dancing, then the Place was designedly darkened, and this Darkness seemed to take from them all manner of Modesty. Their Licentiousness was then pursued without any Restraint. The Night, which was begun with Drunkenness, ended with Incest, and Brutalities, yet more detestable. Nor was all this enough. The little time they had before their Understandings were quite drowned in Wine, was spent in forging Contracts and Bonds, and combining together to bear false Witnesses. Nay, it often happened, that those whom it was their Interest to destroy, were dispatched by a Dagger, or a Dose of Poison. Many Persons disappeared all on a sudden and could no where be found. Violence and Treachery were as much practised in these nocturnal Assemblies, as all manner of Lusts. In order to stifle the Cries of those whom they assassinated, or sacrificed by Violence to their Debaucheries they made a great Noise with Drums and Cymbals; and the Shouts of this *Bacchanalian* Troop, were louder than the Instruments. Nevertheless, as the Rendezvous of the People was in a solitary unknown Place, the Senate was not informed of it, till the following Accident.

§. III. A young *Roman* named *Æbutius*, had lost his Father in the Flower of his Age; and *Duronis* his Mother had married again. *T. Sempronius Blæsus* the Father-in-law, was a violent and profane Man; and *Æbutius*, according to his Birth, must naturally have come to the Enjoyment of a great Estate. His Father was a *Roman Knight*; a Mark of Distinction, which was neither obtained, nor kept by any, but such as were very rich. At first Guardians were assigned for the young *Roman*; but he lost them too soon by Death. Then the Care of his Estate fell into the Hands of his Mother, and his Father-in-Law; and the latter was both involved in Debt to a great Degree, and responsible for his Ward's Estate. This gave him Uneasiness; and *Duronis* and *Sempronius* could find out no other Remedy, but to get rid of her Son, and his Son-in-Law, whose just Demands were so troublesome to them; and the Husband and Wife thought the new Assembly of the *Bacchanalians*, with which they were acquainted, the most proper Place and Method, for the Execution of their barbarous Parricide. Besides, *Æbutius's* Manners, which they had neglected to cultivate, seemed to favour their Design. He was scarce grown up to be a young Man, before he fell into the Vices of that Age. He had taken a Mistress near his own House, and his Attachment to her was well known. The Mother therefore took her Son aside, and addressed herself to him in this artful manner. *In your last Sickness, Son, when I was so much alarmed for fear of your Death, I applied to the Gods for Relief for you. We had just heard of a new Worship of Bacchus. I made a Vow to initiate myself in the Mysteries of it; and you recovered. I must therefore discharge my Vow, and you must prepare yourself by Continence for ten Days, for entering into an Association, which will afterwards furnish you with new Pleasures to gratify your Inclinations. After the necessary Preparation is over, I will lead you to the Bacchanals myself.* *Æbutius* at first readily complied with the Desires of *Duronis*; but he could not help acquainting his Mistress, with the ten Days Continence his Mother required of him. The Person with whom he was in Love, was a Courtisan of great Beauty, named *Hispala Fescenia*. When she was yet but a Slave

<sup>6</sup> *Galenus* thought that this Goddess *Simila*, was the same as *Semele*, the Mother of *Bacchus*, according to Fable. *St. Austin* in his Book, *Of the City of God*, gives her the Name of *Stimula*; and says she was so called, *Quod ad agendum ultra modum stimulare.*



she had gotten a great deal of Money, by her infamous Prostitutions ; and when she became rich, after she had bought her Freedom, she fell in love with young *Ebutius*, and soon captivated him with her Carresses. But notwithstanding her shameful Commerce with him, this Woman had more Honour and Probity, than Women of her Profession generally have. Besides, her Love for *Ebutius* was boundless. She supplied him with Necessaries, and supported him under the severe Treatment of his Father-in-Law, and a Mother, who often suffered him to want. Nor was all this enough for *Hispala*. After the Death of her *Patron*, who had procured her Freedom, and who had been her Guardian <sup>7</sup> according to Law, she had obtained Leave to make her Will, and had left all her Estate to *Ebutius*, after her Death. The bare mention the young *Roman* made of getting himself initiated in the Mysteries of *Bacchus*, made her tremble with Horror. *Into what an Abyss of Misery*, said she to him, *are you going to involve yourself ! It were better that both You and I should die, than that you should embark in so dangerous an Undertaking. May the Evils that threaten you, fall on the Heads of those who have engaged you in it !* Upon this, the great Concern and Uneasiness of *Hispala*, soon affected the Heart of *Ebutius* ; and he would know the Particulars of the Perils that threatened him. *Your Father-in-Law*, added she, *wants to expose your Life and Honour to the most horrible Dangers. I say nothing of your Mother. My Affection for you makes me respect her. Nevertheless, both she and her Husband have conspired to take away your Life.* And she said no more. *Ebutius* was forced to use the utmost Entreaties, and the most pressing Instances with her, before he could prevail on *Hispala* to reveal the Secrets of the Association. She had formerly been of it herself, and had bound herself by the most frightful Oaths, never to betray the Secret. But at length, she called all the Gods and Goddesses to witness, that her only Motive to break her Promises, was to save the Life of him who was the most dear to her of any Person in the World ; and then she went on thus. *When I was a Slave, I attended my Mistress to this Sanctuary of Iniquity. But I swear to you I never have been there since I have gained my Liberty. I know, that of all the young Men who have frequented it, not one has arrived at the Age of twenty Years. They no sooner come to the Place, but they are carried to a detestable Priest ; and this Barbarian devotes them as a Victim, to Death, and Lust. He takes them aside into a private Place, where, without any Scruple or Regard, Violence is offered to their Modesty, and often to their Lives.*

THIS Discourse, which seemed sincere, affected *Ebutius* ; and as soon as he returned Home, he protested to his Mother, that he absolutely renounced her Vow, to associate him with the *Bacchanalians*. *Duronia* easily guessed, that her Son had been instructed by *Hispala*, and said ; *This is that Enchantress, that Wretch, your Mistress, who has perverted your Understanding, and corrupted your Heart. It is she who has taught you to despise the Commands of your Mother, and to be ungrateful to the Gods. Get you out of my House, and appear in my Sight no more !* The young *Roman* found a safe Retreat in the House of *Ebutia*, his Father's Sister. But he was forced to declare to his Aunt the Reason why he left his Mother's House. *Ebutia* thought the Excuse a very just one ; and urged her Nephew to inform the *Consul Postumius*, of what he had heard of the infamous Lusts and Murders of this nocturnal Assembly, in the Grove of *Stimula*. *Ebutius* was twice brought before the *Consul*, who heard him favourably, and carefully informed himself of the Matter. Nor was this all. He likewise enquired into the Character of *Ebutia*, who had excited her Nephew to declare such horrible Things ; and he was informed by *Sulpicia*, his Mother-in-Law, that *Ebutia* was a Woman of a good Understanding, and her Reputation blameless.

<sup>7</sup> We have elsewhere observed, that the Lawyers of *Rome* were prepossessed with such injurious Opinions of the Women, that they never would leave them to their own Government, during their whole Lives. Neither their having been fruitful, or being Mothers, or of a mature Age, could free them from the uneasy Yoke of a Guardian. This Office belonged to the nearest Relation. If there was none, the *Prætor*, with the Majority of the *Tribunes*, were to provide them Guar-

dians, according to the *Atilian* Law. The ancient *Civilians* have preserved some Footsteps of this Law ; but have not told us the exact time of its Promulgation. As for the *freed* Women, who were not born of free Condition, they were under the Care of their *Patrons*. And in case they died, the Women were obliged to have Recourse to the Magistrate, who appointed some intelligent Person to take care of their Persons and Estates.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVII.

S. POSTUMIUS  
ALEINUS, Q.  
MARCIVS PHI-  
LIPPUS, Con-  
suls.

Livy, B. 39.  
c. 9.



Year of But after all, one Informer was not a sufficient Foundation for the Noise this *Æbutius* himself  
*R O M E* fair would make, when brought before the Senate. Besides, *Æbutius* himself  
 DLXVII. had not been an Eye-witness of the Crimes he divulged. For the greater Cer-  
 tainty therefore, it was necessary to have *Hispala* examined; but it was beneath  
 the Dignity and Gravity of an Head of the Republick, either to send for a Courti-  
 zan to his House, or to pay her a Visit. All manner of Decency was strictly kept  
 up in *Rome*. The *Consul* therefore chose to have an Interview with *Hispala*, at  
 the House of *Sulpicia*, a Lady, whose Virtue raised her above Suspicion; and he  
 would have the Lady present at the Conversation. When the Courtizan receiv-  
 ed a Message from *Æbutia*, that *Sulpicia* desired she would pay her a Visit, she  
 shuddered for Fear; and her Terror increased, when she saw the *Lictors*, and  
 all the Train of a *Consul*, in the Porch of the House where she was. But when  
 she was brought into an inner Apartment, she was surprised to see no Body there,  
 but the *Consul* and his Mother-in-Law. Then *Postumius* said to her; *You have*  
*nothing to fear, if you have honesty enough to conceal nothing from us. Did you*  
*never assist at the Assemblies which were held by Night, in the Grove of Stimula?* At  
 these Words *Hispala* trembled exceedingly, and her Voice and Breath failed her at  
 once. When she was recovered from her first Fright, she said, *I own, when I was very*  
*young, and a Slave, I was carried thither by my Mistress, and initiated. Since I have ob-*  
*tained my Freedom, I have never been there, and I know not what is done there.* The  
*Confession you make us,* replied the *Consul*, *of your having been initiated in the Mysteries*  
*of Bacchus, is such a Mark of Sincerity, as puts you in a fair Way for a Pardon. But*  
*that you will never obtain, if you conceal from us any of the Circumstances, which*  
*we can discover by any other Means. Be ingenuous; the whole has been revealed*  
*to us by a Person whom you made your Confident.* These last Words threw *His-*  
*pala* into a violent Passion. *The Traitor!* cried she, meaning *Æbutius*; and  
 then recovering her Spirits, she threw herself at *Sulpicia's* Feet. *Do you believe,*  
 said she to her, *what a Woman of my Character says to a young Man, whom she*  
*would ensnare? I gave him that Account of the Bacchanalians only to keep him to*  
*myself.* The *Consul* saw there was Dissimulation in these Words, and seemed ex-  
 asperated by them: and then *Sulpicia* interposed. On one Hand she endeavoured  
 to appease the Anger of *Postumius*, and on the other, advised the Courtizan to  
 conceal nothing. And at length, after having inveighed against the Treachery of  
*Æbutius*, and called the Gods to witness, that Necessity alone forced her to di-  
 vulge the Secrets, which she had sworn to conceal, she addressed herself to the  
*Consul*, in this manner. *Into what Dangers, my Lord, am I going to throw my*  
*self out of Deference to you! I am going to stir up Heaven and Earth against*  
*me. Perhaps indeed the Gods may pardon my Breach of Oaths; but what can I*  
*expect at the Hands of Men. A Company of furious People will all fall upon me;*  
*and my Ruin is certain. Banish me therefore far from Rome, and find out a Re-*  
 *treat, where a wretched Woman may spend the rest of her Days in Peace.* Then  
 the *Consul* promised her, that the Republick should take her under her Protection;  
 and *Hispala* went on, and revealed the whole Secret. The <sup>8</sup> *Bacchanalians* at  
*Rome*, said she, *were originally only Assemblies of Women, which were held but*  
*three times a Year. Women presided in them; and Women did the Affairs of*  
*Priestesses there. Till at length the Government of the Society fell into the Hands*  
*of a Woman named Paculla, who introduced Men among them, and particularly the*  
*Children and Husbands of the Initiated. Then the Assemblies were held by Night,*  
*and repeated five times in a Month. And as if the Darkeness had made every thing*  
*lawful, this Concourse of Men and Women ran into the most horrible Excesses. They,*  
*whose Remains of Modesty made them more timorous, or less abandoned, were put*  
*to Death. The Crimes received a Sanction from an Appearance of Religion; and*  
*nothing was scrupled under the Protection of a God. Men heated with Wine took*

8 We shall hereafter take occasion in the Course of this History, to treat of all the different Festivals that were celebrated by the *Greeks*, and afterwards by the *Romans*, under the Name of *Bacchanals*. We intend to give the Reader an historical Dissertation, concerning the Origin, and Celebration of these Feasts, and the Licentiousness and abo-

minable Practices that were committed at the Orgies of *Bacchus*. This Dissertation will be very entertaining, and very necessary, to give him a thorough Knowledge of the Manners of the Pagans, at the time when Old *Rome* became a Sink of Corruption, and gave herself up to all the horrible Practices of the idolatrous Worship.



*Javelins in their Hands, and when they had stupified themselves with Turnings, and Agitations of Body, pronounced a kind of Oracles. The Women with their Hair dishevelled, and like so many Furies, armed themselves with Flambeaux made of Bitumen, Sulphur, and Lime, lighted them, ran and plunged them into the Tyber, and drew them out again before the Fire had extinguished them. Those who were reserved, and scrupled the maddest Brutalities, were caught up into the Air by Engines, then thrown down into subterraneous Caverns, and never were seen more. The rest said that the Gods took them to themselves. In short, the Number of the Initiated is now exceedingly increased. You would take their Assembly for a whole Nation of People. Men and Women of great Distinction appear there; and but two Years ago, they made it a Rule to admit no body for the future, who was past twenty. In the Flower of Youth, People, said they, are more easy to be seduced, and more ready to give themselves up to Pleasure.*

Year of  
R. O. M. E  
DLXVII.  
SP. POSTUMI-  
US ALBINUS,  
Q. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
Consuls.

§. IV. WHICH said, *Hispala* threw herself at the Consul's Feet, and cried out, *I again repeat it, my Lord; after the Declaration that I have made, I can be safe only at a Distance from hence. Banishment is all the Favour I ask.* However, *Postumius* did not care to remove a Witness so necessary for the publick Good: But desired his Mother-in-Law to give her a Retreat with her. Accordingly *Subpicia* allotted *Hispala* an Apartment at the Top of her House; and the Stair-Case of that Apartment leading into a Street, it was turned. So that *Hispala* could not go out, without going through the House; and all her Moveables and Effects were brought thither. As for *Æbutius*, he was committed to the Care of one of the Consul's Clients. And now *Postumius* being supported with such strong Proof, no longer hesitated about making a Report to the Senate of his Discovery. As soon as he had opened the whole Scene to *The Conscript Fathers*, they were struck with Horror. Some reflected on the Danger such an Assembly as this might bring on the whole Body of the Republick. Others were afraid they should find their Relations or Friends among the Criminals. Nevertheless they passed a Decree, containing these five Articles. 1. *They returned Thanks to Postumius for having taken care to make this important Discovery, without Noise, or Scandal.* 2. *They appointed him and his Colleague to get more full Informations.* 3. *They put Æbutius and Hispala under the Protection of the Senate; and by their Promises, invited others to come and give Information.* 4. *They gave the Consuls leave to search in Towns, and peculiar Jurisdictions, for the Priests and Priestesses of this Association. And sthly, They forbid the Initiated in the Bacchanals to assemble; and commanded all the People of Italy to inform against those, who had polluted themselves with the Abominations practised there.* The Consuls began their Proceedings with ordering the *Curule Ædiles* to seize the Persons of the Priests and Priestesses of the Assembly, and keep them safe till they were examined; not in the publick Prisons, but in private Houses. Then they committed it to the Care of the *Plebeian Ædiles*, to prevent the holding of any religious Assemblies in secret. And lastly, they ordered the *Triumviri Capitales* to station the Watchmen so as to hinder all nocturnal Assemblies, to take care that no Part of the City was set on Fire, and to hire Men to watch the Houses on this side the *Tyber*. These Orders and Precautions alarmed all *Rome*. The People were assembled in the *Forum*. And *Postumius* mounted *The Tribune of Harangues*, and spoke thus.

O Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, and all the tutelary Gods of this Empire, favour the Enterprize I have in hand. If ever Consul ought to invoke the Name of the ancient Gods of the Country, I ought now to do it, when I am going to suppress a false religious Worship, and purge the old Religion of it. Execrable Impieties, joined with Assassinations and Debaucheries, are introduced into *Rome*. All my Difficulty is, to know how to represent them to you in a proper Light. To represent them as they are, would be to make you tremble with Horror. To conceal any part of them, would be lessening the just Rage with which you ought to be fired, at such detestable Prophanations. Let me say what I will, I can never find Words bad enough for the Heinousness of the Crimes I am going to mention. Bacchanals were first introduced into several Parts of Italy, and from thence brought to *Rome*. You cannot but know that these Assemblies have been held in the Neighbourhood of this City. Their Shouts, and the Noise of their Instruments, have often disturbed



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVII.  
Sp. POSTUMI-  
US ALBINUS,  
Q. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
Consuls.

*your Rest in the Night ; though you knew not the Causes of them. You thought them lawful Rejoicings, authorized by Religion, and allowed by the Laws ; or perhaps you thought this Society consisted only of a few Men and Women of Pleasure. But we have been much mistaken, Romans. The Number of these Associates much surpasses what we ever thought of it. They are reckoned to be no less than several Thousands. Indeed Women first hearkened to these Seducers. But afterwards Men, as effeminate as themselves, followed their Example. And what Objections have they not suffered, or committed ? And if they have not yet conspired against the Republick, it is only because they first want to increase their Strength and Credit. And so far as we can judge by what is past, their Number will soon increase, so as to become formidable to the State. These sorts of Associations have ever been suspected. Our Ancestors would never suffer any Number of People to meet, but when it was necessary to assemble a sort of Army on the Janiculus, while the Comitia by Centuries were held, or to assemble the Tribes, or to invite the People to come and hear the Harangues of the Magistrates. All other Assemblies were ever thought unlawful. And whenever a Multitude was gathered together, it was judged necessary to have a lawful Head, to make it a lawful Assembly. But where is the Head nominated by publick Authority for these Bacchanals ? Men and Women meet together at Night, in a common Rendezvous. Most of the Initiated are inconsiderate young People, who are scarce old enough to serve in our Armies. What Education must they then receive, in the midst of Licentiousness and Brutality ? Shall we find any of them fit to fill up the Places of those brave Legionaries, who have conquered three Parts of the World for us ? Will they fight to defend the Honour of our Wives and Children, after they have been brought up in Debauchery ? But Lasciviousness is the least of their Crimes. The Bacchanals are Schools of all the Villanies that have been practised in our Days. There Calumnies are invented, unjust Accusations formed, false Acts forged, and all other Instruments made which are fit for the Ruin of Families. The Evil is contagious. A Plague would not threaten us with a more universal Desolation. Neither the Republick, nor your Estates, nor Lives, are safe, as long as these Assemblies continue. Let us then lose no time in exterminating this impious Society. Perhaps these Fanaticks are this instant forming seditious Projects to oppose our prudent Deliberations. Who knows whether this Libertinism, by which their Union is formed, will not degenerate into Fury. And Rage and Despair often give Courage to the most effeminate. Besides, these People, notwithstanding their Effeminacy, are used to shed Blood. They dip their Hands in it every Day. The Grove where they assemble is as much polluted by Murders, as Impurities. Though Romans, they have no Regard either for their Relations, or Friends, or fellow-Citizens. They have no Attachment to any Persons whatsoever, but those of their own impious Society. Pleasure brings them together, and Interest unites them. Should they break out, how dangerous may it prove to the Republick ! Let us prevent them therefore whilst they are buried in Drunkenness. Your Ancestors spared no Punishment, when they were to extirpate foreign Religions. With what Zeal did they proscribe strange Gods, pretended propheticall Books, all Sacrifices which were different from ours, and all the oriental Customs ? And these things were very acceptable to our ancient Gods, who, because they saw themselves affronted in secret by the infamous Pollutions of these Bacchanals, have therefore brought them to light, that they might be punished and suppressed. The Senate have given me and my Collegue an uncommon Commission to enquire after them ; and we have given the proper Orders for the Security of the Publick. Do you therefore, every one in his Station, pay a ready Obedience to the inferior Magistrates, whom we have entrusted with the Care of the Watch ; and join your Endeavours to prevent any Danger or Tumult from these wicked Associates.*

Liv. B. 39.  
c. 16.

Livy, *ibid.*

THE People were well satisfied with the Steps taken by the Senate and Consuls ; and gave Orders for Enquiry to be made after the Criminals. They offered a Reward to any who would inform against them, or give Notice of their Escape ; and threatened those with Fines, who should facilitate their Flight, buy their Moveables and Effects, or promote their Escape. As for the Accused, a Day was fixed for their Appearance, but longer time was allowed those, who should be out of Italy. And as Postumius's Harangue had alarmed the City, the Terror soon spread into the Provinces. At Rome Guards were set in all Parts. The Trium-

viri



*vir* caused a great Number of these Wretches to be arrested. Several of them in vain endeavoured to save themselves by a speedy Flight; they were seized, and brought to *Rome*. Some Men, and some Women, killed themselves. A Report was spread that the Number of the Associates amounted to seven thousand. It was agreed, that the Heads of the Association were *M.* and *L. Catinius*, both *Roman Citizens*; one *L. Opiternius*, an Inhabitant of *Falerii*; and one *Minus Cerrinius*, a Native of *Capua*. These were the Priests who presided at these impious Sacrifices, and were the Authors of all the Abominations of the Society. Great Care was therefore taken to seize them immediately, and their Trial was brought on without Delay. The Number of the Fugitives increased daily; and the *Prætors* were obliged to allow their Creditors <sup>9</sup> a Month, to come and prove their Debts. Even in this populous City, the Desertion was sensible. The *Consuls* were therefore obliged to go in Person to the Towns, and Markets, in the Neighbourhood, to search out the Offenders, and try them upon the Spot. They who were only *initiated*, that is, had only pronounced the Form of the Oath whereby they engaged themselves, but had not polluted themselves with any of the Crimes of the Sect, were only imprisoned. They who were found guilty of the most monstrous Debaucheries, Murders, false Witness, and counterfeiting Bonds and Seals, were executed. And these were the greatest Number. As for the Women, they were delivered up to their Relations for them to punish them. The Publick were not concerned to chastise them, till such time as their Families had shewn them so much Indulgence as to spare them. The Grove where these Assemblies were held was cut down; and not only in *Rome*, but all over *Italy*, the Houses appropriated to these Conventicles were demolished. Nothing was spared but the old Altars, and the old Statues of *Bacchus*. And lastly, the Senate passed a Decree, That if any Family had for time immemorial enjoyed a Right of solemnizing a Feast to this God, they should give the *Prætor* Notice of it; That the *Prætor* should acquaint the Senate with it, when there were at least a hundred Senators in the House; and That if the Family obtained Leave to worship *Bacchus*, there should not more than five Persons meet together for that Purpose, and should not have any Power either to chuse Priests, or settle any Foundations for the Maintenance of this Worship. When the *Consul Postumius* was returned to *Rome*, he made it his first Business to prevail on the Senate to give an honourable Reward to *Æbutius* and *Hispala*; and the *Quæstors* were ordered to pay to each a hundred thousand \* *Asses* of Bras. Then, by a Decree of the People, *Postumius* got the Informer exempted from the Duty of serving in the Army, either on Foot or on Horseback; and *Hispala* was invested in all the Privileges of Women, who had always been of free Condition. She had Leave given her to acquire, or alienate an Estate, independently of her *Patrons*; Power to chuse her own Guardian; was freed from any Dependence on the <sup>10</sup> Family, which had given her Freedom; had Liberty to marry whom she pleased; and it was declared, not to be beneath any Man to marry her. And lastly, the present and succeeding *Prætors* were ordered to take her under their Protection, and secure her from all Violence and Insults. All these Regulations were made by the *Comitia*; and the *Consuls* were empowered to reward the other Witnesses according to their Merit <sup>11</sup>.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVII.  
SP. POSTUMI-  
US ALBINUS,  
Q. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
Consuls.

Val. Max.  
B. 6. c. 3. §. 7.

\* 322 l. 18 s.  
4 d. Arbuth.

Livy, B. 39.  
c. 20.

§. V. THE Prosecution of the rest of the Criminals employed *Postumius* in the City. He was excused from going to make War in *Liguria*. So that *Marcus* only took the Field. Besides the Troops his Predecessors had commanded there the last Year, he had Leave to make some new Levies. Three thousand Foot and a hundred and fifty Horse were raised in *Rome*, to recruit the *Legionaries*. And in order to make the Troops of the Auxiliaries effective, the *Latin* Cities were

<sup>9</sup> The Citizens who had any Actions depending against any of these Fugitives, would have been in Danger of losing their Right, if the Magistrates had not taken care of it. The two *Prætors* therefore, *Titus Manius*, and *Marcus Licinius*, obtained a Decree of the Senate, permitting them to allow all Parties thirty Days beyond the time fixed, to appear and make good their Claims.

<sup>10</sup> According to the *Roman* Laws, the *Freed-men* could not marry, without the Consent of the

Father of the Family, to which they were indebted for their Liberty, or of the Person who represented him.

<sup>11</sup> According to *Livy*, *Minus Cerrinius*, a Citizen of *Capua*, and one of the Heads of these Fanatics was imprisoned at *Ardea*; and the Magistrates of that City were ordered to keep him always in their Sight, to prevent his escaping, or murdering himself in despair.



Year of obliged to furnish five thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse more. Nor was  
 ROM E this all. Roman Troops were wanted in Spain. Two new Legions were raised  
 DLXVII. for that Country, besides three thousand Foot and two hundred Horse to recruit  
 S. POSTUMIUS the old Corps. The Allies were also ordered to send to Spain twenty thousand  
 ALBINUS, Q. Foot, and thirteen hundred Horse. Calpurnius was hastened away to supply the  
 MARCIUS PHILIP- Place of Atinius, who died at the Siege of Asta, in Further Spain. He went  
 PUS, Con- with all Expedition to the Port of Luna, in Hetruria, embarked there, and car-  
 suls. ried great Reinforcements to his Province. The Republick had now no Wars  
 but in Spain and Hetruria; and the Consul Marcius set out for the latter Pro-  
 vince.

THE Place which he chose to make the Seat of the War, was the Country of  
 those Ligures, which were called Apuans; a People, whose Country bordered upon  
 Hetruria, and reached along the Banks of the Macra. But his Expedition was  
 not successful. This Country was covered with Wood, and the manner in which  
 the Apuans made War, was to form Ambuscades for their Enemies, and draw them  
 by feigned Flights into unpassable Forests. And Marcius suffered himself to be  
 surprised. His Legions pursued the Fugitives with too much Ardour, and were  
 surrounded by them. Four thousand Romans and Auxiliaries were killed in the  
 Post, where they were attacked. The Legionaries lost three Standards, and the  
 Auxiliaries eleven Colours. The Vanquished threw down their Arms, that they might  
 not encumber them in their Flight; and the Conquerors were tired with pursuing them.  
 The Consul in vain retired into a friendly Country and immediately disbanded his  
 Army, to conceal the Shame of his Defeat. The Ligures transmitted to Posterity  
 the Memory of their Advantage. They gave the Place where they had conquered,  
 the Name of the Roman General, and called it *The Field of Marcius*. After his  
 Defeat, the Consul was not in haste to return to the City. His Collegue had not  
 left it, and had acquired much Glory by purging Rome of an Evil at Home, which  
 was more to be feared, than her Enemies Abroad. When the City had recovered  
 its Uneasiness, all the People were wholly taken up with Shows, and other reli-  
 gious Amusements. They were entertained with *The Taurilian Games*<sup>12</sup>. The  
 Learned carried up the Origin of them as high as to the Time of Tarquin the  
 Proud. And because the Show was made in honour to the infernal Gods, it was  
 always done without the Walls, in the *Flaminian Circus*. Sacrifices were also ap-  
 pointed for nine Days, to avert the ill Consequences of two Presages. It was said  
 to have rained Stones at Picenum; and some Exhalations had come out of the  
 Earth, which had burnt the Bottoms of the Clothes of some Peasants. The  
 Temple of Cybele had also been struck with Lightning; and this was enough to  
 add another Day to the nine. It was likewise reported, that in Umbria there  
 was a Child of eleven Years of Age, which did not appear to be of either Sex;  
 and it was inhumanly condemned to be slain, as an accursed Creature, which the  
 Gods required should be sacrificed.

*Festus in cer-  
 lion Taurilia.*

§. VI. THE Gauls on this side the Alpes continued quiet; but those in *Transalpine*  
*Gaul* began to be in Motion. A new Swarm of these People had entered<sup>13</sup> *Carni-  
 niola*; but committed no Hostilities. They prepared to lay the Foundations of a  
 City. The Roman Republick therefore, watchful of the least Motions in Italy,  
 sent Deputies to watch the Steps of these Deserters from their own Country.  
 These Deputies found them ready to settle themselves near<sup>14</sup> *Aquileia*; and de-  
 manded to know of their Nation, why their Countrymen had left them. The  
 Nation

12. According to *Festus*, a contagious Distemper spread itself in Rome among Women with Child, in the Reign of Tarquin the Proud. It was ascribed to their eating the Flesh of sacrificed Bulls, the Overplus of which the Sacrificers sold. And then the *Taurian*, or *Taurilian Games* were instituted, in order to appease the Anger of the infernal Gods. We have already observed, that the Romans thought the infernal Powers mischievous Beings. But according to some Authors quoted by *Servius*, a dreadful Plague which made a great Havock among the *Sabines*, gave Rise to this Solemnity. And from the Name of *The Taurian Games*, if we

credit *Festus*, the Money spent in the Preparations for them was called *Taurium*.

13 See what we have said of the Origin of the People who anciently inhabited *Carniola*, Vol. 2.

14 Both Greek and Latin Authors, especially *Mela*, *Herodian*, and *Procopius*, boast of the Grandeur, Wealth, and Antiquity of the City of *Aquileia*. *Strabo* pretends that it was built by the Romans, for a Bulwark to defend this Country against the frequent Incurfions of the Barbarians. Nevertheless, by several Passages of *Livy*, it seems to have been the Work of a Swarm of Gauls, as may be observed hereafter. *Enstathius*, and the Emperor *Julius*



Nation protested, That this Transmigration was not made by Publick Authority; and That they knew not the Design of the Fugitives. And the *Romans* seem to have believed them, and to have given them Leave to settle in a Country which seemed desolate. The *Consul Postumius* also had Thoughts of re-peopling the *Roman Colonies*, some of which were deserted. In the Journey he took to find out the *Bacchanalians*, he observed that the City of *Sipontus* in *Apulia*, on the Shore of the *Adriatick Sea*, and that of *Buxentum* in *Lucania*, on the *Hetrurian Sea*, were evacuated by the *Romans*. This he reported to the Senate; and they ordered three Men of Figure to carry thither new *Colonies*, to supply the Place of the Garrisons of these maritime Places. Thus *Postumius* ended his *Consulate*, with Glory; and presided in the *Comitia* for the Great Elections. The Persons chosen *Consuls* were *Appius Claudius*, surnamed *Pulcher*, and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*. Then six *Prætors* were chosen, as usual; two of which were ordered to administer Justice at *Rome*; one to keep the *Gauls* in their Duty; another to govern *East Italy*, and reside at *Tarentum*; a fifth to govern *Sicily*; and the sixth, *Sardinia*. As for *Spain*, *Prætors* were not sent thither, but every other Year. Its Distance, and the Multitude of Affairs there, made it necessary not to change its Governours so often as was done in other Places <sup>15</sup>.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVII.  
SP. POSTUMI-  
US ALBINUS,  
Q. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
Consuls.

§. VII. As soon as the new *Consuls* were entered upon their Administration, they found the Seeds of new Troubles budding forth, in the Disputes which arose between the Kings and Republicks of *Greece* and *Asia*. *Rome* had used her utmost Endeavours to settle a lasting Peace in the East; and the wise Regulations of her ten Commissioners, would have established Tranquillity in those vast Regions, if the Passions of Men could have been kept within due Bounds. But *Philip* of *Macedon* gave a Loose to his Ambition, after the Departure of the *Roman Armies*. This Prince, who was naturally of a restless Temper, had done the *Romans* some Service against *Antiochus*, only with a View of aggrandizing himself. He thought the Bounds set him by *Flamininus*, after he had vanquished him, were too narrow for a Successor of *Alexander the Great*. When he saw the *Roman General* at a Distance, his Desire of Conquest revived. Besides, he formed a Design of renewing the War, some time or other, with the prevailing Republick, which kept Monarchs in a shameful Subjection. Nothing vexed him more than the Prohibition he had received from the Senate, not to revenge himself as he pleased on those of his Subjects who had deserted and betrayed him, during his Wars with *Rome*. As for *Flamininus*, he had, by his Treaty of Peace, only suspended the King's Hopes, of one Day recovering the Possession of the Provinces which had fallen off from *Macedon*. But by a new Decree, those Hopes were absolutely frustrated. *Philip* also remembered with Vexation, that the *Consul Acilius* had not suffered him, in his Time, to take *Lamia*, and bring it in Subjection to him. But he had forgotten, That this *Consul* had suffered him to carry the War into the Country of the *Athamanes*; That he had conquered the Places in *Thessaly* which the *Ætoliens* possessed; and That he had made himself Master of *Demetrias*, a wealthy City, which by its Situation was of great Advantage to his Dominions. Or at least, these Conquests were not sufficient to satisfy the ambitious *Philip*, tho' he had extended them as far as to *Thrace*. A Spirit of Faction had divided some Cities in this Country; and by joining with one of the Parties, he had found some Means to bring them into Subjection to him. So that the Increase of his Kingdom heightened his Courage, and his Resentments against *Rome*. But before he would openly

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVIII.  
APP. CLAUDI-  
US PULCHER,  
M. SEMPRONI-  
US TUDITA-  
NUS, Consuls.

Livy, B. 39.  
c. 23.

*Julian*, pretend that an *Eagle* suddenly flew by, while the People were laying the Foundation of the City; and that they from thence called it *Aquileia*. But some borrow this Name from the Rivers that water this Territory; whilst others derive it from one *Aquilo*, a Companion of *Antenor*, who landed in these Parts, after the taking of *Troy*. This City stood near the Mouth of the River *Natiso*, or *Natisa*, as it is now called. All that the Ancients say of this River, gives us Reason to believe, that it formerly discharged itself into the *Lisonzo*, but that afterwards its Course was turned towards *Aquileia*. But be that as it will, it is certain, That this City preserved its ancient Splendor, till it was besieged

by *Attila* and the *Lombards*, who ruined it. It is now only a little Town, which gives its Name to the neighbouring Gulph; tho' this Gulph is more commonly called *The Gulph of Trieste*.

<sup>15</sup> *Livy* tells us, that in this Year 567, the Slaves of *Apulia* assembled together, and caused some Disorders in the Province. *Lucius Postumius* was then *Prætor* at *Tarentum*. His *Prætorship* was spent in pursuing Companies of Shepherds and Peasants, who infested the great Roads, and publick Pastures, with their Robberies. Seven thousand of them were taken, and put to Death. But several of them found Means to escape.



Year of *R O M E* DLXVIII. *APP. CLAUDI-  
US PULCHER,  
M. SEMPRONI-  
US TUDITA-  
NUS, Consuls.* shew them, he took private Methods to increase his Revenue, and the Number of his Subjects. He raised with great Rigour the tenth Penny upon all Lands, and the Customs on all Merchandizes imported into his Dominions. Several Mines of Metal were continued to be worked, by his Orders; and new ones opened in several Places. And in order to repair the Loss of the many Men who had been killed in the late Wars, he increased the Number of Marriages in his Territories, and took Care himself of the Education of Children of free Condition. In order to re-people *Macedon*, he removed a great Number of *Thracians* thither. And the single Point in view in all this was to make Preparations for revenging himself on the Republick which had reduced him to so unworthy a Subjection. Indeed, if we judge by Appearances only, we shall conclude, that his Son *Perseus* was the Author of the second War *Macedon* entered into with *Rome*. But in Reality, *Philip* was the first Cause of it. The Father laid the Plan, made the chief Preparations for it, and left it as his Legacy to his Son, to put the Scheme in Execution.

THE Senate of *Rome* did not penetrate into the Bottom of the Designs the *Macedonian* concealed under just Demonstrations of Dependence and Submission. Nevertheless, they plainly saw that it was necessary to humble *Philip*, and keep him submissive; and they had a fair Opportunity for it, from the Complaints which several Nations often brought to *Rome* against him. The *Perræbi*, among others, and the *Thessalians*, represented to the Senate, That the King of *Macedon* unjustly detained several Cities which belonged to them. *Eumenes* made a great Noise about the Cities of *Thrace*, which *Philip* had seized by Artifice, and the great Number of their Inhabitants which he had removed into *Macedon*. The *Atthamans* also complained, not that *Philip* had taken some Cities from them; but that he kept all their whole Kingdom in Thralldom to him. The Citizens of *Ænos* and *Maronea* demanded the Restitution of their Cities from which *Philip* had driven them, for having opposed the Garrisons which he would have brought into them by Force. All these Complaints lessened the Reputation of the King of *Macedon* at *Rome*, insomuch that his Name became odious there. And, proud as he was, he sent an Embassy to *Rome*, to purge himself of the Violences of which he was accused. The Senate gave Audience to both Parties; but did not think fit to pronounce, till they heard *Philip* himself. So great was the Glory of the Republick! Kings, and the most famous Nations in the World, waited for the Decrees of her Tribunal with Dread!

*Livy, B. 39.  
c. 25.*

§. VIII. THE *Conscript Fathers* thought it proper to send three Commissioners to *Greece*, to examine into the State of *Philip's* Affairs, in a general Assembly of the Parties concerned, and to pronounce a definitive Sentence there. The Head of the Commission was *Q. Cecilius Metellus*, and his Associates were *M. Babius Tamphilus*, and *T. Sempronius*. When they came into *Greece*, they chose *The Valley of Tempe* for the Place where the Accusers and Accused were to meet; and *Philip* was cited to appear there, before three Citizens of *Rome*. What a Mortification to a Great King! This was the Time for him to have broken out, and delivered himself from Oppression; but the State of his Affairs would not yet suffer him to renew the War. It was necessary therefore to comply, and submit to be judged. The Seats in the Place where they met were so disposed, that the *Roman* Commissioners sat uppermost, as Judges, the Accusers next, and *Philip* in the lowest Place, as a Criminal. The Ambassadors of the several Nations which complained of the *Macedonian*, expressed themselves, some with Severity, and others with Moderation, according to their Passions, and the Injuries they had received. The Article that seemed most difficult to determine was that of the Cities which *Philip* had taken in *Thessaly*. Indeed the Consul *Acilius* had formerly given the *Macedonian* Leave to invade those Places in *Thessaly* which belonged to the *Ætolians*. But the Point was, to know whether *Philippopolis*<sup>16</sup>, *Tricca*<sup>17</sup>,

<sup>16</sup> The *Philippopolis* here spoken of was the same City as *Philippi* in *Thessaly*, near *Pharsalia*; as we shall have Occasion to observe, when we come to speak of the Defeat of *Brutus* and *Cassius*. We must take Care not to confound it with two other

Cities of the same Name; one in *Thrace*, and the other in *Macedon*.

<sup>17</sup> We have spoken of *Tricca* and *Phaloria*, in the preceding Volumes.



*Phaloria*, and *Eurymenæ*<sup>18</sup>, had always belonged to the *Ætolians*, or had been by them usurped from the *Thessalians*. The same Question was also started, in relation to some Cities of *Perræbia* and *Magnesia*. The *Ætolians* who had seized them, had confounded every thing as much as possible, in order to unite them to their Dominions. And with respect to their Recovery of their Cities, supposing that *Philip* was to restore them, the *Thessalians* offered several Points to the Commissioners, which deserved their Consideration. The Macedonian, said they, *will not restore our Cities to us, till he has taken all the Men and Ammunition out of them. How many of our Inhabitants has he caused us to lose, partly by the Wars, and partly by obliging them to go into Macedon? He has very lately removed from hence five hundred young Men of Distinction, whom he has forced to serve him in Offices beneath their Birth. Philip's Design in this has been to make our Places desolate, and render them useless to us, in case we should force him to restore them. Thebes was to us a maritime City of great Importance. Many Merchant Ships resorted thither, and enriched us with their Traffick. But Philip has turned this Commerce into another Channel. He has removed it to Demetrias, one of his own Cities. Nay, the King has not any Regard to the Laws of Nations. We sent Ambassadors to Titus Flamininus; and Philip prepared an Ambuscade for them. He has so terrified Thessaly with his Oppressions that we scarce dare pronounce his Name, either in our private Assemblies, or general Diets. Is this then the Liberty which Rome designed to procure for Greece? One ambitious Neighbour destroys the good Effects of your Victories. He even deprives us of the Liberty of complaining. Nay, the very Sighs which we drop here, will be severely punished, if you don't, by your Regulations, stop the Vengeance of an enraged King. In vain will you have conquered us, in vain will you have restored us our Liberty, if you do not restrain his Audaciousness. Philip is like an untamed Horse, which cannot be restrained or governed, without a strong Rein.*

THIS Speech was very severe; but the King was forced to swallow it, bitter as it was. The *Perræbi* spoke next. They pretended that the City formerly called <sup>19</sup>*Gonnocondylum*, and whose Name *Philip* had changed into that of *Olympias*, belonged to them; and demanded the Restitution of it, as well as of *Malæa*, and <sup>20</sup>*Ericinium*. After them, the *Athamanes* made their Demands. *Philip* had made himself Master of their whole Nation; and they insisted on being set free from the Laws and Jurisdiction of the *Macedonian*. Last of all, *Philip* spoke; and did not demean himself so far as to make an Apology for his Conduct. Tho' accused, he affected to be an Accuser likewise. He demanded of the *Thessalians*, the City of <sup>21</sup>*Menelais* in *Dolopia*, which they had taken from him by Violence. He complained that the *Thessalians* had seized <sup>22</sup>*Petra*, a City of *Pieria*, belonging to his Dominions. He demanded the Restitution of the Cities of <sup>23</sup>*Xinia* and *Parachelois*<sup>24</sup>, one of which evidently belonged to the *Ætolians*, and the other to the *Athamanes*; but which the *Thessalians* had seized. And to this short Account of his Pretensions, *Philip* added a short Vindication of himself, from the Violences laid to his Charge. *It is ridiculous*, said he, *to accuse me of having ruined the Port of Thebes. Am I responsible for the odd Fancies of Merchants, who chuse what Ports they like best, for landing their Goods? Is it agreeable to my Character, or Dignity, to lay Snares for Ambassadors? How many have the Thessalians sent to the Roman Generals, and the Senate of Rome, against me? And did I ever insult them, even in Words? An Accusation of this kind falls heavy*

<sup>18</sup> So far as we can judge by *Livy's* Account, *Eurymenæ* belonged to *Thessaly*. He shews, that this City stood near *Tricca* and *Phaloria*, two Cities of that Province.

<sup>19</sup> All we can say of *Gonnocondylum* is, that it was one of the Cities of the *Perræbi*, in one of the little Cantons of *Thessaly*.

<sup>20</sup> *Ericinium* was near *Malæa*, a City of *Phthiotia*, near *The Maliac Gulph*.

<sup>21</sup> The City of *Menelais*, and the Canton in which it stood, belonged to *Thessaly*.

<sup>22</sup> *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Paulus Æmilius*, speaks of *Petra*, as a City in the Neighbourhood of *Perræbia*. Nevertheless, *Livy* places it in *Pieria*, a

little Province of *Macedon*. The Neighbourhood of these two Cantons, was what occasioned these different Accounts of its Situation.

<sup>23</sup> The City of *Xinia* here disputed between *Philip* and the *Ætolians*, probably bordered on *Ætolia*, and the Dominions of this King. *Stephen of Byzantium* speaks of another City of the same Name in *Thessaly*.

<sup>24</sup> As for the City of *Parachelois*, its Name seems to imply that it stood near the River *Achelous*, which watered *Acarnania*, and *Athamania*. *Strabo* also mentions another *Parachelois*, in *Æstiotis*, near the same River.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVIII.  
APP. CLAUDI-  
US PULCHER,  
M. SEMPRONI-  
US TUDITA-  
NUS, Consuls.

Liv. B. 39.  
c. 25.



Year of only on the Accusers. They are like the Slaves who have newly shaken off their  
 R O M E Chains, and make themselves amends for the Torment they suffered under their Mas-  
 DLXVIII. ters, by letting loose their Tongues in Invectives against them. The Torrent over-  
 APP. CLAUDI- flows its Bounds. Hence the Audaciousness, and the monstrous Liberties, of the  
 US PULCHER, Thessalians. But the Sun they insult is not yet set. These last Words enraged the  
 M SEMPRONI- Romans themselves; they took them to be a kind of Threatening, That the Ma-  
 US TUDITA- cedonian would renew Hostilities in Greece. So that they caused a murmuring  
 nus, Consuls. Noise in the Assembly, which interrupted the King's Discourse. Nevertheless, Phi-  
 Ligy, B 39. lip took Courage, and went on thus. The Perreæbi reproach me, some with invad-  
 c. 26. ing their whole Kingdom; others with seizing only some of their Cities. But have  
 I done this without the Consent of the Romans? Did not Acilius formerly give  
 me Leave to conquer the Countries of these Enemies, for my own Use? This is a  
 Present for which I am indebted to the Liberality of Rome. My Benefactors in-  
 deed may take away their Gifts again; but can they do it without Disgrace? Will  
 they sacrifice a powerful Friend to useless Allies? Or, if they should, will these  
 People long preserve the Liberty which Rome has restored them? I will venture to  
 affirm, that the ill Use they already make of it, forebodes its approaching End.

As soon as Philip had finished, the Roman Commissioners pronounced the fol-  
 lowing Decree; which related only to the Quarrels between the King, and the  
 Thessalians, Perreæbi, and Athamanes. Our Will and Pleasure is, That all the  
 Macedonian Garrisons evacuate the Places they possess in Thessaly, Perreæbia, and  
 Athamania; and That the Kingdom of Macedon be reduced to its ancient Limits.  
 As for the other mutual Complaints of the King and his Adversaries, we will de-  
 termine them by Course of Law.

§.IX. THIS Decree filled the Heart of Philip with inexpressible Rage. But the  
 Commissioners did not stop there. From Tempe, they removed to Thessalonica,  
 there to determine the Affairs of Thrace. And here the Scene was changed.  
 Two great Kings, one of Pergamus, and the other of Macedon, contended for the  
 Possession of two Cities of Thrace. The first was Ænos, or Ænum, situated on  
 the Ægean Sea. The second was called Maronea, a City on the same Coast as  
 Ænos, at the Mouth of the River <sup>25</sup> Scænus. Eumenes did not come in Per-  
 son, to support his Pretensions against Philip; but sent Deputies, who spoke thus  
 in his Behalf. If Rome is resolved to put Ænos and Maronea in an absolute State  
 of Independence, Eumenes is not so rash as to oppose the Will of a Republick which  
 he honours. But then Care ought to be taken, that Liberty be so restored to these  
 two Cities, as to guard them against all Attempts. But if, on the contrary, Rome  
 is not averse to their being subject to a Sovereign Prince, the King of Pergamus  
 insists that his Right is better than that of the King of Macedon. These two Places  
 belonged to King Antiochus, before his Defeat. Is it not then just, that a  
 Prince who always adhered to the Romans, against Philip, should enjoy the Spoils  
 of the Syrian, before him? The King of Pergamus has always made War for you  
 in Asia. And if you despise the Fruits of your Victories, on whom can you more  
 equitably bestow them, than on a King who has merited them, both by his own Ser-  
 vices, and those of his Father? Nay, the Question has been already determined in  
 Favour of Eumenes; by the ten Commissioners Rome sent to settle the Affairs of  
 Asia and Greece. They gave the King of Pergamus, the Chersonesus and Lyfima-  
 chia; and don't Ænos and Maronea belong to one or the other of them? Their  
 Neighbourhood to them is a Proof of it. But as to Macedon, these two Cities  
 are so far from it, that it is hard to conceive, under what Pretence Philip could  
 seize them. Nevertheless, he maintains Garrisons in them. The Deputies of the  
 two Cities are here. Examine them; and learn from their Mouths the miserable  
 Condition to which they have been reduced.

IMMEDIATELY the Envoys of Maronea and Ænos were brought into the As-  
 sembly; and they declared, That not their Citadels only, as usual, but their Cities,  
 were filled with Macedonian Soldiers; That these Strangers disturbed the publick  
 Deliberations; That the Macedonians alone governed there; That those who were  
 zealous for the publick Good, were either banished, or forced to give way to the

<sup>25</sup> We know nothing more of the River Scænus, than that Mela says it watered the Territory of Ma-  
 ronea, a City of Thrace, on the Ægean Sea.



opposite Faction; and lastly, That according to the Bounds *Fabius Labeo* set to *Macedon*, *Philip's* Dominion over their Cities was a real Usurpation. The great *R O M E* Road, said they, which ran by the Mountains of Thrace, was the Boundary which *DLXVIII.* was to divide the two Countries. But *Philip* has turned this great Road, and carried it as far as *Maronea*. These were close and legal Depositions. And the *APP. CLAUDI-* *Macedonian*, in order to answer them, laid aside a little of his Pride, and endeavoured to touch the Hearts of the Commissioners. *I perceive*, said he, *that I am* not to contend only with the Inhabitants of *Ænos* and *Maronea*, and *Eumenes*, but likewise with you, Romans, whom I have long found determined not to do me Justice. All the Demands I have made, have been rejected by you, notwithstanding all that I have done for you. In the *Ætolian War* I besieged *Lamia*; and when the City was ready to fall into my Hands, the Consul *Acilius* ordered me to raise the Siege. Then, in order to make me Amends for this Disappointment, he suffered me to turn my Arms against *Perroebia*, *Thessaly*, and *Athamania*. But no sooner had I taken some Places there, which were rather Castles than Cities, than by your Decree I was stripped of them again. And now, a new Enemy starts up, which is *Eumenes*. He pretends to have a better Right than I, to the Spoils of *Antiochus*; and desires that *Ænos* and *Maronea* may be added to his Dominions. But does he consider, that by making War for Rome, he in effect made it only for himself? Without your Arms, his Father had lost his Crown, and the Son had never ascended the Throne. He has been interested himself in every thing he has done for the Republick. And yet how liberally has she rewarded him? Whilst I, who preferred an Alliance with you, before one with *Antiochus*, have been continually ill used by you. That powerful Monarch pressed me to join my Forces with his. He offered me three thousand \* Talents, fifty Ships of War, and the Property of all the Places which I could conquer in Greece. Nevertheless, my Attachment to you was immoveable. Before the Romans arrived, I declared my self an Enemy to *Antiochus*. I made War as a Subaltern, in Conjunction with your Generals. I obeyed their Orders. I led the *Scipio's* cross *Macedon* and *Thrace*, to the Confines of Europe and Asia. I levelled the Roads for them, built them Bridges over the Rivers, and supplied their Armies with Provisions. And what has been my Reward for all this? You have taken from me the Places which I took at my own Expence and Hazard; and *Eumenes* is now come to dispute my Right to two inconsiderable Cities, which are allowed on all hands to have formerly belonged to *Macedon*. In Reality, he does not demand *Antiochus's* Spoils, but mine. And under what Pretence? Why, truly this: He says, that the ten Roman Deputies have given him *Ænos* and *Maronea*. Let then the Deed of Gift be read. How does it run? We grant to *Eumenes*, the *Chersonesus* and *Lysimachia*. Do you find *Ænos* and *Maronea* there? Shall then the King of *Pergamus* obtain of you, what he could not get of the ten Commissioners? If so, pray let me hear upon what Foot I am at Rome. Do you take me for an Enemy? If you do, Go on as you have begun. But if not, if you at all regard me as a Friend or Ally, I beseech you not to think I deserve so great an Injury. These Words a little moved the three Deputies. They weakened their Prejudices, and their Hearts were softened; and the Decree they passed was more moderate than the former. It was this: That if the Commissioners had granted *Ænos* and *Maronea* to the King of *Pergamus*, these Cities should return to him; That if the King of *Macedon* had conquered them, they should continue in his Hands; and That the Senate of Rome should determine this Question; but That *Philip* should provisionally draw his Garrisons out of them. But this Temper did not appease the King's Resentments. His Heart burned with Rage against Rome; he only waited for a fit Opportunity to shew it; and he transmitted his Hatred to his Son *Perses*, who retained it till after the Death of his Father; and we shall see it appear hereafter.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVIII.  
APP. CLAUDI-  
US PULCHER,  
M. SEMPRONI-  
US TUDITA  
NUS, Consuls.  
Livy, B. 39.  
c. 28.

\* 581250 l.  
Sterl. Arbuth.

Livy, ibid.

Livy, B. 39.  
c. 29.

§. X. INDEED Rome did not suspect that *Macedon* could ever be in a Condition to hold out against her Power a second time. Her Attention was wholly fixed on the Wars in *Spain*, and *Liguria*. *L. Manlius*, at his Return from *Spain*, had brought back great Riches, which he had acquired by great Victories. He had a Right to demand a Triumph, after having beaten the *Celtiberians* in a pitched Battle, near <sup>26</sup> *Calaguris*, made two thousand of them Prisoners of War, and taken

<sup>26</sup> *Calaguris*, now known by the Name of *Calaborra*, stood in the extreme Parts of *Navarre*, on the Banks of the *Èbro*.



Year of their Camp. It was allowed, that the brave *Pro-Prætor* had deserved all military *R O M E* Honours. But it was grown customary at *Rome*, to grant Triumphs only to Generals who brought back their victorious Troops from their Provinces, or had entirely settled their Provinces in Peace. Whereas *Manlius* was forced to leave his Army in *Hither Spain*, where he had commanded, for his Successor; and the Revolters were not entirely quieted there, notwithstanding their Losses. So that he was honoured only with a little Triumph, or *Ovation*. There were carried before him fifty two Crowns of Gold, a hundred and twenty two Pounds \* weight of that Metal, and sixteen thousand three hundred Pounds † weight of Silver; besides the ten thousand Pounds ‡ weight of Silver, and the eighty Pounds weight † of Gold, which his *Quæstor* was soon to convey to the publick Treasury.

DLXVIII.

APP. CLAUDI-  
US PULCHER,  
M. SEMPRONI-  
US TUDITA-  
NUS, Consuls.

\* 5856 l. Sterl.  
at 4 l. per  
Ounce.

† 48900 l.  
Sterl. at 5 s.  
per Ounce.

‡ 30000 l.  
Sterl.

† 3840 l.  
Sterl.

AND whilst *Manlius* was receiving the Rewards of his Valour, *Calpurnius* and *Quintius*, the new *Prætors* in *Spain*, were there distinguishing themselves by an uncommon Bravery. The two Collegues, one of which had *Hither Spain*, and the other *Further Spain*, for his Province, joined their Troops in <sup>27</sup> *Beturia*. The *Lusitanians*, to the Number of thirty five thousand Men, supported the Revolt in all the Country, and made themselves formidable there. They were advanced as far as *Carpetania* <sup>28</sup>, had posted themselves between *Toledo* and <sup>29</sup> *Hippo*; and there the *Romans* came up with them. Never was there a more perfect Concord than that of the two *Prætors*, or an Emulation more free from Jealousy. They were in sight of the Enemy, when the Battel began. The Forragers of the two Parties met, and engaged. Succours were sent from each Camp, to support the Combatants; first small Detachments, then larger, and at last all the Troops. It was not a regular Battel; but fought in small Parties, and in some Disorder, as in a tumultuous Rencontre. But it must be owned, that the *Spaniards* had all the Advantage in this first Action. The Place and Manner of fighting favoured them. After the *Romans* had lost five thousand Men, they were driven back to their Camp, where they did not spend the whole Night. By favour of the Darkness they decamped, without Noise, for fear of being besieged in their Camp the next Day. Which was a wise Precaution. At Day-break the *Spanish* Army invested the *Roman* Camp, which it found empty. What the *Romans* had left behind them in this precipitate Removal, and the Spoils of the Dead, enriched and armed the *Spanish* Soldiers, who before were but indifferently equipped. As for the *Roman* Army, it came to repose itself a little on the Banks of the *Tagus*, where it encamped. The two Generals made it their Business to repair their diminished Forces, and encourage their Troops, which were disheartened by a Defeat, which affected them the more, because not used to be so treated. By little and little, the *Roman* Army was increased, with the Garrisons that were drawn out of Towns, and the great Number of Auxiliaries which the *Spanish* Allies lent the *Prætors*. With this Augmentation of Forces, the Courage of the *Legionaries* revived; they themselves demanded a new Battel; and their Generals led them on with Joy to the Place whither their Ardour called them. They encamped twelve Miles from the *Tagus*; and then, following the Course of that River, marched on, in Order of Battel, to the Place where the Enemy was encamped. The *Lusitanians* had entrenched themselves on the other Side of the *Tagus*, on the Declivity of an Hill; and there was a large Plain, which reached from their Camp, to the Edge of the Water. This Plain seemed to be made for giving Battel. The River was fordable to the Right and Left; and the *Prætors* passed it, *Calpurnius* to the Right, and *Quintius* to the Left. Nothing had been more easy, than for the *Lusitanians* to have attacked their Enemies in the Disorder which is unavoidable in passing a River; but they lost time in deliberating. Whilst they were holding a Council, and consulting what would be the most proper time to begin the Action, the Troops and Baggage of the *Romans* were brought into the Plain, and the *Roman*

<sup>27</sup> *Beturia* was a Province of *Further Spain*. It lay between the River *Batis*, or *Guadalquivir*, and the *Anar*, or *Guadiana*. *Pliny* divides it into two Parts. The most Western, which lay next to *Portugal*, on the Side of *Seville*, was inhabited by the *Celtæ*, a People who came originally from *Celtic Gaul*. The Eastern Part of it, towards *Cordona*,

was inhabited by the *Turduli*.

<sup>28</sup> See what we have said of the Country of the *Carpetani*, Vol. 3. It is now a Canton of *La Mancha*, in *New Castille*.

<sup>29</sup> We know of no City in *Spain*, which was called *Hippo*. *Livy* places it in the Neighbourhood of *Toledo*.



Army drawn up in Battalia. And then the *Prætors* did not lose time, either in fortifying a Camp, or securing a Retreat. Their Ardour was so great, and Time so little, that they had only Space enough to march up directly to the Enemy, who began to move. The two *Prætorian Legions* founded all their Hopes on Victory. The Generals posted them in the Center, and the Auxiliaries, as well *Latin* as *Spanish*, in the two Wings.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVIII.  
APP. CLAUDI-  
US PULCHER,  
M. SEMPRONI-  
US TUDITA-  
NUS, Consuls.

As soon as the *Lusitanians* perceived from their Eminence, that the *Roman* Army was in Motion, they marched out of their Camp, and ran to begin the Attack, before their Enemies should be formed. The first Onset was terrible on both Sides. The *Romans*, on one hand, were very desirous of wiping off the Shame of their late Defeat; and the *Lusitanians*, on the other, very ardent to maintain their Glory, and preserve their Advantage. They fell on the two *Legions*, and made inexpressible Efforts to break into them. But these two Bodies were impregnable. Then the Enemy formed themselves into a pointed Battalion, and endeavoured to break into the *Legionaries* that way; and these bold Men were scarce able to resist such uncommon Bravery. So many Enemies, and in so close Order, followed after one another, to penetrate into them, that the Center began to be broken. This *Calpurnius* perceived, and sent two <sup>30</sup> Lieutenant-Generals to encourage the tottering *Legions*. *On you*, said they to them, *depend all the Hopes of Rome in Spain. If you give way, we shall never see Italy again, or even recover the Banks of the Tagus.* And in this common Danger, these two Officers did the Duty of common Soldiers. *Calpurnius* at the Head of the Cavalry, on one Side, and *Quintius* on the other, went to attack in the two Flanks, the pointed Battalion, which redoubled its Efforts against the main Body of the *Romans*. *Calpurnius* especially, and the Squadron he commanded, distinguished themselves in the Fight. They penetrated so far towards the Point of the Battalion, that they could scarce be discovered from the Enemy; and the Ardour of these brave Troopers communicated itself to the Infantry. The *Legionary Centurions* made their Soldiers take Notice of the Bravery of *Calpurnius* and his Horse. And then a noble Emulation seized them. *March on*, said they to their Ensigns, *advance, and attack the Enemy.* At these Words, the *Legionaries* fell on the *Lusitanians*; and, like an impetuous Torrent which carries all before it, they bore down every thing that opposed them, and with their Shouts spread Terror every where. How then could the Enemy hold out against Men who were long immoveable, and now fell on them, with an Impetuosity not to be resisted? Nothing remained, but to regain their Camp, and avoid Death by Flight. But they neither escaped in their Flight, or in the Camp. The *Roman* Cavalry followed the Fugitives close, covered the Ground with them, and entered, mixed with them, into the Camp. The Battel was renewed with the fresh Troops which were left to guard the Entrenchments; and the *Roman* Cavalry dismounted, and sustained the Attack, till a *Legion* arrived. Soon after, the whole Army followed, and the Camp was immediately full of *Romans*. Then a terrible Slaughter was made of the *Lusitanians*; and in a word, out of thirty five thousand Men, only four thousand escaped. Two Thirds of this small Remains of so great an Army, posted themselves on a Mountain, and the rest rambled about the Plains without any Arms. The *Romans* took from the Enemy an hundred and thirty three Colours, and spent the Night in their Camp; because they had not time to pitch one for themselves. The *Romans* lost but six hundred of the *Legionaries* and *Italian* Auxiliaries; and of the *Spanish* Auxiliaries, there were not more killed than about an hundred and fifty. But as the Officers had exposed themselves more than the common Soldiers, there were five *Tribunes* among the Dead. A great and memorable Action, which pacified *Spain* for a time! But how could any lasting Tranquillity be expected, among a People who idolized their Liberty, and were continually inured to Arms? The *Roman* Generals assembled their Troops on the Field of Battel, congratulated them on their brave Conduct, and distributed the Rewards of Valour among them. The Cavalry were most commended, and best rewarded. *Calpurnius* gave those who followed him, fine Furniture for their Horses; and

<sup>30</sup> The Name of one of these Lieutenant-Generals was *Titus Quintilius Varus*, and that of the other *Juventinus Thalna*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVIII.

APP. CLAUDI-  
US PULCHER,  
M SEMPRONI-  
US TUDITA-  
NUS, Consuls.

★ Worth  
33000 l. Sterl.  
at 5 s. per  
Ounce.

*Quintius* distributed among his Squadrons, Collars, Bracelets, and Clasps of Gold and Silver. Other Presents were made to some *Centurions* in the Army, and particularly to those of the two *Legions* who had distinguished themselves by their Courage. At their Return to *Rome*, the *Prætors* themselves received the Reward due for one of the most glorious Victories *Rome* had gained in *Spain*. A Triumph was granted them, without any Opposition. *Calpurnius Piso* made his Procession into *Rome* some Days before that of his Collegue; but the latter was not long after him. There were carried before each of them eighty three Crowns, and \* eleven thousand Pounds weight of Silver.

§. XI. IN *Italy*, the revolted *Ligures* gave the *Consuls* as much Exercise, as the *Spanish* Rebels did the *Prætors*. After having made the usual Levies, and drawn Lots for their Provinces, and for the Right of presiding at the next Elections, *Sempronius Tuditanus*, and *Claudius Pulcher*, set out for their Province. The former carried the War into the Country of the *Apuans*, in the East of *Liguria*; the latter into the Canton of the *Ingauni*, more to the West. *Sempronius* came first to *Pisa*, and from thence into the flat Country. There, after he had ravaged the Fields, and pillaged the Castles, he made more Use of Fire than the Sword, to punish the Rebels. In their Forests they had always found Retreats, into which the *Roman* Armies could not penetrate. In order therefore to make himself a Way in so close a Country, the *Consul* burnt down the Woods, and made a large Opening from the River *Macra*, to the Port of *Luna*. By that means, these Robbers were forced to go and live in the Caves in the Rocks; and durst no more appear in the Plain. And the *Consul Claudius* made War with as much Success among the *Ingauni*. He fought several Battels with them, and always had the Advantage. He took six Cities from them, and carried away a great Number of Prisoners. And lastly, he put to Death forty three of the Heads of the Rebels; and had pursued his Conquests farther, if his ambitious Views had not made him return too soon to the Capital.

THO' it had fallen by Lot to his Collegue, to preside in the Great Elections, he hastened thither to prevent him. *P. Claudius* his Brother was one of the Candidates for the *Consulship* the next Year; and he thought it necessary to assist him against his Competitors, who were very great Men. They were *L. Æmilius*, *Q. Fabius Labeo*, and *Serv. Sulpicius Galba*; all as illustrious *Patricians* as the *Claudii*. Besides, this was the first time the *Consul's* Brother appeared for the first Dignity. Whereas his Competitors had formerly been Candidates for it, and missed it. The Candidates were four in all; and the People could chuse but one *Patrician*. The second *Consulship* belonged to a *Plebeian*. Great Efforts were therefore necessary, in order to prevail over Rivals who could not be so often rejected without Disgrace. But *Claudius* had inherited the Spirit of his Family. He was enterprizing, even to Rashness. The People were all inclined to give *Q. Fabius Labeo* the *Patrician Consulship*; and *L. Porcius Licinus*, the *Plebeian*. But what is too hard to be compassed by Intrigues, when carried on by a factious Man in Power! When the People were assembled in the *Campus Martius*, the *Consul* appeared without his *Lictors*, led his Brother by the Hand thro' all the Ranks, begging Suffrages, flattering some, and stopping others. The Senators murmured at a Proceeding so inconsistent with the Gravity of a *Consul*, and the Freedom of Elections; but all in vain. If *Claudius*, said they, so well remembers that he is a Brother, ought he not also to remember that he is a *Consul*? It is his Business to sit upon the Tribunal, and not to mix with the Crowd, and appear active in an Affair in which he ought not to interest himself? The *Tribunes of the People* also had several Conferences on this Occasion. Some commended, others blamed him; insomuch that the latter were for breaking up the Assembly, the former for continuing it. But notwithstanding all this, the *Consul* still went on; and at length prevailed. *P. Claudius Pulcher*, and *L. Porcius Licinus*, were declared *Consuls*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIX.

P. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER, L.  
PORCIUS LI-  
CINUS, Con-  
suls.

The latter had but two Competitors, both moderate Men, who used no Violence to disturb the Election. Ambitious Factions were not common in *Rome*, in any but the *Claudian* Family. Then the *Comitia* chose six *Prætors*, as usual; two to hear the Causes of the *Romans* between themselves, and between them and Foreigners; one for *Sicily*; another for *Sardinia*; and two to succeed *Calpurnius* and *Quintius*, in the two Provinces in *Spain*.



§. XII. IN the first Months of the two new *Consuls*, there arose a strange Spirit of Contention in *Rome*. Peace reigned in the *Levant*. The Wars in *Spain* were suspended for the present. *Liguria* was almost subdued. But in this general Calm, it was difficult for restless Men to preserve the same Tranquillity at *Rome*, which they enjoyed Abroad. They shifted their Passions. That Love of Glory, which they had sought by Arms, was now succeeded by a warm Ambition for Offices in the State. The *Consul Claudius* had given the Example; and it was contagious. The two *Prætors*, which were to continue in *Rome* to determine Causes there, were no sooner chosen by Lot, but one of them died. This was *C. Decimius*, whose Province it was to hear the Causes between the *Citizens* of *Rome*, and Foreigners. And the Vehemence, with which the Place of the Deceased was canvassed for, is not to be expressed. There were three Candidates, two of which had been *Ædiles* the last Year, and the third was actually the High-Priest of *Jupiter*. And afterwards a fourth Candidate started up, who was most zealous in his Intrigues. He was already appointed to be *Curule Ædile*; and therefore he did not put on a white Habit, as Candidates generally did. His Party was the strongest; and the two first of the Competitors despaired of succeeding against him. So that he had no Rival left but the *Flamen Dialis*. However, *Fulvius Flaccus*, which was the Name of him who was most zealous for the *Prætorship*, met with some Opposition from some *Tribunes of the People*. They thought he could not lawfully possess at the same time two *Curule Magistracies*; they being incompatible. The *Consul Porcius* joined with the *Tribunes*, and was against putting *Fulvius's* Name among those of the Candidates. In order to confirm his Opinion by the Authority of the Senate, he represented to them, *That it was contrary to Law, and the good Order established in the Republick, for a Man, who was Curule Ædile elect, to stand for the Prætorship.* The *Conscript Fathers* gave him leave to treat with *Fulvius*, in order to prevail on him to suffer the People assembled in *Comitia*, to come to a free Election of a *Prætor*, in the room of *Decimius*. But *Fulvius* only gave him this ambiguous Answer. *I will do nothing unworthy of my Character.* And *Porcius* concluded from this indeterminate Answer, that he would acquiesce in the Will of the Senate, and desist. But the Case was otherwise. The *Comitia* were assembled; and *Fulvius* canvassed with more Fury than ever. He accused the Senate and *Consul*, of desiring to hinder his reaping the Benefit of the good Will of the Commons to him. He earnestly demanded the *Prætorship*, and offered to renounce the *Curule Ædileship*, though actually nominated to it. *Porcius* saw, that the People inclined to satisfy the Petitioner, and nominate him *Prætor*. And he assembled the Senate in haste, and upon his Remonstrance an Order was made, that the *Consul* should oppose in the *Comitia*, the Pretensions of the ambitious *Fulvius*. *Porcius* therefore harangued the People. But the Candidate found more Favour among the People, than the Head of the Republick; and *Fulvius* even ventured to return the Assembly thanks, for having shewn more Regard to his Interests, than to the Representations of the Senate, and *Consuls*. To which he added, *Depend upon it, I shall be able to maintain the good Will you have for me, to the last.* And the People were so pleased with these Words, that they would have immediately nominated him *Prætor*, if *Porcius* would have suffered his Name to be put among the Candidates. But the *Consul* still opposed it. Upon this, Disputes arose between the *Tribunes of the People*, and *Porcius*; and at last, the Senate put an end to the Affair, by a very prudent Decree. They ordered, That for this present Year, there should be but one *Prætor* at *Rome*, who should discharge the Offices of both. By this means the *Fathers* remedied the Abuse, and prevented the dangerous Effects, which the Ambition of this one Man was going to produce. *Fulvius* had like to have raised a Quarrel between the Senate, a *Consul*, and the People, by his Obstinacy.

§. XIII. AND the Desires of arriving at the first Offices, appeared yet more remarkably, when the *Censors* came to be chosen. The Reader must have observed, on what Foot the *Censorship* was at *Rome*. It may be called the highest Point of Honour, and all the Authority of the several Magistrates who governed the Republick, may be said to have been united in it. The People, the *Roman Knights*, the Senate, the Nobility, and the private *Citizens*, were all subject to the Corrections



Year of  
ROME  
DLXIX.  
P. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER, L.  
PORCIUS LI-  
CINUS, Con-  
suls.

tions of the two *Censors*, who were appointed to inspect the Conduct of Men of all Orders in the State. It was the Business of these Overseers to observe and punish, all Faults in the publick Administration, the ill Government of Magistrates, the Disorders in private Families, all Transgressions against the Law, and all Corruption of Manners. One was chosen out of the *Patricians*, and the other out of the *Plebeians*. And these Dignities were never given but to Men of known Prudence, and a constant Regularity of Life. Grave and serious Magistrates, who were zealous for the publick Good, and of an austere Virtue, if they had passed through the chief Employments, were preferred to the *Censorship* before old *Consuls*, who had nothing to recommend them but their Victories. And now *Rome* had more Occasion for rigid *Censors* than ever. A Corruption of Manners prevailed; all Discipline and Policy was relaxed; and it was to be feared the Evil would still grow worse. The Vices of *Asia* began to be introduced into *Rome*. Feasting took the Place of Temperance; and Luxury, and Expence in Furniture and Dress, that of Frugality in both. The Modesty of the People began to diminish; the *Bacchanalians* had made violent Attacks upon it. Riches, Plenty, and Idleness, after so many Wars, began to threaten the Ruin of the Virtue of the *Romans*; and *Rome's* chief Resource was in the *Censors* she was going to chuse. It is said, that among the *Patricians*, the two *Scipio's*, *Publius* and *Lucius*, stood for the *Censorship*; which, if true, *Scipio Africanus* must have been yet alive. However, this at least is certain, that *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *C. Manlius Vulso*, *L. Furius Purpureo*, and *Scipio Asiaticus*, were Candidates for it. The *Plebeian* ones were *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *Tiberius Marcus Sempronius*, and the famous *M. Porcius Cato*. The Character of the latter seemed to make it certain, that he would be chosen. *Cato's* Merit of every kind was superior to that of his Rivals; and excepting only the eldest *Scipio*, who was probably now dead, *Porcius Cato* seemed alone to possess all those good Qualities, which Nature generally divides among several great Men. There was no Talent, fit either for publick or private Life, which he had not received by Nature, or acquired. He was a great Soldier; and it is difficult to say, whether he most excelled, in conducting a military Enterprize with Prudence, or in putting it in execution with Valour. He was a great Statesman, and judged very right of what was most for the Interest of his Country, both at Home and Abroad. He was a great Orator, and always swayed the publick Assemblies as he pleased, whether he accused, or defended; whether he gave his Advice in the *Comitia*, or inveighed in the Senate. His Harangues and Pleadings were published, and survived him. He was a learned Historian, and enquired into the Origin of the Cities of *Italy*, especially of *Latium*. Nor did *Cato* neglect the Study even of rural Affairs. The Book he has written upon that Subject, and which is still preserved, puts us in mind of those Times, when the *Romans* went from the Head of Armies, to the Plough-Tail. If it cannot be said that *Cato* tilled his Ground with his own Hands, it is certain he loved Agriculture, and made it his Business. Nevertheless, we find great Defects in him, as a publick Person. He was extravagantly severe upon the Faults of other Men. He was not only a declared Enemy to Vice; but loved to insult the Vicious. And his Reproaches were generally bitter, and poignant, and sometimes false. He was not only ambitious, and jealous, but carried those Passions to excess; and retained the Prejudices he had once imbibed against People, even to Obstinacy. As a private Person he lived frugally; but it was only to lay up Money. His seeming Equity did not go so far, as to prevent his taking Usury. In publick he was eternally extolling Continnence; in private, he made a beautiful Slave Minister to his Pleasures. But after all, his Merit and his Virtues were publickly known, and his Vices were concealed. By this means he acquired the Esteem of a Multitude, who thought him blameless. So much Dissimulation, joined with so much Eloquence, were proper Talents for imposing upon the World. He was four and forty times accused before the People, and as often acquitted. And now that he stood for the *Censorship*, all the Commonalty were for him. His Rigour, which made the Nobles fear him, was thought Matter of Merit by the People. All his Rivals but one, joined together to exclude him; But the Affection of the People prevailed. Nay, he had also Interest enough to get him of the *Patrician* Candidates chosen with him, whose Temper was most suitable to his own. This was *L. Valerius Flaccus*.

*Plin. Life of Cato.*

*Livy, B. 35. c. 41.*



*Flaccus*, who had formerly been *Consul* with him. *Cato* said publicly, that if he was not seconded by *Valerius*, the good Designs he had towards a publick Reformation, would prove abortive. They were therefore both raised to the Dignity of *Censor* together.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIX.

P. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER, L.  
PORCIUS LI-  
CINUS, Con-  
suls.

§. XIV. THE Nobility trembled when they saw *Cato* in this eminent Post. They fully expected, That his *Censorship* would be a severe one; That he would reform the Senate, and openly declare himself against the *Patrician* Order; and That Prosecutions for Immoralities would become frequent. And they were not mistaken. The two Collegues made it their first Business to draw up a new List of the Senate; and degraded seven of this illustrious Body. The Degradation that made most Noise, was that of *L. Quintius*, the Brother of the Great *Flaminius*. This Senator, who was noble by Birth, had been a *Consul*. Nevertheless, *Cato* degraded him from the Rank of a Senator; and the Charge he had against him was so heavy a one, that his Brother, if he had been *Censor*, would not have been able to have kept him his Place in the Senate. *Cato* himself became his Accuser before the People, to whom he appealed from his Sentence; and from the Speech the *Censor* made against him, the last Historians have brought to Light the Truth of the Fact, which many Writers had disguised. These said, that *L. Quintius* had only been too fond of a Woman of *Placentia*, whom he loved. But is it not more reasonable to believe his Accuser? Durst *Cato* to have invented a Fable, before a great Nation, purely to lay the Foundation for a solemn Accusation? According to *Cato* himself then, *Quintius* had in his *Consulship* conceived a detestable Passion for a young *Carthaginian* of high Birth, named *Philip*. And without any Regard to Decency, Honour, or his own Dignity, had carried with him this infamous Pathick into *Cisalpine Gaul*, where he was going to command. The Licentiousness of the young *Carthaginian* increased by Familiarity; and one Day, at a Repast, when the *Consul* was warm with Wine, *Philip* reproached him, for having brought him from *Rome*, when some Shows of Gladiators were just going to be presented. *What a Pleasure*, said he, *would it be to me, to see Men cut one another's Throats! I never yet saw any one die of a violent Death; and my Complaisance for you has only increased my Curiosity.* Upon which the base *Consul* immediately resolved to satisfy it. News was brought him, That a *Boian* Lord, followed by his Children, had fled for Refuge to his Camp; and That after having renounced the Party of the Rebels, this Lord desired to see the General, to put himself under his Protection. He was introduced into the *Prætorium*, and found *Quintius* at Table drunk with Pleasure, and with Wine. At this Sight, the *Consul* addressed himself to his Favourite thus. *Here is now a good Opportunity to make you full Amends for the Loss of the Sight of the Gladiators, which you have foregone for my sake.* And then, upon the first Signal of the *Carthaginian*, the *Consul* seized his Sword, which hung at the Back of the Couch, on which he was sitting, and struck the *Gaul* over the Head. The *Boian*, covered with Blood, did what he could to get out of the General's Tent, to implore the Succour and Fidelity of the *Romans*. But *Quintius* pursued him, ran his Sword through his Body, and left him dead. Perhaps <sup>31</sup> *Cato* in his Oration <sup>32</sup> might a little exaggerate the Circumstances of the Fact: But can it be said, that he altered the main part of it? The Crime was very heinous. And therefore the Accuser insisted, That before the Accused purged himself, he should give Sureties. *If he confesses*, adds the *Censor*, *that he did the Action for which I have punished him, he cannot complain of the Disgrace I have put upon him, though he has been a Consul. Can my Severity against an unworthy Magistrate, whose double Drunkenness made*

*Valerius Antias; Cicero in L. de Senectute; Plut. vita Catonis; and Val. Max. L. 2. c. 9. §. 3.*

<sup>31</sup> *Plutarch* in his *Life of Cato*, a little lessens the Horror of so odious a Crime. According to him, the Wretch who was sacrificed to the brutal Pleasure of the young Pathick, was a Criminal condemned to die. *Lucius Quintius* had ordered, That he should be taken out of Prison, and brought into the Hall, with an Executioner armed with his Hatchet. And no sooner was he entered the Hall, but the Executioner cut off his Head in the sight of the Guests. This Account is agreeable to what *Cicero* makes the *Censor* say, in his Book *Of Old Age*. *Valerius of Antium* tells the Story much in

the same manner as *Plutarch*. Only the former substitutes in the room of the infamous Object of *Quintius's* Amours, a Mistress, whom he passionately loved.

<sup>32</sup> *Livy* says, that *Cato's* Discourses against *Lucius Quintius*, and several others, whom he had degraded from the Rank of Senator and Knight, were extant in his time. It was from one of these Orations, that the *Roman* Historian had taken the Circumstances of that base Action of *Quintius*, as we have related it in the Text.



Year of *him barbarous, be justly blamed?* At first *Quintius* would have denied the Fact. But when  
 ROM E put to his Oath, he would not perjure himself. Such Force had the Sentiments of  
 DLXIX. Religion, even in the most vicious of the *Romans*. *Quintius* therefore continued  
 degraded from being Senator. Nevertheless, the People comforted him a little in  
 P. CLAUDIUS his Disgrace. He came one Day to a publick Show, and placed himself among the  
 PULCHER, L. Multitude. But the People had Regard to his Birth, and Modesty, and invited him  
 PORCIUS LI- to sit among the Senators 33.  
 CINUS, Con-  
 suls.  
 Plut. Life of  
 Cato.

*CATO*'s Severity was much greater towards the Senator *Manlius* 34. The  
*Censor* struck his Name out of the List of the *Conscrip*t Fathers, upon an Accusa-  
 tion brought against him for a Fault, which seemed to deserve little Censure.  
*Manlius* loved his Wife, and had slightly saluted her in his Daughter's Presence.  
 And *Cato*, who gave himself much greater Liberties in private, could not forgive  
 the Offence, which a Father of a Family had given to a young innocent Person.  
 He put such a Disgrace on the Magistrate, as prevented his obtaining the *Consu-*  
*late*, for which he was a Candidate the next Year. A malicious Act; of which none  
 but a very artful and designing Man would have been guilty!

§. XV. *CATO* also, out of an inveterate Hatred to the Family of the *Scipios*,  
 offered an heinous Affront to *Scipio Asiaticus* 35, a Man of a very venerable Cha-  
 racter. He had, since his Disgrace, been made a *Roman Knight*. But the *Censor*,  
 upon what Pretence is not known, took from him the Horse which the Publick  
 kept for him. So that the Conqueror of *Antiochus* was reduced to the Condition  
 of the most private Persons. Then the *Censor* 36 exercised his Severity on those  
 Multitudes of People, who gloried in their Riches. I am willing to believe, that  
*Cato* had nothing in view, but to correct in *Rome*, that Luxury and Extravagance,  
 which had spread but too much already. And in order to bring about this Re-  
 formation, he took a new Expedient. Hitherto, in the Accounts that had been  
 taken of every Man's Goods, the *Censors* had omitted his Moveables, Jewels, and  
 Utensils. But *Cato* thought it proper to bring in the Habits, Chariots, Litters,  
 and Jewels of the Women, which were worth above fifteen thousand *Asses*, and  
 the Slaves of twenty Years old, and under, for which had been paid ten thousand  
*Asses*, or more. And as Taxes were laid in Proportion to every one's Goods, the  
 more Show a Man made, the heavier was his Burden. These Superfluities were  
 taxed at ten times more than they cost. Some therefore retrenched in their Dress,  
 and in the Conveniencies of Life. Others kept up the same Figure as at first. And  
 both were exasperated against a Reformer, who drew them into this Dilemma,  
 that they must either make no use of their Goods, or pay very dearly for the use  
 of them. He took away from private Houses and Gardens the publick Water, which  
 had been granted them for Use, or Ornament. He demolished the Projections of the  
 Buildings that hung over the Streets, or Market-Places in *Rome*; as also the Prisons,  
 and Balconies that projected. With the Money which the Taxes produced, he  
 lined, with Free-Stone, the Basons where the *Romans* drew their Water. He  
 cleansed the old Common-Sewers, and built new ones, on the side of the Hill  
*Aventinus*, and in other Places, where there were none before. His Colleague  
*Valerius* undertook to build a Causeway to 37 *Neptunium*, and to level a great

Livy, B. 39.  
 c. 44.

33 According to *Plutarch* and *Valerius Maxi-*  
*mus*, B. 4. c. 5. the People afterwards shewed Fa-  
 vour to *Lucius*, and restored him to his former  
 Dignity.

34 *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Cato*, gives this Sena-  
 tor the Name of *Munilius*.

35 *Livy*, speaking of *Scipio Asiaticus*, expresses  
 this Surname by the Word *Asiagenes*; which is a  
 farther Proof of what we have above observed,  
 concerning the Medal, which has preserved the  
 Marks of his Triumph.

36 The rigid *Cato* did not spare even those of  
 his own Name and Family. One *Porcius Læca*,  
 had only answered the *Censor's* Questions, during  
 the Ceremony of the *Census*, in a jocosè manner;  
 and this unseasonable Freedom exasperated the *Cen-*  
*sor*. *Porcius* was degraded, deprived both of his  
 active and passive Voice in the *Comitia*, and re-  
 duced to the Condition of the lowest of the People.  
*Cicero* has given us this Account, in his second

Book *De Oratore*. But his Copyists were mistaken  
 in the Surname of this *Porcius*. They very impro-  
 perly give him that of *Nasica*, which belonged only  
 to a Branch of the Family of the *Scipios*. *Cato*  
 exercised the same Severity on *A Roman Knight*,  
 named *Veturius*, and took from him his Horse, for  
 having neglected to discharge some religious Duties.  
 as we learn from *Festus*, in his Interpretation of the  
 Words *Stata Sacrificia*.

37 *Neptunium* is the Name we give to a Spring  
 which *Livy* and *Vitruvius* call *Neptunæ Aquæ*.  
 It was near *Terracina*. The latter Author speaks  
 of it, B. 8. c. 3. This Fountain was so poison-  
 ous, according to him, that it immediately killed  
 all those who had the Misfortune to drink of it.  
 He ascribes these fatal Effects to the pernicious  
 Juices which mixed with the Waters, whilst they  
 were filtrating through the Veins of the Earth. And  
 for this Reason, says *Vitruvius*, the Magistrate  
 stopped up the Fountain.

Roan



Road cross the Mountain of *Formii*. *Cato* bought, for the Exchequer, two large pieces of Ground, and four Shops. He also built a fine Palace, with the publick Money, near the *Forum Romanum*, on the same side as the Hall where the Senate generally assembled. This Building retained the Name of the *Censor*, and was called *Basilica Portia*. And lastly, in order to enrich the Treasury, *Cato* considerably raised the Farms of the Republick, which, before his time, had been let at a very low Price. But all this Zeal, and all this Oeconomy, only increased the Number of his Enemies; and they prevailed on the Senate to cancel the Leases he had just executed with the General Farmers. The Senate ordered the Funds to be put up to publick Sale; and this raised them to much the same Value, as *Cato* had first fixed them at. *Flaminius* also, in order to revenge the Affront which *Cato* had offered his Brother *Quintius*, prevailed on the Senate to cancel the Bargains the *Censor* had made, with the Undertakers of the publick Works. Nay, his Accusation went farther. Some of the *Tribunes of the People* were persuaded to accuse *Cato* before the *Comitia*, of Collusion with the Workmen; and to insist, that he should be fined two \**Talents*. But the Commons declared for him; and did more than barely absolve him. They shewed their Gratitude for his Administration, by the Statue they erected to him in the Temple of *Health*. *Cato* had, out of a false Modesty, always affected to despise these sorts of Honours. *They are not*, said he, *so much Marks of Virtue, as Monuments of the Skill of the Founders, or Statuaries*. One Day, when a Flatterer was wondering that no Statue was yet erected to him, he answered; *It is a much greater Pleasure to me to hear the People complain, that none has yet been erected to me; than it would be to hear them ask, for what Reason I was honoured with them*. But these Speeches were only Copies of his Countenance. His real Sentiments were of a very different kind. He betrayed his Pride, by the Inscription he ordered to be put on the Pedestal of his Statue, in these Words. TO CATO THE CENSOR, FOR HAVING REFORMED THE DISCIPLINE OF THE REPUBLICK, BY PRUDENT REGULATIONS. There was no mention made of his Victories on the Pedestal. Others had conquered as well as himself. The Memory of his *Censorship* was what he thought alone deserved the Regard of the Publick. And therefore whilst the Great Generals of that time took Surnames from the Names of the Countries which they subdued; *Cato*, instead of that of *Africanus*, or *Asiaticus*, gave himself the Surname of CENSOR, which he ever after retained. As if he had gained more Glory by triumphing over the Vices of the Publick, than over foreign Nations. The last Offices he executed in this glorious Employment, were those of a *Census*, and a *Lustration*, which was reckoned the forty ninth from their Institution.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIX.  
P. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER, L.  
PORCIUS LI-  
CINUS, CON-  
suls.

\* 387 l. 105. od.  
*Arbutnot.*

*Plut. Life of  
Cato.*

*Fast. Capit.*

<sup>38</sup> *Asconius*, in his Commentaries on the Books Of *Divination*, tells us, that *Cato* bought these two pieces of Ground of *Mænius* and *Titius*. But *Mænius*, says our Commentator, excepted out of the Sale a Column, which from the Name of his Ancestors was called COLUMNA MOENIA, *Mænius's Pillar*. This *Mænius* had been Consul in the Year of Rome 415. according to the *Fasti Capitolini*. The Romans erected to his Honour this Column, which was in the Form of a Trophy, to be a Monument of the Victory he gained over the *Antiates*. It was thither that the *Triumviri Capitales* sent the Criminals, to be punished according to the uttermost Rigour of the Laws. *Asconius* pretends, that one of the Descendents of the old Consul, kept this Pillar for himself, to be a Support to a sort of moveable Amphitheatre, from which the *Mænian* Family could conveniently see the Combats of the Gladiators, which were fought in the *Forum*.

<sup>39</sup> *Titus Quinctius Flaminius* was enraged at the Affront *Cato* had offered the *Quinctian* Family, in the Person of *Lucius Quinctius*, his own Brother. And he did all he possibly could to thwart the *Censor*, in his Design of building the *Basilica Portia*. Nevertheless, this Building was finished, notwithstanding the Opposition *Titus* made to it.

This Edifice continued in being till the Death of the Tribune, *Publius Claudius*. But *Asconius* tells us, that it was then burnt down, as well as the old Palace of *Hostilius*. The *Tribunes of the People* used to hold their Sessions there. So that the *Basilica Portia* was a kind of Town-house, where the Affairs relating to the Publick were transacted.

<sup>40</sup> *Pliny* says, B. 44. c. 6. that *Cato* declaimed warmly, but without Success, against the Abuse which had been introduced into the *Provinces*, of erecting Statues, even to the *Roman Women*. He made an Oration upon it, which was intitled, *De Sævis & Tabulis*. *Festus* speaks of it, under the Word *Redemptitavere*.

<sup>41</sup> *Cato* was very uneasy to hear others commended, says *Plutarch*. He used to say, that a good Citizen should not suffer himself to be commended, unless the Praises bestowed upon him turned some Way or other to the Advantage of his Republick. But the Praises which he refused others, he bestowed, without Measure, on himself. The Apologies *Cato* made to excuse Persons, who had been guilty of some Faults, had always some Tincture of Vanity in them. *These Men*, said he, *are excusable, because they are not Cato's*. This is *Plutarch's* Observation.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIX.  
P. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER, L.  
PORCIUS LI-  
CINUS, Con-  
suls.

§. XVI. AFTER his *Censorship*, *Cato* spent the rest of his Days in a private, but not an idle Life. He was often accused before the People himself, and often accused others; and he gained as much Reputation by his Eloquence, as he had done by his Arms. Besides, he found Exercise enough for his Philosophy in his own Family. He had married a Woman of high Birth, for Protection; but she was not so rich, but she might have spared him great Expences, and frequent Reproaches. However, he was a very good Husband to her; and like a good Father, took upon himself the Education <sup>42</sup> of his only Son. *Cato* had among his Slaves a learned Grammarian, named *Chilo*, who was also an honest Man. Nevertheless, he would not suffer him to have the first modelling of young *Porcius*. He thought it beneath the Dignity of a Freeman of *Rome*, to suffer a vile Slave to give his Son the least Correction, or the slightest Instructions. He was his Præceptor himself. But as he treated his Pupil with the grave Air of a *Censor*, and the Authority of a Father, he kept the Child under very uneasy Restraints, and at an extravagant Distance. So that this Son grew lean, and had bad Health. Besides, *Cato* would not suffer him to be taught the Learning of the *Greeks*. This wise *Roman* did not like the *Academick* and *Stoick* Philosophy. He thought *Socrates* a mere Haranguer, or rather a Lover of Sedition, who had nothing in view, but to change the Customs of his Republick, in order to his getting the Dominion in it, by captivating Mens Minds. Besides <sup>43</sup>, said he, *nothing tends more to enervate the Courage of a People born for War; whose only Study ought to be, how to conquer, and how to govern conquered Nations*. He therefore formed the Mind of his Son to *Roman* Wisdom, which was very different from that of the *Greeks*. The latter consisted chiefly in idle Speculations. But in his Father's School, young *Cato* became a brave Soldier, and gave Proofs of his Valour in *Macedon*, under *Paulus Æmilius*. He merited the Honour of being the General's Son-in-Law, by his Bravery. And we should, doubtless, have seen him advanced regularly to the highest Honours in the Republick, if Sickness had not hastened his Death. He died *Prætor*, before his Father's Death. As to his Domesticks, *Cato the Censor* was a good Master. He would have Order, Secrecy, and Diligence, kept up in his House. And therefore he scarce ever bought any Slaves, but such as were very young, that he might form them to what he pleased. He would never suffer his Domesticks to converse with those of Strangers, or to go and drink out of his House. When he sent them out about Business, they were ordered to say, if asked what their Master was doing, *That they did not know*. He loved to have his People lay a great while in Bed. *I have found by Experience*, said he, *that your great Sleepers, are generally the most submissive, and least intriguing People*. As for himself, he was very easily served. But in the <sup>44</sup> Entertainments which he often gave, he required that they should be done with great Rigour <sup>45</sup> and Exactness. As he had a great Number of Slaves, he kept up little Divisions among them, in order to be informed of their Plots, and guard against them. Add to this, that he got great Profit by his numerous <sup>46</sup> Attendants. He made his Slaves to help forwards the profitable Traffick he carried on, out of *Italy*, and in it, by Sea and Land. But *Cato* traded most in Slaves, which had been instructed by his own, and which he sold again at a high Price. He made Money of <sup>47</sup> every thing:

<sup>42</sup> *Plutarch* says, that *Cato* himself taught his Son all Exercises of Mind and Body. He took care to teach him the History of his own Nation; and to guard him against the Charms of Pleasure, by continually setting such Examples before him, as were fit to animate him to the Practice of Virtue. With this View, he insensibly inured him to bear the Fatigues of an hard and laborious Life. In a Word, under the Direction of this austere Father, this docil Son became a Pattern to all the young Men of his Age. The time that others spent in lawful Diversions, he employed in cultivating his Mind with Study, in learning to ride the great Horse, throw the Javelin, Box, Swim, and strive against the Stream of a River. But young *Cato* ought to have had a better State of Health, or a more kind and indulgent Father.

<sup>43</sup> According to *Cato*, *Isocrates* was a mere Quack in Eloquence, who spent a great Number

of Years, in training up Orators for the other World.

<sup>44</sup> According to *Plutarch*, *Cato* kept a better Table in the Country, than at *Rome*. And the Charms of his Conversation, which he knew how to intermix with good Eating, gained him several Friends in the Neighbourhood. He was of Opinion, that the Joy which reigns at Entertainments does not a little contribute to forming, and binding close the Bands of Friendship.

<sup>45</sup> He himself punished the least Fault, in the Slaves who had the Care of the Feast, with a *Strapado*.

<sup>46</sup> He, by a sordid Avarice, received Money for his very Slaves for the unlawful Commerce, while he allowed those of one Sex to have with them of the other.

<sup>47</sup> See what we have elsewhere said of the insatiable Avarice of *Cato*, in heaping up Riches.



and often said to his Son, that a Man was more contemptible than a Woman, till he had doubled his Revenue.

Nor that Avarice was *Cato's* only Fault. After the Death of his Wife, and whilst his Son, who was lately married, was yet alive, he did not renounce all Pleasures, though advanced in Years. It was said of him, that he had a Body and an Head of Iron. Being subject to Incontinence, even in his old Age, he kept up a private and shameful Communication with a beautiful Slave, in his own House. But his Intrigue could not be kept so secret, as to be concealed from his Daughter-in-Law, and his Son. Their House was not large; and they lived all together. The Son, and the Daughter-in-Law therefore, treated the favourite Slave with Contempt and Indignation, in their Father's Presence; and this enraged *Cato*. However, he restrained his Passion for the present, and concealed his Resentment. *Cato* was Master of his Looks and Words. It was by this chiefly that he had gained himself a great Reputation for Wisdom. And in the present Instance, his Anger appeared only by its Effects. He married again. The Woman he married was the Daughter of one of his Clients, who had formerly been his Secretary. This unexpected News wounded young *Porcius* to the Heart; and he said to his Father, *By what Act of Disrespect, or by what Offence, have I incurred your Displeasure? I have no manner of Complaints to make of you,* replied the cunning old Man. *Your Conduct is so prudent, that I am resolved to give you some Brothers like you* <sup>48</sup>. And indeed *Cato the Censor*, had a Son by his second Wife, who from the Name of his Mother was called *Salonius*. His Father lived to see him born and bred up. And we shall again see old *Cato* make a Figure in his Republick, and retain all his good Sense, to an extreme old Age.

§. XVII. We have seen that an Ambition for Offices raised great Disturbances in *Rome*, when *Claudius Pulcher*, and *Porcius Licinus*, entered upon the Consulship; but the Republick signalized herself very little by her Arms, during their Year. The *Romans* had not any War to carry on, but in *Liguria*. So that the two Collegues had only this Province between them. Each commanded his own Army; and they rather wanted Enemies to fight, than Valour and Resolution. Inasmuch, that they only settled Colonies in two Places, where it was of Consequence to the Republick to have Roman Garrisons to watch over, and secure, the Provinces. One was sent to <sup>49</sup> *Pisaurum*, in *Umbria*, to keep the *Gauls* in Awe; the other to <sup>50</sup> *Pollentia* in *Picenum*. Every Roman Family that went thither was allowed six Acres of Land. In the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, the *Prætor Nævius*, who was appointed for *Sardinia*, had a Commission, before his Departure, to enquire after Poisoners; and he condemned two thousand of them to die. In the Province of *Tarentum*, the *Pro-Consul Postumius* put a Stop (by inflicting Punishment on the Guilty) to a Conspiracy of Shepherds, who got together, and ravaged the Country. And he there extirpated the Remains of those infamous *Bacchanians*, which were yet left in the East of *Italy*.

In *Spain*, all was Quiet, in *The Further Province*, since the Defeat of the *Lusitanians*; but in *the Hither*, *Aulus Terentinus* was yet to settle Peace, by Force of Arms. At the Head of the two *Legions* which he commanded, he laid Siege to <sup>51</sup> *Corbio*, a City of the *Suessetani*, and made himself Master of it. So that the whole Attention of the Senate was now fixed on *Greece*, *Macedon*, and *Asia*. Indeed, no Fire yet broke out there; but it was ill extinguished, and might produce a great Conflagration.

<sup>48</sup> *Plutarch* observes, that *Pisistratus*, the Tyrant of *Athens*, made the same Answer, when he married for his second Wife *Timoneſſa* of *Argi*; though he had Children by his first Wife, which were already pretty well grown up.

<sup>49</sup> *Pisaurum* was a City of *Cisalpine Gaul*, situated at the Mouth of a River of the same Name. This River is now called *La Foglia*, and falls into the *Adriatick* Sea. As for the City, after it had been ruined by *Totila* the King of the *Goths*, it was rebuilt by *Bellisarius*, according to *Procopius*. It now belongs to the Duchy of *Urbino*, and is called *Peſaro*.

<sup>50</sup> *Pollentia*, or as others *Potentia*, took its

Name from a neighbouring River, which rises in one of the *Apennines*, and discharges itself into the *Adriatick*. This City stood in *Picenum*, or *The Marquisate of Ancona*. It is now no longer in being.

<sup>51</sup> In order to know the exact Situation of the ancient City of *Corbio*, we must first know where to place the Country of the *Suessetani*, in which it stood. Some bring these People near *Biscay*. Others say they possessed the Territory of *Huesca*, in *Arragon*. And some make them the same People, as the *Sedetani*; and we have no certain Rule to direct us how to settle these Uncertainties. See the preceding Volumes.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIX.

P. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER, L.  
PORCIUS LI-  
CINUS, Con-  
suls.

*Val. Antias.*

AND



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIX.  
P. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER, L.  
PORCIUS LI-  
CINUS, Con-  
suls.

§. XVIII. AND indeed, upon the Report made to the *Conscripſt Fathers* by the Commissioners sent the last Year into *Greece*, to put an end to the Differences between *Eumenes* and the *Theſſalians*, and King *Philip*; the Senate thought it neceſſary to ſend a new Deputation to the *Levant*. The chief Deſign of it was to examine upon the Spot, whether the King of *Macedon* had reſtored the *Theſſalians*, *Rhodians*, and *Perræbians* the Cities he had taken from them; and whether he had drawn his *Macedonian* Garrisons out of *Ænos*, and *Maronea*, and in ſhort out of all *Thrace*. *Rome* therefore ſent to the Eaſt *Appius Claudius*, who had been one of the beſt *Conſuls*, and gave him two Aſſiſtants. Their Inſtructions were alſo to viſit *Peloponneſus*, and put an end to the Diſputes there between the *Achaens*, and *Lacedæmonians*. *Appius* came into *Greece* with his Colleagues, and then began to execute his Commiſſion, with all that Authority, which *Rome* had now aſſumed over the Kings and Republicks of the Eaſt.

AND now, *Philip's* Measures were utterly diſconcerted, upon the Arrival of the new Commissioners. He plainly ſaw, that he muſt evacuate the Places which *Rome* had condemned him to reſtore to their ancient Poſſeſſors. And it being abſolutely out of his Power to vent his Rage on all the Nations whom he had plundered, he revenged himſelf on the Inhabitants of *Maronea*. *Onomaſtus*, one of his Confidants, was then his Governor of the maritime Country in which *Maronea* ſtood; and *Philip* ſent him Orders to put to Death all thoſe of the Heads of the City, who had declared themſelves againſt his keeping Poſſeſſion of it. And the King was obeyed. In order to put this barbarous Ordinance in execution, *Onomaſtus* made uſe of an old Inhabitant of *Maronea*, named *Caffander*, who was entirely devoted to *Philip*. This Man brought a Body of *Thracians* into the City by Night; and they made as great a Slaughter of the Citizens, as if it had been after an Aſſault. The Affront fell at laſt upon *Rome*, who had ſo lately ſet *Maronea* free from *Philip's* Yoke; and all the Inhabitants that were ſpared, complained to the Commissioners of this horrible Maſſacre. The King of *Macedon* contended that he had no Hand in it, and imputed this bloody Butchery to a popular Commotion. But *Appius* did not believe it upon the King's Word. The latter in vain told him, that *Onomaſtus* was not then at *Maronea*, but was at a great Diſtance from it; his well-grounded Suſpicions prevailed. It was well known that *Onomaſtus* was one of *Philip's* Favourites, and was honoured with his Confidence; and the chief of the Commissioners demanded, that he ſhould be ſent to *Rome* to be examined there. At this Propoſal the King of *Macedon* changed Colour; ſtaggered; and ſtarted numberleſs Difficulties to prevent his Friend's being carried before a Senate, where it was to be feared he would betray his Secrets. Indeed, he readily delivered up *Caffander* to the Vengeance of the *Romans*; but he peremptorily reſuſed to ſuffer *Onomaſtus* to be carried from him. And it is alſo ſaid, that when *Caffander* was embarked, the King ſent Men after him to poiſon him. But be that as it will, after ſo ſignal an Act of Diſobedience, *Philip* had nothing to do, but to break with *Rome*, and take up Arms. Nevertheless, his Preparations were not yet made, nor his Party formed. He therefore found out an Expedient to cover his Deſigns, and impoſe on the Republick, till a more favourable Opportunity ſhould offer to declare himſelf. His Son *Demetrius* had formerly been at *Rome* a great while together, as an Hoſtage; and had gained himſelf Eſteem, and Friends there. An inexpressible Sweetneſs and good Nature appeared in all his Actions and Sentiments, which made him very amiable. All thought him worthy of his Father, and *Rome* already wiſhed him upon the Throne. Him therefore the King now employed as his Agent with the Republick, and joined with him in the Embaſſy (to aſſiſt him with their Advice) two Perſons, who were held in great Eſteem at his Court. One was *Apelles*, the other *Philocles*. The young Prince prepared for his Departure, but did not appear at *Rome*, till the ſucceeding Conſulſhip.

*Polyb. in Legat. N. 44. and 46.*

*Liv. B. 39. c. 35. Polyb. in Legat. N. 42.*

§. XIX. As for *Appius*, being diſſatisfied with the King of *Macedon*, he left his Court, and went to execute his Commiſſions elſewhere. The Broils in *Peloponneſus* drew him thither. *Cacilius*, the *Roman* Envoy in *Greece* the laſt Year had interpoſed, to put an end to them; and had ordered the *Achaens* to aſſemble a general Diet. But the chief Magiſtrate then in *Achaia*, had reſuſed the Commiſſioner to aſſemble the Council of his Nation, on his Account. He had inſiſted on

*Cacilius*



*Cæcilius's* producing a Letter from the Senate of *Rome*, in which the Senators desired the *Achæans* to assemble. And now the Senate had declared their Pleasure with Regard to *Appius*, and his Collegues. The *Achæans* had received Notice, that they should leave it to three Commissioners to assemble their Diet. The Business was to judge of the Complaints which the *Lacedæmonians* made, of the severe Usage they had met with from the *Achæans*. *Philopæmenes* had formerly dismantled *Lacedæmon*, and abolished the Laws of *Lycurgus*. He had brought it into Subjection to the *Achæans*, and had restored the Exiles. And these very Exiles were the Men, who, since their Return, had most zealously contended for the Recovery of the ancient Splendor, and perfect Liberty, of their native City. In order to recover their ancient Rights, *Areus* and *Alcibiades*, two of those restored Exiles, had come and implored the Justice of the *Roman* Senate. They had been referred to the Judgment which *Appius* should give on the Spot, in the Assembly of the *Achæans*; and the latter had assembled the Diet, before the three *Roman* Commissioners arrived. In their Absence, the *Achæans* had consulted together about the Affairs of *Lacedæmon*, and said; *What! are those very Lacedæmonians, whom we of our own Accord brought Home into their Country from Banishment, now become our Enemies? They are raising up a War against us, which is more formidable than that in which we conquered them. The Romans were then for us. But now by demanding the Restitution of their Liberty, they have found means to engage the Senate of Rome in their Interest. The Commissioners of the Republick will soon come, and force us to settle Lacedæmon on its ancient Foot. Those ungrateful Men, who are indebted to us, for their Return and Settlement in their own Country, have ventured to accuse us at Rome, and there render odious the Dominion we exercise over them. But after all they are our Subjects; and it is Rebellion in them to bring a Process against their Masters. What Punishment then have they deserved?* At which Words the Assembly was enraged; and all agreed, that it was necessary that *Areus*, *Alcibiades*, and all who attended them in their Embassy, should be put to Death. But though the Decree had passed, it was not put in execution. The Commissioners came in the mean time, and then the Scene was changed. The Diet of the *Achæans* was then assembled at <sup>52</sup> *Clitor*, a little City of *Arcadia*; and as soon as *Appius* appeared there, he took the highest Place, and acted rather as a President, or Judge, than a private Deputy. The Harangue with which he began, discovered his Intentions, and made the *Achæans* fear the worst. He inveighed against the Perfidiousness and Cruelty of *Philopæmenes*, the Author of the Murder committed in his Camp, upon the Envoys from *Lacedæmon*, a City venerable for its Antiquity; and disapproved of the Abolition of the Laws of *Lycurgus*, which had been so much extolled by all the Nations of the World. So express a Declaration therefore from *Appius*, who was charged with a Commission, to put the Will of the Republick in execution, was a bad Omen for the Assembly. How could they guard against the Prepossessions of a Judge, whose Sentence would be without appeal?

*LYCORTAS*, the Father of *Polybius* the Historian, was then the Head of his Nation. And being likewise a Friend to *Philopæmenes*, on whom the Accusation fell, he undertook to defend both the common Cause of his Republick, and the Reputation of a great Man whom he loved. He assumed the Discourse, and spoke thus. *How much is the Fate of Achaia to be lamented! Were we only to maintain our Rights against Lacedæmon, we should have no Reason to despair of our Cause. But now our Judge himself is our Accuser. Lay aside, Appius, Lay aside all Prepossessions. You have already discovered your Prejudices. Must I then endeavour to remove them? No; I don't pretend to cope with You. The Adversaries I attack, are the Lacedæmonians. My Answer, Appius, is not directed to You, but to them. It is objected, that Philopæmenes caused the Lacedæmonian Deputies to be murdered, who came to his Camp, to plead their Cause there. But do they consider what they are doing, when they reproach us with this, in the Presence of a Roman Judge? We were then the Allies, and the Lacedæmonians the declared Enemies, of Rome. In the Absence of one of our Generals they seized some maritime*

<sup>52</sup> *Clitor*, which *Pliny* calls *Clitorium*, is now called *Clitorio*. There were near it a River and Fountain of the same Name.



Year of Cities, in which Rome had forbidden them to settle; and we hastened to maintain her Decisions. Can then a Roman, nay, can a Lacedæmonian, charge this upon us as a Crime? The Gods themselves seem to have approved of what we did. They granted us the Victory. Indeed Philopœmenes gave the Vanquished leave to come to his Camp, to justify themselves there; and this is all the Part he had in the Massacre laid to his Charge. A Company of Exiles, who were dissatisfied with their Countrymen, Areus himself, and Alcibiades, who are now our Enemies, were the Persons who offered Violence to the Lacedæmonian Deputies. They perished by the Hands of the Lacedæmonians; and shall their Death then be imputed to us? Whether it was a Crime or not, it is our Adversaries are to answer for it, and not we. It is also objected, that we have demolished the Walls of Lacedæmon, and abolished the Laws of Lycurgus. But confess honestly, Lacedæmonians, did not you act contrary to the Will of your Lawgiver, when you surrounded your City with Walls? If he was alive, he would be very glad to see it in its present Condition, which he would declare to be the same in which he left it. Was it not your Business to demolish the Works of your Tyrants, and overthrow the Walls which they had raised only to enslave you? As for the Laws of Lycurgus, Lacedæmon had proscribed them, before we were forced to lay them aside. Either through Contempt, or Neglect, these so much boasted Statutes had sunk into Oblivion. The Lacedæmonians lived without Laws, when we gave them ours. Was it not better for them to observe our Customs, than to keep up no Discipline at all? We, by that means, repaired the Injuries their Tyrants had done them. Is it not better for a City to become a Member of the Circle of Achaia, than to be continually oppressed by unjust Usurpers? By obliging them to observe our Customs, we have put them upon the same Foot as ourselves. What Reason then have they to complain? I acknowledge, Appius, that the Apology I am making is not at all suitable to an independent Republick, which acknowledges no Judge, or Superior over her. Would it for instance become us, to call you to an Account for the taking of Capua? And if not, why then are we responsible to you for the taking of Lacedæmon? You say we massacred some of the Lacedæmonians in it; and did not you sacrifice many Campani to your Resentments? You object that we have demolished the Walls of Lacedæmon. And did not you beat down those of Capua? Did not you carry away the Effects of the Capuans? Not that we pretend to compare the Achæan Republick with the Roman, or put ourselves upon an equal Foot with you. All I desire is, that the Romans would remember that we stand upon the Foot of Allies, with respect to them. Let them not then give more Countenance to their Enemies, than to their Friends. Nay, it was through our means that the Lacedæmonians themselves became Friends to your Republick. We first forced them to become one Body with us, and then they took an Affection to Rome. And have they any Reason to be dissatisfied with our Union? When the Vanquished are not put upon a worse Foot than their Conquerors, it is injurious to complain. And yet they would have us disannul a Treaty, which is engraven on Stone, and confirmed by mutual Oaths. But we will never break it. Though we have great Respect for the Romans, we have more for the Gods who are Guarantees of our Fidelity in the Performance of our Conventions.

THIS Harangue of *Lycortas* was applauded by the Assembly. It was full of a Dignity and Force becoming the Head of the Nation. But *Appius* was little affected with it: In order to conclude the Affair, he desired the *Achæans* to restore *Lacedæmon* her ancient Rights voluntarily, lest *Rome* should force them to do it. And this made the Assembly sigh bitterly; but Fear had a greater Effect upon them than Resentment. The *Achæans* submitted it to the Commissioners to do what they should think fit with Respect to *Lacedæmon*; and this Deference a little appeased the Anger of *Appius*. He at present contented himself with only disannulling the Sentence of Death, which had been pronounced against *Areus* and *Alcibiades*: And with this Act of Power and Authority, the three Roman Deputies ended their Commission for Greece.

Corn. Nepos.  
Incert. in Vit.  
Annibalis; and  
Justin.

§. XX. NEVERTHELESS it is probable, that before their Departure, they saw a new War break out in *Asia*, in which their Republick must bear a Part. *Hannibal*, after the Defeat of *Antiochus*, had Thoughts of retiring to one of the Asiatick Kings, who was powerful enough to molest the Romans, and declare War



War with the King of *Pergamus*, their most zealous Ally. And he immediately cast his Eyes on the King of *Bithynia*. Nevertheless the *Carthaginian* postponed his Design for the present, and retired to the Island of *Crete*, among the <sup>53</sup> *Gortynians*. *Hannibal* had a great deal of ready Money, and the Report of his coming was spread among the *Cretans*. And as he did not design to continue in their Island, but to pass through it, and feared their Avarice; he had recourse to Artifice to deceive them. Whilst he was making Application to *Prusias*, for Leave to come to his Court, he ordered some large and deep earthen Pots to be filled with heavy Materials, and put only a little Gold and Silver at the Tops of him. Then, as if all his Treasure had been laid up in these Vases, he deposited them in the Temple of *Diana Gortynia*. But at the same time he melted down his Gold and Silver, and poured them into the hollow Statues which he carried with him, and which he said he was to worship in his Voyage. And to take off all Suspicion, he suffered these Idols to lie scattered about his Lodgings; and no Body suspected that they were full of Riches. This made the *Cretans* (who had, in all Appearance, very sure Pledges for his Return) very willing to let him leave their Island; and he came to *Bithynia*, and found a War begun between *Prusias* and *Eumenes*. It is probable, That the *Carthaginian* had kindled it by his private Intrigues; and That *Prusias* had brought this famous General into his Country, only in order to support it. But be that as it will, as soon as *Hannibal* arrived at the Court of *Bithynia*, he was told that *Eumenes* had just gained a considerable Victory over *Prusias*. The King of *Pergamus* was stronger than his Enemy, since *Rome* had so much enlarged his Dominions. And then *Prusias*, by the Advice of the *Carthaginian*, made himself new Allies, and got together a large Fleet; insomuch, that the *Bithynian* Fleet, though weaker than that of *Pergamus*, was soon in a Condition to cope with it. *Hannibal* took upon himself the Command of it. And this General, who was always very artful, invented an unheard of Stratagem, to spread Consternation and Death in the Enemy's Fleet, without running any Hazard himself. He filled some earthen Bottles with Asps, Vipers, and other Snakes, which were designed chiefly against the Life of King *Eumenes*. *Hannibal* observed which was the Galley that carried the King of *Pergamus*; and that he might be the more certain in what part of the Ship the King was, he sent an Herald to him, with a *Caduceus* in his Hand, as a Sign of Peace. This Herald delivered to him a Letter, and immediately returned on board the Sloop that brought him. The Letter contained nothing but Bravadoes on the part of *Hannibal*; who knowing where to throw his Bottles, cast them in great Plenty on board *Eumenes's* Ship. The *Pergamians* were at first merry with *Hannibal's* new sort of Darts; but were much surprized, when they saw their Ship full of Reptiles, whose Bite was fatal. This Sight caused great Disorder among the Seamen, and Soldiers, on board the Royal Galley; and she was forced to fly, and carry *Eumenes* to the next Port. So that *Hannibal* conquered, but his Victory was not so much owing to his Valour, as his Stratagem. The Battel was not bloody, or very fatal; and the Conqueror found it soon after recoil upon himself. It revived the Hatred of the *Romans* to this inveterate Enemy, and they pursued him to his last Refuge. This News was brought from *Greece* by *Appius* and his Collegues. So that *Rome* had Reason to expect a new War in the East. The Uneasiness of the King of *Macedon*, the Complaints of the *Achaens*, and the Hostilities of *Prusias* against *Eumenes*, were sure Presages of a rising Storm. But several Accidents in part dispelled it, or at least postponed it. And in the mean time, *Plautus* died <sup>54</sup> at *Rome*, after having improved the Art of Poetry, which was now brought to great Perfection there.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIX.

P. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER, L.  
PORCIUS LI-  
CINUS, Con-  
sul.

<sup>53</sup> *Gortyn*, formerly one of the most considerable Cities in *Crete*, is now only a poor Village, which still retains its ancient Name.

<sup>54</sup> *Cicero*, in his Book entitled *Brutus*, places the Death of *Plautus*, four Years after that of the Poet *Nævius*, in the Censorship of *Cato*, and in this Consular Year. Nevertheless St. *Jerome* says in his *Chronicon*, that this Poet died in the 149th

*Olympiad*, that is, thirteen Years before the Year 569. But this chronological Mistake has not escaped the Criticks. *Varro*, and *Aulus Gellius* speak of two other *Comedians*, which were thought to have been Contemporaries with *Plautus*. The Name of the first is *Marcus Accius*; and that of the second *Plautius*. They had both written several Comedies, which some ascribe to *Plautus*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXX.

Q. FABIVS LA-  
BEO, M. CLAV-  
DIUS MAR-  
CELLVS, Con-  
suls.

Livy, B. 39.  
c. 45.

§. XXI. AND now, the Republick created the new *Consuls*, *Q. Fabius Labeo*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*; who as soon as they had entered upon their Office, on *The Ides of March*, made it their first Business to give Audience to the several Ambassadors which were come to *Rome* from the several Parts of the *Levant*. There never had been so great a Number there as now. Among these were *Demetrius*, the Son of the King of *Macedon*, and *Athenæus* the Brother of the King of *Pergamus*; and Ambassadors from a great Number of Cities and Republicks, in *Macedon*, *Thrace*, and *Greece*. What occasioned this Concourse, was the Readiness of the *Romans* to hear the Complaints that several Nations, and even private Persons, brought against *Philip*. To bring Complaints against a King whom *Rome* had Reason to suspect, and whose Pride she desired to humble, was in some Sort to make their Court to the *Romans*. And indeed, the Government of the *Macedonian* became every Day more and more intolerable; and the People came to *Rome*, to desire Succours to guard them against Oppression, or for some Relief and Comfort under their Misfortunes. Notwithstanding the repeated Orders which had been given *Philip*, by the *Roman* Commissioners, to evacuate the Cities on the Coast of *Thrace*, and put *Eumenes* in Possession of them, the *Macedonian* still obstinately kept some. Nay, he had entered into a Treaty with *Prusias*, doubtless at the Instigation of *Hannibal*; and the Succours he had sent to *Bithynia*, against the King of *Pergamus*, were an indirect Attack upon the *Romans*. *Eumenes* had therefore sent his Brother *Athenæus* to complain of it; and the illustrious Ambassador made the Republick a considerable Present of a Crown of Gold of great Weight. As for *Philip*, he had no Body to undertake his Defence before the Senate, but his Son *Demetrius*.

THIS young Prince, but just arrived at the Age of Manhood, had indeed scarce any Faults, but such as are inseparable from his Age. His long Abode at *Rome* as an Hostage, had given him a virtuous Turn. He was handsome, well made, and perfectly well represented the King his Father, as by his Features, so by his majestic Air. As to his Understanding and Affections, as he had more Ingenuity and Honesty than *Philip*, so he had less *Finesse* and Penetration. He was confounded, when he was to answer, in the Presence of the *Conscript Fathers*, all the Complaints that were brought against his Father, by so many People of so many different Nations. Besides, in this great Number of Accusations, there were some slight ones, which *Philip* could not foresee, and for which *Demetrius* was not prepared. For instance, *Philip* was reproached, with having encroached upon the Lands of People not in his Dominions, with having carried off Men and Cattel from other Mens Estates, and with either having refused to do the Petitioners Justice, or having administered it more by Favour, than according to the Rules of Equity. This long Detail tired the young Prince. His Memory was overburthened with it, and the proper Answers did not occur to him so soon as they ought. The Senate therefore had Compassion for him, and gave him Leave to read the Instructions he had received from his Father. Then *Demetrius* produced a little Book, in which *Philip* had minuted down general Answers to all the Complaints which could be brought against him; some of which he threw off, from himself, on the *Romans*, who had authorized him to commit the Invasions complained of; and others on the Accusers themselves. And indeed it must be owned, that the Cause of the *Macedonian* had been in bad Hands; if the Compassion and Affection which the Senate had for the young Prince, had not supplied the Place of Eloquence in the Son, and of a Defence for the Father. But tho' the Pretences *Demetrius* made use of to excuse the King, were weak; he made such Submissions and Protestations of a better Conduct for the future, as gained the Hearts of all the Senators. Their Answer was gracious with respect to the Son, and offensive to the Father. *Philip*, said they, *could not have chosen a better Person than Demetrius, to incline the Republick to favour him. We had rather be ignorant of, forget, and forgive, many things, than search them to the Bottom. We acknowledge you to be a Friend to the Romans, tho' you are Philip's Son. And, purely out of Regard to you, we will send another Embassy to the Court of the King your Father. Past Acts of Disobedience shall not be mentioned; but Care shall be taken to prevent future ones. And let Philip remember, that he is wholly indebted to Demetrius, for the Indulgence of the Senate!*



THIS Declaration tended to gain the young Prince Credit with his Father. It was of Consequence to the Republick, that *Demetrius* should mount the Throne after *Philip*. *Rome* had great Expectations from a Prince who had been brought up within her Walls, loaded with her Favours, was docile, and of a moderate Genius. The Crown of *Macedon* could legally descend only to two Brothers, both the Sons of King *Philip*; but by different Mothers. *Perses* was the elder, according to the most common Opinion, and *Demetrius* the younger. Nevertheless, their Birth had made a great Difference between them. *Perses* was only the Son of *Gnatenia*, a Dancing-Woman, or Seamstress of *Argi*; and had been imposed upon the King by the Queen, for her own Son. But there was no doubt of *Demetrius's* being *Philip's* Son, and born in lawful Wedlock. This Benefit therefore, joined with the Protection of the *Romans*, must naturally facilitate his Accession to the Throne, and give him an Advantage over *Perses*. But this very thing was what exasperated his Father against him, and made him lose both Crown and Life together. A tragical Event, in which the Interest of *Rome* was nearly concerned, and which we shall relate hereafter, in its proper Place. But at present, we must only observe, that *Philip* grew extremely jealous of *Demetrius*; and first discovered his Suspicions, upon the young Prince's Return to *Macedon*. He foresaw, that it would not be in his Power to dispose of the Succession; That *Rome* would give it to whom she pleased; and That his eldest Son would be sacrificed to the youngest. And these Suspicions were considerably increased, by the Letters of a *Roman*, whom the Historians do not name, and by the Conduct of the young Prince. The *Roman* was an inconsiderate Friend of *Demetrius*. In order to shew his Affection for him, he one Day took the young Prince aside, and gave him Hopes that the Republick would soon set him on his Father's Throne. Nor was this all. The Indiscretion of this Friend was so great, that he wrote to the King of *Macedon* himself, and told him, That the Senate had shewn so much Regard to his Son, and so much Favour to him, only to induce him to leave this Son his Crown. And *Demetrius* himself contributed a little to increase the Uneasiness of *Philip*, by his Conduct. He suffered the *Lacedæmonians* to shew their Affection for him, too freely. They looked on him as the Deliverer of their Country; and said, *Demetrius has suspended the Anger of Rome, which was ready to have fallen upon Philip, and upon us*. The Prince's Court grew very numerous, and that of the King was deserted. Young *Demetrius* was highly delighted to see himself adored by the People, and to share at least, the Honours of the Sovereignty; and he kept up his Correspondence with *Rome*, and had frequent Conferences with the Ambassadors of the Republick. So that these imprudent Steps quite alienated from him the Minds of a suspicious Father, and a jealous Brother; and by his Ambition, which he could not restrain within the Bounds of Prudence, he drew great Misfortunes upon himself. We shall soon see the Friendship of the *Romans*, and the Hatred of his Father, become his Ruin.

§. XXII. IN order to settle the Affairs of *Macedon* and *Greece*, *Q. Marcius* was sent by the Republick to the *Levant*. Whilst *Titus Flamininus*, *Scipio Asiaticus*, and *Scipio Nasica*, set out for the Court of King *Prusias*, to adjust the Differences between him and the King of *Pergamus*. As for *Marcius*, he forced *Philip* to deliver up the Cities he possessed in *Thrace* and *Thessaly*, and to set them at perfect Liberty. And from thence he went to put an End to the Disputes between the *Acheans* and *Lacedæmonians*. The Senate of *Rome* had already decided them, partly in Favour of one, and partly of the other. By their Decree, the Sentence of Death, which the Diet of *Achaia* had passed upon *Areus*, and *Alcibiades*, was annulled. But *Lacedæmon* was still kept in Subjection to *Achaia*. It had been determined at *Rome*, that for the future the *Lacedæmonians* should always be deemed a Part of the *Achean* Body. This Sentence *Marcius* took care to see executed; and to make it irrevocable, made both Parties accept and sign the Decree. But this was not the only Affair that kept *Marcius* in *Peloponnesus*. A Storm arose

According to *Plutarch*, some had affirmed, that *Perses* was not *Philip's* Son. They said that the Queen had got him from a Seamstress, who was just brought to Bed, and imposed him upon the King of *Macedon*, for his own Child. To which

they added, That when *Perses* came to be informed of the Defect of his Birth, he procured the Death of *Demetrius*, for fear he should get Proof of the Imposture.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXX.

Q. FABIVS LABEO, M. CLAVDIUS MARCELLUS, Consuls.

*Plut.* Life of *Aratus*.

*Polyb.* in *Legat.* N. 50.

*Plut.* Life of *Philopem.* *Livy* B. 39. c. 48.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXX.  
Q. FABIVS LA-  
BEO, M. CLAU-  
DIUS MAR-  
CELLUS, Con-  
suls.

there, which caused the Death of the greatest Man then in Greece. *Messene*, a considerable maritime City, had long been a Part of the Canton of *Achaia*. But one *Dinocrates*, a Man of no Honour or Probity, and therefore a personal Enemy to *Philopæmenes*, had divided *Messene*, which was his Country, from the *Achaean* League. *Philopæmenes*, seventy Years of Age, now enjoyed the chief Magistracy of *Achaia*, the eighth time; and *Dinocrates* could not expect that his Revolt should be suffered to escape unpunished, by so warlike a General. Accordingly, *Philopæmenes* made all Haste to seize the City of *Corone*<sup>56</sup>, before the Rebel had made himself Master of it. But two Accidents prevented his appearing first before the Place. He was sick, and actually kept his Bed with a Fever. And the Militia of *Achaia* could not be got together soon enough to put in Execution an Enterprize which required Secrecy, and Dispatch. However, the *Achaean* General found a Remedy against his Sickness, in his own Courage; and the *Megalopolitans* had so great an Affection for him, that they offered to follow him as Volunteers. *Lycortas*, a faithful Friend of *Philopæmenes*, assembled together the finest Youth in *Megalopolis*, who had great Courage, and were capable of any thing, under a Commander of Reputation. They began their March without Delay, took the Road to *Messene*, and arrived at a Hill consecrated to *Bacchus*, where *Dinocrates* was waiting for them. The Rebel had had the Precaution to leave a Body of about five hundred Men, in the flat Country round about *Messene*, to guard it. And as soon as *Philopæmenes* and *Lycortas* saw the Enemy, they fell upon him, with all the Vivacity of the young Men who followed them. *Philopæmenes* forgot his Sickness, and the Fatigues of the Day before. He had marched from *Argi* to *Megalopolis*, which was twenty five Leagues, in twelve Hours. After his Example, the *Megalopolitans* attacked the Rebels, and charged them with such Fury that they put them to Flight. But, unfortunately for the *Achaean*s, the five hundred *Messenians* who guarded the flat Country, hastened to the Assistance of *Dinocrates*, and renewed the Action. Then the *Megalopolitan* Troop was too weak to hold out against the new Reinforcement; and *Philopæmenes* made it his Business to make one of those Retreats, which he understood better how to make, than any General in his Time. To this End, he marched into rough Ways, where his Enemy could not easily follow him, sent *Lycortas* and the Nobility before him, and brought up the Rear-Guard himself. He faced about, from time to time, upon the Enemy, who surrounded him, but durst not attack him; and he would easily have made his Escape, if the Care of his Troops had not often obliged him to make Sallies on the *Messenians*, and expose himself to Danger, in order to drive away those that pursued him. But at last, he was left alone in a Defile, where the Enemy surrounded him. Yet still, the Respect they had for him, or their Fear of his Valour, was such, that they durst not attack him, but at a Distance, by throwing Darts at him. At length, they drove him into a narrow Place, where he could not possibly turn his Horse. Yet still he supported himself, tho' exhausted with his Sickness, and the Fatigue of his March, and old Age together; and spurred on his Horse as violently as he could, cross the Rocks. When he was ready to have rejoined the main Body of his Men, his Horse stumbled, and threw him. The Fall was a dangerous one; he was wounded in the Head, and lay senseless and motionless upon the Place. His Enemies thought him dead, and came round him, to strip him. But upon their stirring him about, he opened his Eyes and seemed to revive. Then *Dinocrates*, who in any other Circumstances could not have borne the Sight of so brave a Man, ordered his Hands to be tied behind him, and led him gently towards *Messene*. In the mean time, he sent Courier before him, with the News of his Victory, and of the taking of *Philopæmenes*. At first, the Rebel-City expressed great Joy at it. But upon the Sight of the Hero of Greece, reduced to Captivity, more by Accident than any Want of Valour, their Reflexions were more solid. All the City ran together, to see him; the most Part could not refrain from Tears, at the Remembrance of the Exploits which they had seen of this Great Man, under whom they had fought; and Gratitude

<sup>56</sup> *Coron*, for *Corona*, was a City of *Messenia*, in *Peloponnesus*. We have spoken of it already. It is still in being, in the Province of *Belvedere*, and retains the same Name. *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Philopæmenes*, puts, instead of this City, a Town called *Colpnis*, or *Colane*, which *Ptolemy* mentions. This Place was also in the Territory of *Messene*.



increased their Compassion. *Philopæmenes* had formerly delivered *Messene* from the Oppressions of the Tyrant *Nabis*; and the Commons now desired, that he might be carried to the Theatre, and there shewn to the People. But the Magistrates were afraid that the Esteem and Love of the *Messenians* for him would revive, and induce them to release their Prisoner, and send him back to *Achaia*. *Dinocrates* therefore persuaded the People who were assembled to judge *Philopæmenes*, that he had some Questions to ask him in private, concerning the War with which they were threatened; and they left the Theatre empty, and returned every one to his Home. A few Flatterers would have persuaded *Dinocrates* to have put the Prisoner to the Rack, and left him to expire in Torments. *If he should escape from you*, said they, *what an Enemy will you have to contend with? The Hatred he has long had to you, when strengthened by the ill Treatment he has received, will make him irreconcilable.* But *Dinocrates*, tho' *Prætor* of *Messene*, did not at first exercise an absolute Power towards the Captive. *Philopæmenes* was brought before the Senate; and it was there debated, where he should be put the next Night: for the Day was closing. None of the Senators would take upon himself the Reproach of having kept him a Prisoner in his House. Besides, it was not safe to trust him with any one Citizen. They therefore chose to put him in a Vault, called *The Treasury*; doubtless, because the publick Money had formerly been kept there. It was, properly speaking, a deep Cavern, into which you entered by a Hole, the Mouth of which was stopped, even with the Ground, with a large Stone, which was raised up by a Crane, or some other Machine. In this Hole there was no Opening, either for Air or Light; and there *Philopæmenes*, wounded, sick, and fatigued, spent a miserable Night. The Fear of Death was the least Part of his Uneasiness. Early in the Morning, the Senate of *Messene* and the Commons met. The People were for getting favourable Terms, in Exchange for the Prisoner. Their Esteem, Gratitude, and even Interest, prompted them to vote for sending *Philopæmenes* back to his own Country. But the Senators were conscious that they were guilty of the Revolt of *Messene*. They had been the Authors of it; and they were afraid that they should find *Philopæmenes* an implacable Avenger. They all agreed, that he should die; only debated, whether it should be presently, or delayed; and resolved to kill him upon the Spot. They immediately sent an Executioner into the Vault, with Orders to force the Prisoner to drink Poison; and as soon as *Philopæmenes* saw him carrying a Cup in his Hand, he readily guessed what Drink he was bringing him. He was lying down upon his Cloak, and could not rise without Difficulty. But he strove to sit up, and then said, with the utmost Tranquillity, to the Executioner, *Pray tell me whether Lycortas and the Megalopolitan Youth be got into a Place of Safety. Not one of them is killed*, answered the Executioner; *their Lives are all saved. That is enough*, replied *Philopæmenes*, *I die content.* At which Words, he took the Cup of Poison with great Chearfulness, and drank the fatal Potion with Joy. Thus died the best of the *Greek* Heroes; who in Valour, Military Knowledge, and Virtue, equalled the greatest Men in his Country, and was not inferior to any of the boasted Heroes of *Rome*. *Achaia*, of which he was long the main Support, continually vanquished her Neighbours, and greatly increased her Dominions, while assisted by his Arms and Counsels. Had she been nearer to an Equality with *Rome*, he would doubtless have preserved his Country from the Yoke which the *Roman* Republick forced her to bear. His Prudence taught him to submit to it; but he lessened the Weight of it by his Steddingness. He was a great Soldier, and a great Statesman, and had only one Fault. Which was, that he carried his Hatred and Resentments to Excess. But he was as constant in Friendship, as dangerous and implacable in Enmity.

§. XXIII. But *Lycortas*, who was an Imitator of *Philopæmenes*, and after him the most famous General of *Achaia*, revenged the Death of his Friend. As soon as he heard he had fallen from his Horse, he returned back, sought for him, and called him by his Name; but he was told, that he was in the Hands of *Dinocrates*, and the *Messenians*. This Report was spread among all the Cities of the *Achaean* League, and it stirred them up to demand him with Threatenings, or to recover him by Force. But at length, News came that he had died by the Hands of an Executioner; and then the Rage of the People against his Assassins was as great

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R O M E  
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Year of ROM E DLXX. Q. FABIVS LABEO, M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS, CONSULS.

as their Grief at the Loss of him. A Diet of *Achaia* was held at *Megalopolis*, and *Lycortas* was there put in the Place of the Deceased. Then the new General entered the *Messenian* Territory with an Army, which was soon raised, and utterly destroyed every thing with Fire and Sword. He fought for the Honour of his Republick, and to revenge the Death of his Friend. And in short, the People of *Messene* understood their true Interest, in spite of the *Prætor* and Senate, and opened their Gates to the *Achaean* Troops. *Lycortas*'s chief Aim was at *Dinocrates*. But he prevented the Punishment reserved for him, by killing himself; his Accomplices in the Assassination were loaded with Irons, in order to be put to a severe Death; and *Messene* was again united to the *Achaean* Canton, from which it had separated.

NOTHING now remained, but to pay all Funeral Honours to the Body of *Philopæmenes*, which had been left unburied, in the Bottom of a Dungeon. A Funeral Pile was prepared for him; he was burnt with great Pomp; and his Bones were put into an Urn adorned with Festoons and Fillets. Then the Army had nothing more to do, but to leave the conquered City, and carry away the Ashes of *Philopæmenes*. Nevertheless, the General did not disband his Troops at *Messene*, and send them to their respective Homes, as usual. They all marched out of the City in good Order; as it were in mournful Triumph. The Soldiers were crowned with Laurel, to shew their Victory; but Tears ran down their Cheeks, out of Grief for the deceased Hero. The Funerary Urn was carried at the Head of them, by *Polybius*, the famous Historian, and the Son of *Lycortas*. The chief Nobility of *Achaia* surrounded him; and the Authors of the Assassination of *Philopæmenes* followed him, two and two, in Irons. Then came the Troops, divided into Battalions and Squadrons. Every Soldier was crowned with Flowers. But it was visible, that their Joy for their Victory was damped with real Grief, on this mournful Occasion. In this manner they advanced towards *Megalopolis*. All the Roads were lined with numberless People, who came from the Villages and Cottages; and they were very pressing to touch and kiss the Urn. At length, they arrived at *Megalopolis*, the Country of the Great *Philopæmenes*; and there the last Honours<sup>57</sup> were paid him; and the Sepulchre in which his Ashes were put, was stained with the Blood of the Authors of his Death. They were stoned at his Tomb. *Q. Marcius*, the Roman Deputy in *Peloponnesus*, shared the common Affliction of the *Achaens*. And it is not doubted, but he who came to force *Lacedæmon* to continue united to the *Achaean* League, confirmed the Re-union of *Messene* to it.

Corn. Nepos.  
in Vit. Annib.  
Plut. in Flamin.  
Livy, B. 39.  
51.

§. XXIV. WHILST *Marcius* was seeing the Obsequies of *Philopæmenes* performed in *Peloponnesus*; *Flamininus*, in *Bithynia*, was endeavouring to destroy *Hannibal*. According to some Historians, the Consulship of *Claudius Marcellus*, and *Fabius Labeo*, proved fatal to three of the greatest Generals in the World. They say that<sup>58</sup> *Scipio Africanus*, *Hannibal*, and *Philopæmenes*, died that Year. Nevertheless, we have placed the Death of *Scipio* some Years before, tho' we don't pretend to warrant for that Epocha. As for *Hannibal*, he was then with the King of Bi-

<sup>57</sup> In Honour to the Memory of this Great Man, all the Cities of *Greece* erected Statues to him, on which were the most pompous Inscriptions. To which *Diodorus Siculus* adds, That *Megalopolis*, his native City, carried the Honours she paid him to Superstition. The Magistrates passed a Decree, requiring, That a Bull should every Year be sacrificed, in Honour to the Hero; That during the Sacrifice, his Panegyrick should be pronounced; and That a Company of young Children should sing Hymns to his Glory.

<sup>58</sup> Here the Ancients again dispute about the Year in which the Great *Scipio Africanus* died. *Polybius* fixes it to the Year 570; *Valerius of Antium*, in the Course of the Year 569. But *Livy* finds this Contradiction in *Polybius*'s Opinion. If, says he, *Scipio* did not die before the Year 570, *Lucius Valerius* could not have been chosen Prince of the Senate, which I find he was. It is certain that *Scipio Africanus* was honoured with that Dignity. And it is as certain, that it was a Post for Life, unless

Livy, B. 39.  
52.

the Person was displaced by the Senate. A Reproach which no Historian ever cast upon the Conqueror of *Hannibal*. And we must therefore either contradict all the Roman Historians, who make *Valerius Flaccus*, Prince of the Senate, or allow, that *Scipio* died before *Cato*'s Consulship, which began in the Year 569. Indeed, according to *Valerius of Antium*, he was alive when *Cato* was elected Consul. He quotes, in Proof of it, a Speech of *Scipio*'s, against *Nævius* his Accuser, who was a Tribune of the People in the same Year. But this proves nothing, according to *Livy*. Because *Nævius* had entered upon his Office ever since the 15th Day of December, on which the Tribunes used to be elected according to *Plutarch*. So that *Cato* might not be Consul, when *Scipio* defended himself against the Accusations of *Nævius*; and *Scipio* might have died in the three Months, between the Ides of December and the Ides of March, the Day then set apart for the Election of the Consuls, and other great Magistrate

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*Bithynia*, carrying on the War against the King of *Pergamus*, with some Advantage; and the repeated Hostilities of the *Carthaginian* had at length tired out the Patience of the *Romans*. They could not, without Indignation, see this furious Man run from one Country to another, raising up Enemies to their Republick, and disturbing her Power, wherever he came. It was chiefly to destroy his Projects, that the three Ambassadors were gone to *Asia*; but the Secret had only been entrusted with *Flaminius*. Some indeed pretend that *Flaminius*, of his own Head, without any Orders, negotiated the Ruin of *Hannibal*. This Man, who had formerly been Consul, and had appeared, during his Office, to be a Man of so great Humanity, was, say they, still very ambitious, tho' in a very advanced <sup>59</sup> Age, and made his Court to the Republick at *Hannibal's* Expence. But whether this Pretence, which would reflect so much Dishonour on *Flaminius's* Memory, be true or false; it is certain we have no sure Account of the *Bithynian* Embassy. Others have insinuated, that *Prusias* inclined, of his own accord, to suffer *Hannibal* to be sacrificed to the Interest and Hatred of *Rome*, in order to get rid of so dangerous a Guest, and to please the *Romans*. Thus the Historians throw the Odium of his Death, sometimes on one, and sometimes on another. But is it credible, That *Flaminius* should not have Orders to demand of the King of *Bithynia*, that *Hannibal* should be delivered up to him, to be carried to *Rome*? Had not *Scipio* himself made this one of the Conditions, which the Republick confirmed, as the Terms upon which she would grant a Peace to *Antiochus*? Probably therefore, *Flaminius* was instructed to demand of *Prusias*, in the Name of the *Roman* Senate, that *Hannibal* should be put alive into his Hands. And as for the Death of the *Carthaginian*, it was the Effect of his own Despair; and the Ancients have thought it was brought about in a Manner worthy of his great Courage. The Account they give of it is this.

THERE was in *Bithynia* a sandy Country, near the Sea, called *Libyssa*. And from hence, perhaps, came the pretended Oracle, which is said to have foretold, that *Hannibal* should die in *Lybia*; an Oracle which deceived him, by the Similitude of Names. *Prusias* had given him Leave to live in *Libyssa*, in a Sort of Castle, which the *Carthaginian* had repaired in such a manner as best suited the State of his Affairs. *Hannibal* had Reason to fear the *Romans* in general; and particularly *Flaminius* and his two Collegues<sup>60</sup>, who were coming to put an End to the War which he had kindled. Besides, he had Reason to suspect a King, whose Inclinations might change with his Interest. On these Accounts therefore, the artful *Carthaginian* had dug seven different Gang-ways under Ground, which all led from his Lodgings to so many different Issues, through which he might make his Escape, either by Sea or Land. While the *Roman* Ambassadors were at the Court of the King of *Bithynia*, *Hannibal* did not appear there. This old Fox, it's said, continued close in his Den, ready to leave it upon the first Alarm. But all his Preparations were useless. *Flaminius* pressed the King to surrender up this irreconcilable Enemy, who made no Use of his Liberty, but to draw Kings and Nations into the same dangerous Enterprizes which had been his Ruin. However, we are assured, and not without Probability, that *Prusias* at first made some Difficulty of sacrificing *Hannibal* to the Republick. The *Bithynians* pleaded

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXX.

Q. FABIVS L. A-  
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<sup>59</sup> This is *Plutarch's* Opinion of *Flaminius's* Conduct, as to the Death of *Hannibal*. He dishonoured his old Age, says the Historian, by his furious Persecution of an Hero whom *Fortune* had deserted. Would not any one then infer from *Plutarch*, That *Flaminius* was very old, when he contrived the Death of *Hannibal*? Yet he was little more than thirty; as appears thus. According to *Plutarch* himself, *Flaminius* was not full thirty when he was created Consul the first time, in the Year of *Rome* 555; and it is plain, that from that Year, to this present Year 570, was but fourteen Years exclusive. So that if we add these fourteen to the thirty, which the Ancients give *Flaminius* at that time, he will be but forty four, at most, when the Senate sent him Ambassador to *Prusias*, King of *Bithynia*. And consequently, that he was not then so old as to be disabled from serving his Country,

and managing the Affairs of his Republick. That the *Romans* thought so is plain; otherwise they would not have charged him with the most important Commission, to the East. Besides, if *Flaminius* had been as old as *Plutarch* pretends, this Author would not be the less to blame, to exclude a Man of Experience out of publick Affairs, on account of his Age. He does not reason thus, in other Parts of his Works, where he contends, that no Age can excuse a good Man from undertaking the Care of publick Affairs. Nay, we have a Treatise of his, which was written on purpose to prove, That the highest Pitch of Glory to which an old Man can attain, is to die labouring in the Service of his Country.

<sup>60</sup> The Senate had joined with *Flaminius*, *Lucius Scipio Asiaticus*, and *Publius Scipio Nafica*.



Year of in Excuse, the Laws of Hospitality, and the Age of this General, which was too  
 R O M E great, for him to give any more Umbrage to the *Roman* Senate. He was gene-  
 DLXX. rally thought to be seventy; and some Historians affirm it. Tho' if he was no  
 Q. FABIVS LAR- more than nine<sup>61</sup> when he swore an eternal Hatred to *Rome*, he could be but  
 BEO, M. CLAU- sixty five now. And lastly, *Prusias* insisted on the Reputation of this Great  
 DIUS MAR- General, whom he could not deliver up, without drawing on himself the Indig-  
 CELLUS, Con- nation of all Ages. But the Ambassador did not hearken to these Remonstrances.  
 fult. He threatened, and was obeyed. *Since then*, said the King, *I cannot possibly secure*  
*a Retreat in my Dominions for this venerable old Man, pursue the Scheme your Ha-*  
*tred dictates.* Upon which, *Flamininus* thought himself at Liberty to make Use  
 of the Royal Guards themselves to go and invest the *Carthaginian*, in his Castle of  
*Libyssa*; and he seized all the Avenues to it, and set Guards at all the Passages  
 which *Hannibal* had made. As soon as Troops appeared round the House, a Slave  
 ran to inform his Master of it. *Hannibal* charged him to observe all that passed,  
 and give him a faithful Account; and he was told, that there was no Room for  
 him to escape. He had Recourse therefore to his subterraneous Passages; but they  
 were all beset. And then finding that he had no Hopes left, he did not at all he-  
 sitate between Death and Captivity. He called for Poison, and said, *Let us then*  
*deliver Rome from her incessant Disquietudes, since she cannot have Patience*  
*enough to suffer an old Man to end his Days in Peace. Nevertheless, thy Vic-*  
*tory, Flamininus, will not do thee much Honour. Thou wouldest not have over-*  
*come Hannibal, if he had not been disarmed, and surprized by Treachery! How-*  
*ever, I have at least the Pleasure of seeing Rome degenerated from her first Vir-*  
*tue. The Romans formerly sent back to Pyrrhus, the Physician who offered to poi-*  
*son him treacherously. But now they force a King to violate the Laws of Hospita-*  
*lity, in order to kill Hannibal, in a very base Manner.* This said, he took the  
 subtle Poison<sup>62</sup>, which he carried in the Collet of his Ring, against any Accident;  
 and thus died the Hero who was the Terror of the *Romans*, to his last Breath.  
 To say of him, That *Rome* did not even scruple a cowardly Action to get rid of  
 him, is to compleat his Panegyrick. It was doubtful, whether he had most Vir-  
 tues, or Vices. He was reproached with Perfidiousness and Cruelty; but then, on  
 the other hand, his Sobriety and Continnence were prodigious. He seldom ate  
 sitting, or lying down; and scarce ever drank more at a time than the Quantity  
 of half a Pint of Wine. He indulged not his Passions so far as to make any Attempts  
 on the Modesty of any of the many Captives he took in War. It was said of him,  
 that with regard to his Continnence he seemed to be no *African*. As to military  
 Virtues, he has always been thought to have surpassed most Heroes. Never was  
 Valour more vigorous, and at the same time more circumspect. He often did by  
 open Force, what he could not compass by Artifice. But his general Method was  
 to begin with Stratagem, and finish with Blows. He was a better Officer than  
 Soldier. In all the Battels which he fought, he scarce ever received above one or  
 two Wounds. And what seems to prove that his Prudence and Moderation were  
 consummate, is, that in all the Armies which he commanded, whether *Carthagi-*  
*nian*, or foreign, the Discontents of his Soldiers never broke out into open Sedi-  
 tion. He was certainly the greatest Light of *Carthage*. The Glory of his Re-  
 publick was never totally eclipsed, as long as he lived. But after his Death, it  
 was utterly extinguished. As to the reducing this Great Man to Despair in *Bithy-*  
*nia*, in the Manner before related, it was taken very differently at *Rome*. Some  
 thought *Flamininus's* Attempt a Reproach to the *Roman* Name. Whilst the greatest  
 Part looked on his Negotiation as a Master-piece in Policy. *Hannibal* was not so  
 very far advanced in Years, but he was still capable of commanding Armies. At  
 least he might, by his Cunning and Intrigues, have put all *Asia* in a Flame. And  
 lastly, *Bithynia* was a Country large enough of itself to give the *Romans* Uni-  
 brage. We shall see, in *Mithridates's* Time, how formidable the *Bithynians* were.

<sup>61</sup> *Hannibal* was then following his Father in *Spain*; and the Time of his Departure coincides with the Year of *Rome* 515.

<sup>62</sup> *Livy* is of Opinion that he drank a Cup of Poison. Some have said, that in Imitation of *The- mistocles* and *Midas*, he killed himself with drinking

Bull's Blood. Others say, he was strangled by one of his Slaves. And Authors are as much divided about the Time, as the Manner, of his Death. Some advance, others postpone it, a Year. We follow *Livy*.



So that, all things considered, it seems plain, That the Endeavours of *Rome* to put *Hannibal* out of a Condition to hurt her, proceeded more from a Regard to her true Interest, than a bare empty Desire of Revenge.

§. XXV. THE News which *Marcus* and *Flaminius* brought to *Rome*, one from *Greece*, the other from *Bithynia*, only indirectly affected the Republick. But she was more immediately concerned in the Campaigns of the two *Consuls*, which were not very fruitful in Events. The War with the *Ligures* had fallen to *Fabius Labeo*; who kept the Natives there to their Duty, and did nothing more. His Collegue *Marcellus* had the Advantage of putting an End to the Dispute which had arisen between the *Romans* and that Swarm of *Gauls* which had come from beyond the *Alpes*, and settled near *Aquileia*. A Commission had first been given for that Purpose to the *Prætor* *L. Julius Cæsar*; whose Orders, in case he could not make the *Gauls* leave the Country by a Treaty, were, to call in one of the *Consuls* to his Assistance, and reduce these Usurpers to Reason, by Force of Arms. And the *Prætor*, doubtless, found more Opposition than had been expected. Besides, this was an Affair of great Consequence. The Business was, how to keep this enterprizing Nation from ever settling in *Italy* for the future. The *Consul* *Marcus* therefore marched his *Legions* into the Neighbourhood of *Aquileia*. There the Eastern *Gauls*, to the Number of twelve thousand, were building a City in all Haste, in order to settle there. The *Consul* first sent the *Pro-Consul* *Porcius* against them, and then appeared himself. At the Sight of a *Consular* Army, these Men, who were otherwise very peaceable, threw down their Arms; and protested, that they did not pretend to turn them against the *Romans*. But this was not sufficient to satisfy *Marcellus*. He ordered all their Effects to be taken from them, and commanded them to deliver up their Arms. But the *Gauls* loved their Arms too well to part with them. This was an Affront, which was as bad as Death to them. They therefore sent an Embassy to *Rome*, to complain of the Severity of the *Consul*. When their Deputies were admitted into the Senate, they represented, That the Punishment which was going to be inflicted on them, was greater than the Fault they had committed deserved. *We were grown so numerous*, said they, *in the Country from whence we came, that there was neither Land enough for us to cultivate, nor Corn enough to support us. Want alone forced us to leave our native Country; we have found a desert Country on this Side the Alpes; and there we have settled, without offering Violence to any Body. We have begun building a City, resolving to fix there. Marcellus summoned us to put a Stop to our Work; and we obeyed. We were ordered to leave the Country; and we prepared to do so. But all this would not satisfy him, without treating us as Men who had surrendered at Discretion. We were plundered, and ordered to be disarmed. Have some Regard, Conscrip Fathers, to the Law of Nations. And don't treat as Conquered Enemies, a Company of unfortunate Men, who, without any Resistance, are ready to obey your Orders.* The Senate answered these *Gauls*, That they had made an Attempt against the Republick, by seizing Part of her Dominions, without her Leave; and added, *Be gone; return to your native Country. Take Care to caution your Magistrates against suffering you to make any more Excursions beyond your Limits. The Alpes are the Barriers which divide you from us. All they who shall pass them for the future, shall have Cause to repent it. As for your Arms, and Effects, they shall be restored you.* Then the *Roman* Republick sent away three Deputies, to carry back the Colony of *Gauls* to their native Country. The Magistrates of that Nation received the *Romans* civilly; and even reproached them with too much Indulgence for Vagabonds, who had been guilty of a double Crime, in having left their own Country, and in having settled in the Lands of the Republick, without her Leave. *By restoring them their Arms and Baggage*, said they, *Rome has condescended to shew them so much Favour, as may have ill Consequences. There is some Danger that they will make an ill Use of it. This gentle Treatment may be an Inducement to them to pass the Alpes again.* And with these Complaints, the *Gauls* joined Presents to the *Roman* Deputies. Soon after this, the Republick sent a Colony of *Latins* to *Aquileia*. This City was as it were a Key to *Italy*; and it was necessary to secure it against an Irruption of the Natives from the other Side of the *Alpes*. At the same time the Senate sent three *Roman Colonies*, one

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXX.

Q FABIVS LABEO, M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS, Consuls  
Livy, B. 39.  
c. 55.



one to *Parma*, another to *Modena*, and the third to <sup>63</sup> *Saturnia*. All this was to keep in Awe the Inhabitants of *Cisalpine Gaul*, in the Heart of *Italy*. *Rome* was very vigilant and watchful of the Motions of the *Gauls*.

*And* as the *Consul Marcellus* was near *Istria* <sup>64</sup>, he desired Leave of the Senate to carry the War thither. What Offence, or Occasion of Distrust, the *Istrians* gave the *Romans*, is not known. However, the *Consul* penetrated into their Country; but was soon recalled to the Capital, to preside in the *Comitia*.

THE new *Consuls Rome* chose were *Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus*, and *L. Æmilius Paulus*. The last had stood three times for this Dignity; and lost it as often: and it was not without Difficulty that he was now chosen. Then six *Prætors* were elected, as usual. Those two only to whom *Spain* fell, found any Business in their Provinces. *Q. Fulvius* came and succeeded *Aulus Terentius* in *Hither Spain*. The latter had made War with the *Celtiberians* the last Year, with great Glory; these Rebels had advanced as far as to the Country of the <sup>65</sup> *Ausetani*; and *Terentius* had fought several Battels with them, to Advantage; and had seized the Places they had fortified. So that upon his Return he was honoured with an *Ovation*. And *Fulvius*, his Successor, gained yet more Glory in his Province. We shall see him triumph, at his Return. In *Hither Spain*, *Sempronius* was lately dead of a languishing Fit of Sickness; and then *Manlius Vulso*, his Successor, was hastened thither. The Troops had continued idle, and observed no Discipline, during the whole Year that their General was sick; and it was *Manlius's* whole Business, to get together his scattered Troops, and keep them to military Discipline. So that his Year was barren of Events, and he gained little Glory.

AT *Rome*, the new *Consuls* were no sooner entered upon their Office, but they found it necessary to offer Expiations, on account of some pretended Prodigies; which, rightly understood, were only natural Events. It was looked upon as a Miracle, that a new Island appeared all at once in the Sea, near *Sicily*. All the Temples in *Rome* were opened, and Processions made to them, to avert the ill Consequences of the Presage. And then these Trifles were succeeded by Business of more Consequence. Two Armies were raised, to act in *Liguria*. The *Consuls* were each to command two *Legions*, as usual; but they were to be larger than ordinary. Each *Legion* contained five thousand two hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse. And to each *Consular* Army were added fifteen thousand auxiliary Foot, and eight hundred Horse. Besides, as *Marcellus*, now nominated *Pro-Consul*, was encamped in the Neighbourhood of *Aquileia*, seven thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse, were raised among the Allies, to recruit his Army. *Rome* also took Care to recruit the two Armies in *Spain*. She sent to each *Spanish Province* four thousand *Legionaries*, and two hundred Horse raised in the City; and seven thousand Foot, with three hundred Horse, furnished by the Allies. So that she had this Year six Armies on foot; three in *Liguria*, (for besides the two *Consuls*, *Fabius* kept in this Country the Forces he had commanded the last Year,) two in *Spain*, and a sixth in the extreme Parts of East *Italy*, on *The Adriatick Gulph*. It does not appear, that the Republick had then Enemies enough to give her Cause to put herself to so great an Expence. But she extended her Care to Futurity; and thought it an Advantage to keep her Soldiers in Exercise. Besides, a Storm was gathering, on the Side of *Macedon*, which it might be dangerous not to guard against; and *Rome* thereby prepared for any Event.

§. XXVI. *PHILIP* could not conquer the Suspicions he had of his Son *Demetrius*. The young Prince's Attachment to the *Romans*, was a Crime that the jealous Father could never forgive. The King's Uneasiness had broke out the last Year. Nevertheless, in order to conceal from the *Romans* his Resentments, and to prepare for making War with them some time or other, he turned his Arms,

<sup>63</sup> The City of *Saturnia*, is no longer in being. It stood in *Uetruria*. Its Ruins are now in the State of *Florence*, and retain the same Name.

<sup>64</sup> See what we have said of *Istria*, Vol. 3. The *Istrians* had probably revolted afresh, and by their Revolt, forced the *Romans* to carry their Arms into this Country. It is certain, that these People had been brought into Subjection to the Republick, e-

ver since the Year of *Rome* 532, in the Consulship of *Marcus Minucius Thermus*, and *Lucius Sulpicius Asina*.

<sup>65</sup> The Country of the *Ausetani* contained Part of the present *Catalonia*, on the Side of *Gironne*. We have spoken of these People more than once already.



and vented his Spleen, against some Nations in *Thrace*, with whom *Rome* was not at all concerned. He fell upon the *Odryse* <sup>66</sup>, *Dantheletæ* <sup>67</sup>, and *Bessi* <sup>68</sup>; took *Philippolis* <sup>69</sup>, and from thence fell down upon the Country of the <sup>70</sup> *Deuriopes*, between the Rivers <sup>71</sup> *Panyasus* and *Erigonus* <sup>72</sup> in *Theffaly*. There, near *Stobi*, he had a Design to build a City, and call it after the Name of his Son *Perfes*. This was to shew how much he loved the elder Brother better than the younger; and that Preference appeared much more plainly the next Year. As his Hatred to *Demetrius* was in Proportion to that which he bore to *Rome*, he no longer observed any manner of Decency towards either, in Word or Action; as soon as he found an Opportunity to shew his Aversion to both. In order to shew, that he had Thoughts of making War with the Republick, he removed all the Inhabitants of the maritime Cities in his Dominions, and transplanted the best Families into the Heart of *Thrace*. In the room of these he settled those Barbarians on the Coasts, who he thought would prove more faithful to him than the native *Macedonians*. But it is scarce to be imagined what Curses these People, who were obliged to leave their native Country, uttered against the King, during their Removal. They set out in Companies for the Places assigned them. But the Fear of their Conductors did not hinder them from breaking out into Invectives against a rigorous Prince, who sacrificed them to his Distrusts. *Philip* carried his Suspicions even to madness. He put to Death a great Number of Persons of Distinction, whom he thought attached to *Demetrius*, or the *Romans*; and then extended the same Rage towards the Children, which he had vented on their Fathers. Lest some of their Posterity should revenge the Death of those whom he had murdered, he destroyed whole Families. We may judge of the rest by the following Instance. *Herodorus* was a Man of the first Rank in that part of *Theffaly*, which was subject to the *Macedonian*; and *Philip*, upon a bare Presumption, had taken away his Life. But that was not enough. *Herodorus* had had two Daughters. The eldest was named *Theoxena*, the youngest *Archo*. The two Sisters were both married in their Father's Life-time, and both had Children: and the King entertained the same Suspicions of the Sons-in-Law, as of *Herodorus*; and killed both. *Theoxena* resolved to spend her Days in Widowhood. But *Archo* chose for a second Husband the most illustrious Lord of the Country of the <sup>73</sup> *Aeneates*, named *Poris*. By him she had many Children; and dying, left them under their Father's Care, very young. *Poris* found this too heavy a Burden for him; and his Affection for his Children, made him pitch upon his Sister-in-Law *Theoxena*, to make her his Wife. The virtuous Widow consented to this second Marriage, purely out of Affection to her Sister's Children, and made it her whole Business to bring them up, with as much care, as she did the Son she had had by her first Husband. *Poris* and *Theoxena* were very happy after their Marriage, and the Tranquillity of the Publick increased it. But an Edict of *Philip's* soon disturbed their Repose. It inflicted Death on the Children of all those whom the King had sacrificed for Reasons of State. This equally affected *Theoxena* herself, her own Child, and her Sister's Children: And the Fate which hung over her own Head did not alarm her so much, as that of her Son, and her Cousins.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXI.

L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, CN.  
BÆLIUS TAM-  
PHILUS, Con-  
suls.

Livy, B. 40.  
c. 3.

<sup>66</sup> The *Odryse*, a People of *Thrace*, lived in the Neighbourhood of the River *Hebrus*.

<sup>67</sup> The *Dantheletæ* possessed the Country which lay next to the Springs of the *Hebrus*, towards the Frontiers of *Macedon*.

<sup>68</sup> The *Bessi* inhabited that Country of *Thrace*, which is watered by the River *Nessus*, and borders upon Mount *Hæmus*. *Eutropius* places it between the River, and the Mountain; and calls the chief City in it *Uscudama*. It is the same which has since been called *Hadrianopolis*, and is now *Adrianople*.

<sup>69</sup> *Philippopolis*, which stood on the Banks of the *Hebrus*, near Mount *Hæmus*, took its Name from *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander the Great*, and retains it to this Day.

<sup>70</sup> The Canton of the *Deuriopes* in *Macedon*, lay between the Rivers *Erigonus*, and *Panyasus*. *Philip* had formed a Design to build a City there,

and give it the Name of *Perfes*, in honour to *Perfes* his eldest Son, according to *Livy*.

<sup>71</sup> The *Panyasus*, now the *Spirnaza*, is a River of *Macedon*, which discharges itself into the *Adriatick* Sea, after it has run through *Pelagonia*, *Triopolis*, and the Country of the *Eordæi*.

<sup>72</sup> The River *Erigonus*, nor the *Vistrizza*, rises in the Hills of *Illyricum*, and falls into the River *Axius*.

<sup>73</sup> In several Copies of *Livy*, we find it *Ænianes*, and not *Aeneates*. But *Sigonius* put the latter instead of the former, who inhabited a Country of *Theffaly*. Whereas it is evident, that a City of *Macedon* is here spoken of. By *Livy's* Account therefore, he seems to have had in view the City of *Ænea*, which formerly belonged to *Thrace*, and was afterwards annexed to *Macedon*. It was thought to have been built by *Æneas*; and is supposed to have been the same Place which is now called *Moncastro*, near *The Thermaic Gulph*.



Year of *Poor Children!* said she, *the only Remains of an illustrious and virtuous Family!*  
 R O M E *Shall I see you in the Hands of a Tyrant, exposed to his Cruelty and Lust? Have*  
 DLXXI. *I, with so much Pains, formed you to Virtue, to see it all destroyed by the Licenti-*  
 L. ÆMILIUS *ousness of a vitious Court? Die, my dear Children, Die. Death is the only Re-*  
 PAULUS, CN. *source you have to secure your Innocence.* Thus spake the generous Macedonian.  
 BÆLIUS TAM- But her Husband who heard her, found out an Expedient to remove the Uneas-  
 PHILUS, Con- nefs of his Wife. *Let us escape,* said he, *out of Philip's Hands. I have Friends*  
 suls. *in Athens, whose Hospitality will make us Amends for our Losses. And let us*  
*first leave Thessalonica, where we reside. We have a plausible Pretence for so do-*  
*ing.* There was to be celebrated, a few Days after, at 74 *Æneas*, a publick  
 Feast, in honour of *Æneas*, the Founder of *Rome*, to whom the City was dedi-  
 cated. And *Poris's* Design was to buy a Ship there, to embark with his Family  
 for *Eubœa*, and go and settle at *Athens*. And he had like to have fully executed  
 his Design. The Festival was spent in Rejoicings. *Poris* and his Attendants em-  
 barked at three in the Morning, as if in order to return to *Thessalonica*. Nay,  
 they had weighed Anchor: and on a sudden, a contrary Wind arose, which drove  
 them back towards the Shore. At break of Day, the *Macedonian* Guard in the  
 Port, saw the Ship struggling with the Waves, and sent out a Sloop, with Orders  
 to the Pilots and Seamen, to bring the Fugitives ashore. *Poris* endeavoured to  
 persuade the Crew to pursue their Voyage; he lifted up his Eyes to Heaven, to  
 implore the Assistance of the Gods; but all in vain. Whilst *Theoxena* was more  
 intrepid than her Husband. When all Hopes were lost, she called to mind her former  
 Design of preventing *Philip's* Villanies, by the Death of her Family. And she  
 offered her own Son, and her tender Wards, Poison, and a Dagger, to choole  
 which they pleased, according to their Age, or Courage. She embraced them all  
 together, and said to them, *Let us die! This is the only Revenge we can take upon*  
*the Tyrant, who persecutes us. Let him not have the Pleasure of using us as he*  
*pleases. The Sword, or Poison, will deliver us; and we shall meet again*  
*among the Shades.* She said no more, and was immediately obeyed. The youngest  
 chose the Poison, the oldest the Dagger. And as fast as they expired, they were  
 thrown overboard. There was not so virtuous a Man and Wife, left in  
*Greece*, as *Poris* and *Theoxena*. They tenderly embraced one another, and  
 leaped together into the Sea. An Action, upon Pagan Principles, truly heroical.  
*Rome* and *Greece* have much extolled it; and all the Odium of it fell upon  
*Philip*. And it is the Opinion of one Historian, that the Curses, which were  
 uttered against the King of *Macedon* on this Occasion, drew down upon him all  
 the Plagues, which overwhelmed him. Heaven, says he, to revenge the Death  
 of a Father and Mother, so unjustly reduced to Despair, determined, that *Philip*  
 should thirst as much, for the Blood of his own Child.

XXVII. INDEED *Perfes* was continually exasperating his Father against Prince  
*Demetrius*. He thought, that Crimes and Calumnies were his only Defence  
 against the Favour of the *Romans*, and the Affections of the *Macedonians*. *Rome*  
 had bred up the younger of the two Brothers, and was already desirous of seeing  
 him on the Throne. And he was, generally speaking, the Idol of the *Macedo-*  
*nians*. In order therefore to form his Plot, *Perfes* sounded his Father's Confidants  
 whom he thought he could bring into his Interests; but none at first hearkened to  
 his Proposals. It was plain that *Demetrius* was nearer the Throne than his Rival  
 and the Courtiers thought it dangerous to leave the stronger Party, to join with  
 the weaker; which might be their Ruin. But afterwards *Philip* declared himself  
 so openly against *Demetrius*, that many of the Courtiers inclined to favour *Perfes*.  
 They thought that the King's Friendship for his eldest Son, might counterbalance  
 the Protection *Rome* gave the younger. Nay some, who had the most Penetr-  
 tion, already foresaw, that the King's Anger, and *Perfes's* Intrigues, were such, that  
 they would soon Attempt the Life of the younger Prince. Hence the secret C-  
 bals, which some, who were wholly devoted to their Interest, held with *Perfe*.  
 However, nothing at first appeared. The whole Business of the Faction that op-  
 posed *Demetrius*, seemed to be to increase *Philip's* Distrusts of the *Romans*. But  
 his Jealousy turned into Fury. The Faction gradually disposed him to take

74 See what we have said of this City, Vol. I.



Arms against the Republick; and the more angry the King was with *Rome*, the stronger was his Hatred to *Demetrius*. Snarcs were often laid for the young Prince, in the Conversation the King and his Sons had with the Courtiers. They maliciously turned the Discourse on *Rome*, and the *Roman* Republick. *Rome*, said some, *is ill built, unwholsome, and has few Decorations*. *That Republick*, said others, *is subject to many Inconveniencies in her Government*. *What Cabals are there among her Magistrates! What intestine Seditions! What Disputes between the Nobility and the People!* Others lessened the most illustrious *Romans*. *Are they to be compared*, said they, *with Pyrrhus, or Hannibal?* At this young *Demetrius* took Fire, in Defence of his Friends; and gloried in having been brought up by the *Romans*. These Things were indeed of no great Consequence in themselves; but they increased the Suspicions of *Philip*. *Perses* and his Faction took Advantage of them, to ruin *Demetrius* with his Father. They had already succeeded so far as to get him excluded from the Council, whenever any Business was to be transacted, which related to the *Romans*; and their Calumnies did not stop there. *Perses* seized the Opportunity of instilling them further into the King's Mind. *Philip* had sent as far as to the <sup>75</sup> *Bastarnæ*, that is, the People of the Countries now called *Podolia* and *Volhinia*, in hopes of obtaining from them the Succours he wanted, for the War he designed to carry on against the *Romans*. A Company of the greatest of the Nobility of this Country, most of them in the Flower of their Age, were already come to *Macedon*, to offer the King their Services. And one among the rest was come to treat of a Marriage for his Sister, with the presumptive Heir of the Crown. Upon which *Perses*, whose Inclinations were perhaps engaged elsewhere, took this Opportunity to drop the Proposal of the *Sarmatian* Prince, and to prejudice the King more strongly against his Brother, at the same time. *Why Sir*, said he, *do you take so much Pains to seek for Reinforcements against Rome? There is a much more necessary Step to be taken, if you would render the Plots of the imperious Republick abortive. You harbour, I won't say a Traitor, but at least a Spy, in your own Bosom*. *Demetrius's Body is here; but his Heart is at Rome. Your Subjects adore him, and you neglect him. You will soon see the Roman Senate dispose of your Dominions, as they please*. This was touching the old King in the most tender Part. However, he did not seem moved at it; but the Wound pierced his Heart, and revived all his Jealousies. And *Perses*, who well knew what an Ascendent he had gained over the King, took all Opportunities to improve it.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXI.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, CN.  
RÆBIUS TAM-  
PHILUS, CON-  
sul.

EVERY Year, in the Month of *April*, the *Macedonians* celebrated a military Feast, with a great deal of Pomp. There was also at the same time a Review, and a Lustration of all the Soldiers in the Kingdom. The Ceremony began with sacrificing a Dog, which was cut in two pieces, in the middle of his Body. One half of this Victim was put on the right side of the Plain, where the Review was, and the other on the left. When the Field was prepared, and consecrated by this Act of Religion, the Procession began in great Form. At the Head of it were carried, as so many Trophies, the old Suits of Armour, which the ancient Kings of *Macedon* used to wear, when they went to Battel. Then followed King *Philip*, and his Sons *Perses* and *Demetrius* by his Sides. Then came the Royal Guards, and the rest of the Troops; and in the last Place all the People. They were pleased to see the old King supported by two Princes, the elder of whom was thirty Years of Age, and the younger five and twenty. He was a happy Father, to have Children of Age to succeed him. But *Philip* did not know his own Happiness; much less how to make a good Use of it. His false Policy created Disorders in his Family, and made him unhappy. After the Review, it was customary for the King to give a sort of Feast, which ended in a kind of Battel, wherein no Blood was spilt, but the Soldiers used the same Motions, as in a real Battel. Instead of offensive Arms they made use of Switches, and never gave any dangerous Blows. It was natural for the two Princes to appear each at the Head of his Party; and the Army was divided into two Parts. *Perses* led up one, and *Demetrius* the other; and as they were Competitors for the Crown, they fancied

Q. Curtius,  
B. 10.

Livy, B. 40.  
c. 6.

<sup>75</sup> Some Authors pretend, that the *Bastarnæ* inhabited that part of *Sarmatia Europea*, which lies towards the *Euxine* Sea. *Pliny* and *Protony* reckon these People among the *German* Nations, and place them in the Neighbourhood of the *Daci*.



Year of  
ROME  
DLXXI.

L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, CN.  
BÆBIUS TAM-  
PHILUS, Con-  
suls.

they were now going to contend for it by Force of Arms. The Success of this feigned Battel, was deemed a Prefage of the Superiority the one was to gain over the other; and this made the Sight the more affecting. The Soldiers on both Sides seemed likewise to espouse the Quarrels of their two Leaders. The Battel was fought with more Vigour and Fury, than was usual in this sort of Sports. They gave one another slight Wounds on both Sides; but *Demetrius's* Party had all the Advantage. This therefore gave *Perses* more Uneasiness than can well be imagined. His Jealousy, and ill Humour increased exceedingly upon it. He had more Sorrow and Concern in his Countenance, than a General would have had after a real Defeat. When they went out of the Plain, *Demetrius* invited his Brother to come and sup with him. But *Perses* declined it, with an Air of great Uneasiness; and retired to his own Palace, attended only by a few of his particular Friends. Nevertheless he took care to send a Spy, to observe all that was said and done at his Brother's House, during the Repast that he was going to give to the Officers of his Party. The Joy was very great there. They talked of the Review, and the Battel, and they jested upon their Adversaries not sparing even the Generals. *Perses's* Spy joined in with the Company, and heard all that was said. But four of the young Guests discovering him, rose from Table, drew him out of the Hall, unknown to *Demetrius*, and handled him roughly. In the meantime, Wine and good Cheer enlivened the Conversation more and more. Towards the close of the Repast, *Demetrius* stood up, and in a sudden Fit of good Humour said, *Come, let us go and take a second Supper with my Brother! Perhaps we may by that means dispel the Melancholy in which he come from the Review.* There was an Air of Frankness and Candor in this, which was worthy of a Pupil of the *Romans*; and all the Guests came into the Proposal, except those who had used the Spy ill. However, *Demetrius* obliged them to follow him; but they, for fear of being insulted in *Perses's* Palace, had Arms under their Clothes. When two Princes are at Variance, it is scarce possible for either of them to conceal any thing that passes from the other. *Perses* was immediately informed, that under the Pretence of making Merry together, his Brother was bringing armed Men into his Palace. The Prince indeed was easily convinced, that there could be no Design against his Life. Four Men armed were not to be feared in his own Palace, and in the midst of a numerous Retinue. But nevertheless, he thought this a fine Opportunity to put a bad Construction on the Visit *Demetrius* was coming to pay him. He therefore shut his Gates against his Brother, and from the Window cried out, that he would not open them to Assassins who were come to murder him. *Demetrius*, a little warmed with Wine, exclaimed against the false Pretence, and complained of the Affront. The Quarrel of the Princes soon made a Noise through all the City. The next Day *Perses* came to his Father's Court, as soon as possible, with great Uneasiness in his Looks. The King asked him whether he was well, and what was the Cause of his Melancholy. *Perses* answered, *I am yet alive, my Lord; but it is by very good Fortune. Last Night Demetrius came to my House with an armed Force to take away my Life. His Violence is now no longer a Secret. His Attacks are open.* At these Words the King trembled with Horror; but still kept his Temper, and only said, *I will send for your Brother; and if he is guilty, will do you Justice.* The Accuser had great Dependence on his Artifices; but much more on the King's Prejudices against *Demetrius*.

§. XXVIII. HOWEVER, *Philip* did not think it proper that he should be the only Judge of his Children; and he joined with himself two old Men of great Experience, who had no Concern in the Court-Divisions, and seldom appeared there. The Name of the one was *Onomastus*, and that of the other *Lyfimachus*. And whilst they were sent for, and preparing to come to the Palace, the King hastily retired to his Apartment, oppressed with a Multitude of Reflections, and much divided in himself, between the Father and the Judge. At length *Lyfimachus*, *Onomastus*, and the two Princes came; and the King conducted them into an inner Closet, and spake thus. *Unhappy Father that I am! I must either condemn one of my Children for Fratricide, or the other for Calumny! I have long foreseen this Storm. Your mutual Coldnesses, Sons, your secret Cabals, your Discourses, and your Suspicions, plainly enough foretold the Evils that are now come upon me. Nevertheless, I flattered myself that time would quell these rising Divi-*



sons. I said, the most bitter Enmities are not eternal. The Ties of Blood will at last get the better of my Childrens Passions. When Perſes and Demetrius were very young, they loved one another tenderly. I taught them to maintain Love and Concord. I ſet before their Eyes the Miſfortunes, that Differences between two Brothers have produced in ſeveral States. I propoſed to them the Examples of Princes, who maintained their brotherly Affection, even upon the Throne. And yet alas, what Fruit am I now reaping from all my Inſtructions! Two ambitious Brothers are diſputing who ſhall have my Spoils, before I am dead. They only ſuffer me to poſſeſs the Throne, till ſuch time, as one or other of them can get rid of his Rival; and then the Survivor will murder his Father, after he has aſſaſinated his Brother. One Crime draws on another; and the firſt is the only one that is committed with Reluctance and Remorſe. Ambition will make Men ſtick at nothing. Begin then, Children, Begin, You unnatural Brothers, the tragical Scene which you have long been preparing! Let your reciprocal Accuſations be the Preludes to a bloody War! Your Father hears you. Torment him as much as you can, with the Relation of your Crimes! This ſaid, they all buſt into Tears, and their Sorrow kept them for ſome time in a profound Silence. But at length Perſes, by his Father's Orders, aſſumed the Diſcourſe, and ſpoke thus.

Your Inveſtives, my Lord, are as ſtrong againſt me, as my Brother. Nevertheless, I am the Perſon injured. Ought I, in order to convince you of the wicked Attempts of Demetrius againſt me, to have opened my Doors laſt Night, at an unſeaſonable Hour, and ſuffered myſelf to be ſtabbed to the Heart? After he has murdered his Brother, you then, it ſeems, will no longer doubt of his Fury. And my Death alone can convince you. It is not without ſome Deſign, that a Faction places me beneath my Brother, and would have me thought a ſuppoſitious Child: And yet my Father himſelf confirms the Calumny of thoſe who envy me, by the Reſpect he ſhews my younger Brother. Inſtead of inveighing againſt a Criminal, whoſe Crime is notorious, he reproaches me as much as him. Muſt I then, in order to pleaſe you, drop my Complaint? Is that what gives you Pain? If ſo, I will ſtiſle it; but I will pray the Gods, that one who would have killed his Brother, and eſcapes with Impunity for it, may not be the Death of his Father. The Ambition of Demetrius firſt begins with me, in order to come at laſt to you. But be that as it will, ſhall I be denied a Privilege which the meaneſt Subject has, of bringing my Complaint before my King? Muſt I hold my Tongue, when Men attempt my Life Sword in Hand? If you had been preſent when they came to break in upon me, ſhould I not have had a Right to claim your Aſſiſtance? I therefore now am doing to Day, what I ſhould have done Yeſterday. Answer me, Brother. Are we upon a Foot of giving Entertainments to one another in the Night? A Party of Pleaſure then could not be the only Motive that brought you to my Houſe, at that time. You have a Mind to reign. That is the Foundation of all your Proceedings. My Age, the Law of Nations, and my Father's Equity, are Obſtacles in your Way. My Death would deliver you from a troubleſome Competitor; and when I am gone, my Father will not ſacrifice the Remains of his Family, to revenge my Ruin. This is the Scheme you have laid. You are bent on my Deſtruction. Did you not in effect avow as much, at the late Review? You turned a religious Show, and a Diſverſion, into a Battel. And if I had not ſuffered myſelf to be vanquiſhed there, I had certainly been killed. From the Plain you would have carried me to an Entertainment at your Houſe. But would not my Life have been in Danger there? I could ſcarce eſcape in a Battel fought with Switches. Should I then have eſcaped Poiſon, or the Sword, in the Night? And then after you had given me all theſe Grounds for Suſpicion, you came to enter my Houſe, with armed Men. Ought I then to have opened my Doors to you? I had reſuſed to ſup at your Houſe; and ſhould I have run the Hazard of receiving you at my own? Ah, my Lord, if Demetrius had entered it, I ſhould never have gone out of it, but to a funeral Pile. Is this a trifling, or a falſe Accuſation? Can you deny that you came to the Gate of my Houſe in the Night, with a Guard? Can you deny, that ſome of your Attendants were armed? Let them be brought hither, and they will not diſown it themſelves. You are then manifeſtly guilty, and all my Father's Curſes ought to fall upon you. But as for me, let my Father open his Boſom to me! What Refuge have I but in his Breſt! I am not ſafe from my Brother's Snares, either in the Diſcharge of religious



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXI.

L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, CN.  
B. ÆLIUS TAM-  
PHILUS, Con-  
suls.

ligious Ceremonies, or in a Plain and before your Face, or at a Feast, or by Day, or by Night. I have no Recourse but to the Gods, and to You. I cannot fly to the Romans. They hate me, my Lord, because I pursue your Interests. They will immediately look on Macedon as a Kingdom subject to them, as soon as they shall have settled Demetrius on the Throne. The Macedonians themselves seem to have given me up, to adopt my Brother. You saw it Yesterday. Your Soldiers only wanted Swords to sacrifice me to their Hatred. The Macedonian Nobility honour Demetrius, on account of the Protection Rome gives him. His Court is more numerous than yours. They say, it is on his Account that the Senate shews you Favour. So that I have nothing to support me but You, and my Birth-right. All those who go from hence to Rome, return prejudiced in favour of my Brother. They already give him the Title of King; and if I complain of it, I am accused of Ambition, even by my Father. Is then demanding my Right any Injury to his Pretensions? After you, my Lord, I acknowledge no Man to be my Superior. I own I aspire at the Crown, and who can dispute it with me? Whether my Father gives it me in his Life-time, or leaves it me at his Death, it is an Inheritance that is my due. But can my Brother usurp the Throne, without a Crime? Will he walk over my Head to it? Yet this, my Lord, is what Demetrius attempted, but last Night. My Life is continually in Danger. Deliver me then from the Assassins, which I shall always have Reason to fear, as long as they continue unpunished. You may now put my Life out of Danger, by punishing those who have attempted it; but if they once take away my Life, it will not then be in your Power to revenge it.

WHEN Perseus had done, Philip looked on Demetrius, and made Signs to him to answer. But the young Prince's Tears and Grief deprived him for some time of the use of Speech. At length being commanded by his Father to justify himself, he sighing began thus. *Alas what Defence can I make! False Tears have rendered my real ones suspected. My Brother accuses me of an Attempt upon his Life, when his very Accusation is Death to me. He and his Faction have long been labouring to give you ill Impressions of me; and to load me with the odious Name of Assassin, which they themselves have deserved. They would even make me suspected of a Design upon the Life of my Sovereign. And lastly, to rob me of my Father's Protection; they pretend, that they have nothing but his Protection to oppose to the Interest of the Romans, who favour me. That is, they would make the Power of my Friends my Ruin, by causing them to be suspected. The Affair of last Night serves as a Foundation for the Calumny. All the rest are idle Suspicions, which they would make Proofs of the Attempt, with which they charge me. And he has also contrived his Accusation thus, on Purpose that I might be confounded, and not prepared to answer. If I had been so long guilty of Treason, my Accusers should not have waited till I had come armed to Perseus's House before they had accused me. To have a Design to deprive my Father of his Throne, and my Brother of his Life, are two different Crimes. Yet they are designedly blended together in the same Cause. The Accusation, so far as it relates to the former, has been long premeditated. Nevertheless I am to give my Answer to it immediately, without any Preparation. The Design of blending these two Articles together, is only to confound me. Let us then separate them as well as we can, under the present Surprise. I am charged with a Design to rob my Brother of a Crown (which by the Law of Nations, and the Custom of Macedon, belongs to the eldest Son) by an Attempt upon his Life. Perseus also insists, that I design, with the Assistance of the Romans, to deprive my Father of his Crown. But is this double Accusation well laid together? If I have such a Dependence on the Romans, as to promise myself that they will give me this Crown; what Occasion have I to get it by a Crime? Had I nothing in view but the barbarous Pleasure of wearing a Crown, stained with the Blood of a Brother? Besides, would not that be the most effectual Means I could take to disappoint myself? Would virtuous Rome support the Ambition of a Fratricide? Would not T. Flamininus, who is said to be my Protector and Counsellor, that Flamininus, who loved his own Brother so tenderly, abandon a Villain polluted with the most odious of all Crimes? Would Macedon acknowledge a King who should be dishonoured with such abominable Villanies? But to proceed.*

Let us now see who best deserves the Name of an Assassin; whether Perseus for his false Accusation, or I for this open Attempt. My Crime is supposed to have



been committed Yesterday. His breaks out to Day, and in the Presence of my Judges. It is said, That I would have assassinated him at the time of the Review; That I would have poisoned him at the Supper to which I invited him; and lastly, That under a Pretence of a Party of Pleasure, I carried armed Men to his House to murder him there. These are very heinous Things. If they are true, I don't deserve to live. And if they are false, they fall upon my Accuser. But is it at all probable, that I should have laid a Plot to assassinate Perseus, on the Day of an Expiation, in my Father's Sight, in the Presence of a great Army, in the Face of the Sun, and only with Switches? Had I, or any of the Soldiers of my Party, any Swords? No; but I at least designed Murder in the Invitation I gave to a Supper, where Poison was ready prepared. Was I then mad, to choose so improper a time to execute my Design? Should I have first exasperated you in a Battel, before I invited you to the fatal Supper? I should rather have concealed my Design under a feigned Reconciliation, and Expressions of Love. And what happened? You refused to sup with me. It was plain then that you was alarmed; and I could not but conclude that you would guard against our Attempts. And yet this, it seems, was the time chosen to strike the Blow. As to drinking indeed, pardon me, Sir, if in our Mirth last Night I exceeded the Bounds of Sobriety. The Entertainment, the Company, and a kind of Victory, drew me into it. But if I had had a Design to have killed my Brother in his own House, would not I have kept sober, for one Day, at least? Or would I have suffered my Accomplices to have got drunk? But, says Perseus, I am a Stranger to all the rest. All I know is, that People came armed with Swords to attack me in my own House. How do you know that, unless by your Spies? You have some then about me. Be it so. Is their Account true? Yes, say you; examine those in your Train, who had hid Arms under their Vests. But there is no Occasion to examine them as to that Matter. They own the Fact. The Questions that ought to be put to them are, Whether those Arms were designed for an Attempt upon you? Whether they took them by my Orders, or with my Privy? and lastly, whether they had not some other Design, besides that of killing you? And yet after all, whether they have done well, or ill, am I responsible for it? The Truth is, they used one of your Spies ill. They were afraid, he, or you, would revenge it; and they took that Precaution without my Knowledge. This is their Crime. And what have I to do with it? But further. Was it our Design to assassinate you, by open Force, or treacherously? If openly, why were we not all armed? Why had only those four their Swords, by whom your Spy had been abused? And if the Design was to kill you treacherously, it was surely a very ill-concerted Scheme. Should they have committed the Assassination in my Presence? Should I have exposed myself to the Mercy of your Attendants, and of a numerous Court, with only four Swords to defend me? Or were they to stay till I was gone, before they made the Attempt. If so, how could suspected Men hope to have free Access to you? Would they not have exposed their Lives to certain Danger, to no manner of Purpose? All this pretended Plot in the Night, is then a mere Fable, invented only to defame and ruin me.

From thence my Brother passes on to my ambitious Desires of the Crown. Perseus seems to say, why dare the People venture to name only Demetrius for the Throne? Can Philip have any Successor but myself? And this is the true Cause of all the jealousy that transports you beyond yourself. Hence come the Accusations you have formed, and hence the Tempests you endeavour to raise in my Father's Breast. I desire the Kingdom in the Life-time, and contrary to the Inclinations, of my Father! This were to render myself unworthy of a Favour, for which I can have no pretence, but Virtue. But you say, I expect the Romans will give it me. If then Rome seems to have an Affection for me, shall what is an Honour to me, be made a Crime? I made no Interest to be sent to Rome, either as Hostage, or Ambassador. It was your Pleasure, my Lord, that I should go; and I obeyed. And in both my Journies, I endeavoured to behave myself in such a manner; as not to be a Disgrace to my Father, or the Nation I represented. It is to you then that I am indebted for the Good-will of the Romans; and I shall ever have an Affection for them, as long as they maintain Peace with us. But if they break it, I shall be the first to declare myself their Enemy. My Affection to them did not begin in time of War; and it will be at an end with the Peace. I hope it will not then turn

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXI.

L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, CN.  
BÆBIUS TAM-  
PHILUS, Con-  
suls.



Year of  
R O M E.  
DLXXI.

L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, CN.  
BÆBIUS TAM-  
PHILUS, Con-  
suls.

turn to my Prejudice to have been the Pledge, and Band of the Concord which reigns between us and Rome. Indeed, if their Friendship has made me guilty of the Crime against my Father, or Brother, let me be punished for it; I have deserved it. But if I am innocent, why must I suffer by odious Suspicions? This is not the first time, Perses, that you have exclaimed against me in private Conversation; though you never made publick your secret Grudges till this Day. You, who ought to have been my Advocate with my Father, if any one else had accused me, are now become my Accuser yourself. And how hard is it for you to choose this time to put me upon my Defence! You say yourself I have been upon a Debauch all Night. I am scarce recovered from the Disorders of it; and yet am now brought hither to meet my Judges, and plead my own Cause in a Charge of Parricide, without Advocate, or Patron. Had I been to plead for any other Person, I would have taken time to prepare myself; though I should then have run no Hazard without it, but that of being thought a bad Orator. But now my Life lies at stake, and yet I am forced to answer without any Preparation. I am sent for to the Palace, without the least Knowledge of the Business; and am suddenly surprized with a studied Declamation against me. Then I answer it as well as I can; and Sentence is immediately pronounced. If any Person but a Father were the Judge, I should call this Proceeding unjust. But his Scepter assures me of the strictest Equity. O that he had the same Affection for me, as for my Brother! However, he will at least pity an innocent Child, who is unjustly accused. Perses desires my Death; and I, my Lord, only desire to live to be your Defence. Will an ambitious Man, who seeks the Life of his Brother, be scrupulous of taking away that of his Father too?

At these last Words Demetrius burst out into a Flood of Tears; and Philip was moved by it. He rose up; took Onomastus and Lysimachus aside; and after he had consulted with them for some time, returned to his Children. This Affair, said he to them, is a Matter of too great Consequence to be immediately determined. I will examine into it at my Leisure. In the mean time I shall narrowly observe all your Steps, and watch all your Motions. The Force of Innocence, and some Remains of Affection, got the Ascendant in the Father's Breast. Nevertheless, he never forgave Demetrius his Attachment to the Romans. An inveterate Hatred, or if you will, strong Jealousies of State, got the better of paternal Love in Philip's Heart. He carried on his Preparations for a War with Rome, without Intermission; but did not communicate his Design to his younger Son. Nay, the Distrusts of the Father were so strong, that he could not be satisfied till he had got rid of this imaginary Enemy. We shall, in a Year more, see Philip sacrifice Demetrius to his Jealousies. As for the War with Rome, he did not (as we have already observed) begin it in his Life-time. He left it as an Inheritance for his Son Perses, to whom he transmitted both his Crown, and his Hatred.

§. XXIX. IN Italy the Romans had no Enemies left but the *Ligures*; and the Republick seems to have made War with them only to keep herself employed. However, the two *Consuls* set out together for *Liguria*, and gained some Advantages there over those weak Enemies. Which was enough for the Senate to order Thanks to be returned the Gods by *Supplications*, for one Day only. Nevertheless, we don't find that the Expeditions of *Bæbius* and *Tamphilus* brought the Republick any other Advantage, but that of forcing two thousand *Ligures* to submit to her. And they did not address themselves immediately to the *Consuls*, but to the *Pro-Consul* M. *Marcellus*, who lay encamped on the Borders of *Gallia Transpadana*. But *Marcellus* did not think fit to determine the Fate of these *Ligures* of his own Head. They belonged to the Province of the *Consuls*. He therefore sent to the *Conscript Fathers* for their Directions; and they sent him Orders to refer the two thousand *Ligures* to the *Consuls*, and if he beforehand took them under the Protection of the Republick, to disarm them. Thus was a due Subordination preserved among the Roman Officers, and all were entirely dependent on the Determinations of the Senate.

AND whilst *Bæbius* and *Æmilius* were making War with the *Ligures*, the two *Curule Ædiles* exposed themselves, one by his Extravagance, and the other by his Debauchery. The former was one *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, the latter one *A. Hostilius Mancinus*. *Gracchus* celebrated Games, with a Magnificence before unknown in Rome. And in order to defray so great Expences, he made not only



the *Latins*, and the *Provinces* in *Italy*, but likewise foreign Nations, to contribute to them. These were burdensome Exactions; and therefore the Senate thought it necessary to restrain the Profuseness of the *Ædiles* in these Shows. They fixed the Expence of them. And as to *Mancinus*, his Debauchery gave greater Offence. Though a *Curule Ædile*, he ran about in the Night, and played the Debauchee. After an Entertainment where he had feasted intemperately, he took it into his Head, to go and Sup with a famous Courtizan, named *Mamilia*; and carried with him a Perfumer, who was the Minister of his Pleasures. When he came to her Door he made a great Noise there; but the Lady was not inclined to receive him. He still pressed for Admittance, and made more Noise. Upon which she threw down a Stone upon him from a Gallery, and wounded him in the Head. For this the *Ædile* made a Complaint against her to the People, and she was cited to appear. She appealed to the *Tribunes of the People*, to whom it belonged to take Cognizance of Affairs which were to be brought before the *Comitia*; and their Judgment was such, as became the Severity of ancient *Romans*. They dismissed *Mancinus's* Complaint, because it was an indecent thing for an *Ædile* to be found at an unseasonable Hour of the Night at a Harlot's Door; acquitted *Mamilia*; and the *Ædile* became the Jest of the Town. Which shews us, That though the Manners of particular Persons in *Rome* were much changed, the Magistrates still did their Duty, in endeavouring to suppress Disorders, by not suffering them to escape unpunished.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXI.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, CN.  
BÆBIUS TAM-  
PHILUS, CON-  
suls.  
Aul. Gell.  
B. 6. c. 1.

§. XXX. As to the States that were conquered, and pacified, the Republick still preserved her Superiority over them. There arose a Dispute between King *Masinissa*, and the Republick of *Carthage*; and the Affair was brought before the *Roman* Deputies who resided in *Africa*. It related to a certain Tract of Ground, which *Masinissa* had taken Possession of, with some Appearance of Justice. This District had belonged to his Father, and had been taken from him by *Gala*, and *Syphax*, during the Wars between those *Numidian* Kings. After this, *Syphax* had transferred the Property of this Country to the *Carthaginians*, in Consideration of his Marriage with *Asdrubal's* Daughter; and *Carthage* had enjoyed it ever since. But *Masinissa* had lately claimed it, as a Part of his Father's Dominions; and all his Fear was that the Deputies would, for fear of being thought partial, rather adjudge the Land to old Enemies, than to an ever-faithful Friend. The *Carthaginians* on the other hand pretended, that the Country in Dispute had been part of their Territories, before it belonged to *Gala* and *Syphax*: And in short, the Deputies durst not pronounce a definitive Sentence about it. They referred the Affair to the Senate of *Rome*; but left *Masinissa* in Possession of the District he had seized, provisionally, till the Cause was determined. Thus *Rome* maintained herself in that Jurisdiction, which she had assumed over all the Sovereigns in the East and South.

Liv. B. 40  
c. 17.

In the mean while, the time for the great Elections drew near. The Campaign in *Italy* was ended. The Army of the *Ligures* was dispersed, and fled for Refuge, some to their Woods and Mountains, others to their Cities and Villages. And then the *Consuls* finding that they had nothing more to do, desired leave of the Senate to disband their Troops, and return to the City. But the *Conscript Fathers* determined, that only one of them should come to *Rome*, and preside in the *Comitia*; and the other winter at *Pisa*, with his Army. Then the Collegues agreed among themselves, that *Cn. Bæbius* should return to *Rome*, his Brother being one of the Candidates for the *Consulship*; and the Centuries were assembled in *The Field of Mars*. There *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *M. Bæbius Tamphilus*, supported by his Brother, were chosen *Consuls*; and six *Prætors* were elected as usual. These drew Lots for their Provinces; and the *Prætorship* of *Rome*, to hear the Causes of *Citizens*, fell to *Petilius Spurnius*; the Cognizance of Causes between Foreigners and *Citizens*, to *Q. Fabius Maximus*; the *Prætorship* of *Cisalpine Gaul*, to *Fabius Buteo*; That of <sup>76</sup> *Apulia*, to *L. Duronius*; That of *Sicily*, to *L. Claudius*; and lastly, That of *Sardinia*, to *M. Pinarius Posca*. The latter had a great deal to do in his Province. He found it all in a Flame, through the Revolt of

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXII.  
P. CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
M. BÆBIUS  
TAMPHILUS,  
Consuls.

<sup>76</sup> *Duronius* was sent to *Apulia* to defend the Sea-Coasts of the Southern Provinces of *Italy*, against the Robberies of the Pirates.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXII.

P. CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
M. BOEBIUS  
TAMPHILUS,  
Consuls.  
Livy, B. 40.  
c. 20.

the 77 *Ilians*. Such was the State of the Republick, when *Cethegus* and *Tamphilus* entered upon their Office.

§. XXXI. As to Affairs Abroad, *Rome* had nothing more at Heart, than to revenge the cruel Death of Prince *Demetrius*. *Philip* had at last determined to sacrifice him to the Hatred he had conceived against the *Romans*. In order to have a Pretence to destroy him with some Appearance of Justice, the jealous Father sent to *Rome*, by way of Embassy, two Persons, who were devoted to *Perses* and secret Enemies to his Brother. Their Names were *Apelles* and *Philocles* and their Commission was to find out what Correspondence *Demetrius* kept up at *Rome*; and particularly what passed between him and *T. Flamininus*, whom *Philip* always dreaded as his Conqueror. The King was most anxious to discover, whether *Demetrius* had not had some Discourse with the *Roman* about the Succession to his Crown; or got some Promise from him, that it should be given to him. It was plain the two Deputies had nothing to do at *Rome*, but clear up *Philip's* Suspicions; because they neither demanded any thing of the Senate, or carried on any Negotiation in form. Nevertheless, *Demetrius* was ignorant of the Plots of his Enemies. By the Situation he was in at Court, he seemed not to have any great Reason to fear the Anger of his Father, or to hope for gaining his Affection. Indeed, the continual Sollicitations of *Perses* to *Philip* were more to be dreaded by him. Nevertheless, *Demetrius* depended on his own good Conduct, and his Innocence. But these are bad Grounds for a perfect Security when a Man is to contend with Jealousies and Distrusts. The young Prince acted with great Caution, that he might not give just Occasion for Complaint. He broke off all Correspondence with *Rome*, and no longer spoke of her with the Zeal and Vehemence, which made him to be taken for a Partizan of the *Romans*. He neither wrote to any of his Friends there, nor received any Letters from them. And these were indeed wise Precautions. But they were not enough to remove old Prejudices, and conquer a violent Ambition.

WHILST *Philip* was waiting for the Return of the Ambassadors he had sent to *Rome*, he engaged in an Enterprize against *Mædica*, a vast Country which bordered upon *Thrace* and *Macedon*. He had several Reasons for leading his Army so far, though he had no Design to enlarge his Dominions by any important Conquests. His chief Aim was to deceive the *Romans*, who took Umbrage at his assembling together so many Troops. Besides, it was necessary to exercise his Soldiers, and inure them to Fatigue, before he employed them against *Rome*. And lastly, the King was very desirous of marching up to the Top of Mount <sup>78</sup> *Hæmus*. He had met with a popular Tradition, that one might from thence see *The Black Sea*, *The Danube*, *The Adriatick Gulph*, and the end of the *Alpes* in the East of *Italy*. And he pretended to take a View there with the naked Eye of the Rout he was to take, in order to carry the War into the Heart of the Republick. He therefore began his March, accompanied by his two Sons, but gave great Preference, in point of Favour, to the eldest. The whole Court perceived it. The Officers of the Army immediately concluded from thence, that *Perses* would infallibly be placed on the Throne, notwithstanding the Defect of his Birth. And the greater part of the Courtiers made their Court to the Heir of the Throne. When the King came into *Pæonia*, of which one *Didas*, a great Favourite, was Governor, the King there first discovered his Intention to send back *Demetrius*, and not suffer him to attend him to the end of his Journey. Nevertheless, he gave even the Affront he was going to put on the young Prince, a Turn of Civility and Affection. Son, said he, I see that the farther we advance towards *Mædica*, the more our Difficulties and Dangers increase upon us; and I cannot be satisfied to hazard all my Hopes of Posterity together. It would be highly imprudent to oppose *Perses* and *Demetrius* too, to the Danger of Battels. Besides, *Macedon* ought not to be left exposed to both foreign and intestine Enemies, during my Absence. Return then, and make yourself Master of the Art of Government. *Demetrius* saw the Bait which was hid under these fine Speeches. The King had dropped for half Words in his Voyage, concerning his chief Design; and the Prince had re-

77 According to *Pliny* and *Solinus*, the *Ilians*, who inhabited the Western Parts of *Sardinia*, were descended originally from the *Trojans*. tains in *Thrace*, divides that whole Country from *Lower Mæsia*, to the North. The *Italians* call it *Monte Argentaro*.

78 Mount *Hæmus*, the highest of all the Moun-



son to infer from thence, that he was thought an improper Person to be of a Council, wherein Measures were to be taken for going into *Italy*. Nevertheless he obeyed, and seemed content to leave *Perfes* in the sole Possession of the King's Favour.

HOWEVER, the King took care to place those in whom he could confide, about *Demetrius*; to watch his Steps, and give an Account of his Conduct. He charged *Didas* to accompany the young Prince back to the Capital, as it were by way of doing him Honour. Whether *Perfes* was consulted in the Choice of this treacherous Villain is not known; but it is certain, that *Perfes* got him into his Interest; and *Didas* with Joy undertook to be a Spy upon *Demetrius*. He was very artful, capable of the blackest Treachery, and well instructed in the Arts of Flattery, and of insinuating himself into the Favour of Princes, by serving their Passions. And this Part he acted by *Demetrius*, with a Dexterity worthy of his Character. By his Discourses you would have thought him the most zealous Friend to *Rome*. He was always by the Prince's Side, ever joining with him in the same Thoughts, and Diversions, and ministring to his Pleasures. By this means *Didas* gained the Confidence of the Prince, who first let him into some of his Secrets; and soon after the Traitor so far gained upon him, that he concealed nothing from him. Happy *Demetrius*! had he turned back without any Attendants!

WHILST *Demetrius* was returning to *Macedon*, *Philip*, attended by *Perfes*, advanced towards *Mædica*. He crossed vast Deserts, and in seven Days march came to the Foot of Mount *Hæmus*. There he tarried but one Day, to chuse a Guard which was to attend him to the Top of the Mountain; and the rest of his Troops encamped in the Valley. The King had *Perfes* always by him; and with him now pursued his March. To a certain height, the Ascent of the Mountain was not difficult. The Ways were beaten. But the higher they climbed, the more their Fatigues increased. They were every Moment stopped by impenetrable Coppices, and thick Bushes, where never Man had gone. And at length they came to a Place, entirely covered with thick Trees, whose Branches were so closely intermixed with one another, that the Light could scarce penetrate through them. They dug their Way with Spades, and long marched on in a kind of Night; and when they came out of the Wood, they found themselves in a thick Fog, which made it as dark as the Trees had done. At length, on the third Day, *Philip* and his Attendants reached the Top of Mount *Hæmus*: But in vain sought for that wide Prospect, which Fame had so much commended. They could neither see *The Black Sea*, nor *The Danube*, nor the Extremities of the *Alpes*. However, the King and his Troop agreed not to discover their Disappointment, as to the main Point in view. They left the Publick in their Credulity, and spared *Philip* much Raillery. Nevertheless he was much tired, and much mortified, at having succeeded so ill; and when he had offered Sacrifices to *Jupiter* and the Sun, on the Top of the Mountain, left it. He was three Days in ascending it, but came down in two. The Nights were very cold on the Top of *Hæmus*, to a Man of his Age; and he returned to the Valley. When he came to his Camp, the King found that the five Days which he had been absent had produced a Scarcity in it. The Troops, which the trifling Curiosity of the King had brought into this Danger, were ready to perish with Hunger; and he therefore tarried only one Day there to refresh his Guard, which he had carried with him to the Top of *Hæmus*. From thence he marched into the Country of the *Dentheletæ*, with as much Precipitation, as if he had been pursued by an Enemy. The Inhabitants of that Province were in Alliance with *Macedon*. Then the *Macedonian* pursued his Rout to *Mædica*; there besieged *Petra*; commanded the Attack on the side of the Plain himself; and ordered *Perfes* to invest it by the Eminencies. The Besieged surrendered, and gave Hostages; but as soon as *Philip* was gone, abandoned their City, and retired to the Rocks. And thus ended the King's Expedition. His Curiosity was not satisfied, his Conquest did him no good, and his Army returned to *Macedon* much fatigued, and in great Disorder.

§. XXXII. AND the more uneasy *Philip* grew, the more his Aversion to *Demetrius* increased. *Didas* fomented the Division between the Father and the Son. This Traitor had followed the Prince from *Pæonia*; and had made an ill use of the Familiarity with which *Demetrius* honoured him. By his Insinuations and

Flatteries,

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXII.

P. CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
M. BOEBIUS  
TAMPHILUS,  
Consuls.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXII.

P CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
M BÆBIUS  
TAMPHILUS,  
Consuls.

Flatteries, he had drawn a Secret from the Prince, which he immediately communicated to *Perses*, and *Perses* to the King. *Demetrius* being tired out with the Treatment of his Father, continually exposed to the Persecutions of his Brother, and weary of the Court, proposed to retire to *Rome*; and this Design he had opened to *Didas*, whom he thought his Friend. *Pæonia*, of which this Traitor was Governor, lay in the Road to *Italy*; and the Prince desired him to suffer him to pass safely through his Province, and make his Escape that Way *incognito*. *Didas* promised whatever was desired; and then informed the Court of it. When *Philip* received the News, he was besieging *Petra*; and he immediately ordered *Herodorus*, an avowed Friend to *Demetrius*, to be arrested. Then he sent Orders to keep the Prince always in sight, and prevent his Escape. So that when *Philip* returned to *Macedon*, he could not look on *Demetrius* without Rage. But though his Design of flying to *Rome* was a Crime, it was not sufficient to erase all the Tenderness of the Father. *Philip* still waited with Impatience for the return of his Ambassadors from *Rome*; and pretended that he would, according to their Informations, either condemn the Prince to die, or acquit him. Some Months passed, and *Demetrius* was still in Disgrace with the King, and in a kind of Captivity in his Father's Court. He was narrowly watched, and every Step observed. A melancholy Situation for a virtuous Prince; who could only reproach himself with one false Step; and that he had been forced into, by the Rigour of a Father, and the Hatred of a Brother!

Livy, B. 40.  
c. 23.

AND whilst *Demetrius* was languishing thus in *Macedon*, and durst not even acquaint the *Romans*, his Protectors, with his Case; the vilest Calumny was hatching against him, at *Rome*. *Philip's* Ambassadors, at the Instigation of *Perses*, forged a Letter, which they fathered upon *Q. Flaminius*, and pretended that it was directed to Prince *Demetrius*. This forged Letter was to this Effect. *If your Desire of a Crown has carried you so far, as to draw you into Attempts against your own Blood; don't flatter yourself that I will ever enter into your Interest, so far as to sacrifice Honour and Honesty to it. I hate the impious Designs of ambitious Men.* The Authors of this Forgery had counterfeited the Hand and Seal of *Flaminius*, and, as they pretended, intercepted the Letter. They brought it to the King, who was struck with it; and he now thought he had enough in his Hands, to justify his own Suspicions, and the Accusations of *Perses*. The Ambassadors had so managed the Plot, that it had an Air of Probability in it, which was taken for Truth. There were in the Letter the Marks of the *Roman* Virtue. The Proposal the young Prince had made, was very suitable to the Inclinations which the King presumed his Son had. And the Crime which *Flaminius* disapproved of, was at least the Murder of a Brother. Indeed the Letter itself was yet to be enquired into, whether counterfeit, or not. But strong Prejudices made the King overlook an *Eclaircissement*, which Multitudes of Suspicions made him think needless. All the Precaution he took was to put *Herodorus*, *Demetrius's* chief Confident, to the Torture. And this faithful Servant died in Torments, without laying any Charge upon his Master. As to *Perses*, he became his Brother's Accuser, a second time. He made loud Exclamations, and pathetick Complaints against him; and at length Innocence fell a Sacrifice to the Appearances of Guilt. Nevertheless, *Philip* did not openly pronounce Sentence of Death upon his Son. He was still afraid of the *Romans*, and willing to keep up his own Reputation. He resolved to destroy him privately by Artifice. *Philip* pretended to take a Journey to *Demetrias*, and before his Departure, separated his two Sons. He sent the elder to *Amphipolis*, to receive the Hostages that were sent to him from *Petra*; and the younger to *Pæonia*, committing him a second time, to the Care of *Didas*. It is pretended, that he gave private Orders to this Governor, rather to dispatch *Demetrius* by Poison, than the Sword; and the King's will was put in execution by the Traitor, with all the Readiness and Submission that could have been expected from him. *Demetrius* had fixed his Abode at 79 *Æstraum*, where he enjoyed the Pleasure of being at a Distance from the Court. But his Tranquillity wa

79 In the Text of *Livy* we read *Asterium* instead of *Æstraum*. But it is certain the former City be- longed to *Thessaly*. Whereas, a City of *Pæonia* here spoken of, which *Æstraum* was.



soon disturbed. *Didas* either instituted a new Feast at <sup>So</sup> *Heraclea* on purpose, or Year of assisted there at a Sacrifice of ancient Institution. The Prince was invited to it; *ROME* and either not suspecting the Treachery of the Governour, or because his Father *DLXXII.* had made him subject to *Didas*, came to the publick Feast. He there received *P. CORNELIUS* the Honours due to his Birth; and knew not that he was to be one of the Vic- *CETHEGUS,* *M. BABIUS* *T. AMPHILUS,* *CONSULS.* tims. The Day was spent in religious Offices; and at Night *Didas* gave an Entertainment. The Prince did him the Honour to be present at it; and as soon as he had drank the Poison prepared for him, was sensible of it, and found that he was a dead Man. A sudden Chill ran thro' his whole Body, and he left the Table, and retired to the next Apartment. There, whilst he was calling on the Gods to attest his Innocence, complaining of the Misfortunes his Father had brought upon him, and uttering his Abhorrence of the Treacheries of *Perfes* and *Didas*, two Assassins entered the Room, seized him, wrapped him up in a Cloth, stopped his Mouth and Nose, and suffocated him. Thus, by a kind of double Death, a Prince perished in the midst of his Age, whose only Reproach was, That he was beloved by the *Romans*. *Philip* himself was sensible of the Loss he had in him, when it was too late. His true Policy had been to have kept the Ballance even between his two Sons. His old Age would have been spent in more Tranquillity if he had divided his Favours between them, and equally encouraged the Hopes of both. Whereas we shall soon see him overwhelmed with the Calamities which his Son *Perfes* will bring upon him, overcome with Grief for having destroyed *Demetrius*, die in Despair, and leave his Scepter to a Prince very unworthy to bear it.

§. XXXIII. THE Death of *Demetrius* threatened *Rome* more and more with a new War with *Macedon*; but the Time for its breaking out was not yet come. The Republick was in a manner only employed in *Liguria* and *Spain*; for we look on the Revolt of the *Ilians* in *Sardinia*, as little or nothing. Besides, a Plague infested both City and Country, and would not suffer either *Rome* or her Allies to make the usual Levies. Nevertheless, *Rome* kept up four Armies for *Liguria* only, exclusive of the *Prætorian Legions* in *Cisalpine Gaul*, and *Apulia*. The *Consuls* were each to have his Army in *Liguria*. But they found it difficult to compleat their *Legions*, at a time when they could not help excusing the Sick from the Service. So that at present the *Pro-Consul Paulus Æmilius* continued alone in *Liguria*, with the Troops he had commanded there the last Year; and the *Ligures* made all their Efforts against him. This *Pro-Consul*, with a Body of about eighteen thousand Men, advanced towards the Frontiers of the *Ingauni*, a People of *Liguria*; and had scarce pitched his Camp there, before the *Ingauni* sent Deputies to him, in Appearance to treat of Peace. But their real Design was to observe the *Roman* Trenches, discover the Number of Troops that defended them, and take proper Measures for besieging the Camp. *Paulus Æmilius* refused to give the Deputies an Audience, unless the whole Nation would entirely submit; and then the Envoys made it their Business to gain time. They demanded a Truce, under Pretence that it would be difficult to persuade a fierce, clownish People, to surrender themselves up to the *Romans* so suddenly. And when this Truce was granted them for ten Days, the Deputies likewise desired the *Roman* General not to suffer his Troops to cut any Wood, or Forrage beyond the Mountains; *Because*, said they, *our Lands there are sowed, and your Troops will commit great Waste in them.* Whereas at the Bottom, the real Aim of these perfidious Men was only to hinder the *Romans* from seeing the great Army which they were assembling, with as much Silence as possible, in their Plains. This formidable Army consisted of forty thousand Men; and after it had first hid itself behind the Mountains, came immediately and appeared before the *Roman* Camp. It was in an Instant surrounded on all Sides, and not one Gate of it left free. The *Pro-Consul* would fain have gone out into the Plain, and fought a pitched Battel there; but the Besiegers would not suffer him. They made surprizing Efforts all Day long, to make a Breach in the Ramparts; but the *Romans* defended them with extraordinary Valour, and with

So This City of *Heraclea*, is a different Place from the *Heraclea* situated in the North Part of *Macedon*. We have already mentioned the latter, under the

Name of *Heraclea Sintica*. The former was near *Pæonia*, and belonged to the *Lyncestæ*. For this Reason it was called *Heraclea Lyncestidis*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXII.  
P. CORNELIUS  
CEIHEGUS,  
M. BÆBIUS  
TAMPHILUS,  
Consuls.

their Darts kept the Approaches to the Camp clear. When Night came on, the Enemy retired, resolving to renew the Attack the next Day; and *Paulus Æmilius* thought it impossible for him to decamp. However, before Morning, he sent away two Horsemen; one to *Cn. Bæbius* his Collegue in the *Consulate* the last Year, and now *Pro-Consul*, as well as himself, who lay encamped towards *Pisa*; and the other to the Senate. He sent *Bæbius* and the *Conscript Fathers* word, that he was besieged in his Camp, by an Army infinitely stronger than his own; and desired the former, to come in Person, with his Troops, to his Assistance; and intreated the latter, to send away the *Consuls* immediately to deliver him. But it unfortunately happened, that *Bæbius* had now no Army. He had delivered up his Troops to the *Prætor* of *Sardinia*, who was to transport them thither to suppress the revolted *Ilians*. And as to the *Consuls*, they peremptorily refused to begin their March, till their *Legions* were compleat. The Contagion hindered the filling the Levies. Nevertheless, upon the express Orders of the Senate, they set out with the few Troops they had; picked up what other Troops they could in the Way; and formed a kind of tumultuary Army, the *Rendezvous* for which they fixed at *Pisa*. Nor was this all the Senate did. They ordered the *Prætor* *Publius* to raise two *Legions* in all Haste, and enlist the Veterans themselves, who were not past fifty Years of Age. Nay, their Precautions went still further. They ordered two Men to equip a Fleet to cruise on the Coasts of *Liguria*, and carry Reinforcements and Provisions to *Paulus Æmilius*; or, in case of Need, to serve for a Retreat for the Troops, after a Defeat. But, as diligent as the Romans were, the Reinforcements came too late. *Paulus Æmilius* waited for them some Days; and when he could have drawn up his Troops in the Plain, had declined exposing his small Army to the Danger of a Battel. But at length, when he found that his two Horsemen did not return, he took it for granted that they were fallen into the Enemy's Hands. And in this Extremity, he took a Resolution which was dictated by his Courage, and the present Necessity. This was to fight the Enemy, who retired to their Tents every Night, and renewed the Attack every Morning. As soon as it was Day therefore, the *Pro-Consul* drew up his *Legionaries* behind the Gates of his Camp. He trebled the *Cohort* of his foreign Guard, gave the Command of it to one of his Lieutenant-Generals, and drew it up in Battalia, behind *The Prætorian Gate*. At *The Right Gate*, he posted the *Hastati* of his first *Legion*, and the *Principes* to support them. At *The Left Gate*, he drew up his third *Legion*, with this Difference, that the *Principes* were in the Front of it, and the *Hastati* in the Rear. The Cavalry of the right Wing were ordered to march out at *The Quæstorian Gate*; and the *Triarii* of the two *Legions* were left to guard the Camp. Each of these Battalions had General Officers to command them; and the Roman General flew from Gate to Gate in his Camp, giving his last Orders, and exhorting his Troops different Ways. *We have only Traitors to deal with,* said he to some. *The Ligures attack us during the Truce we granted them. They are therefore drawing down on themselves the Anger of the Gods, the Avengers of Publick Faith, and the Law of Nations.* *What!* said he to the others, *will you suffer a Company of Ligures, a Parcel of Peasants got together, to have the Impudence to besiege a Roman Camp? The Enemies you are going to attack, are the same which you have so often chased in their Mountains; and will you suffer them to do what neither Pyrrhus, nor Hannibal, nor Philip, durst ever attempt?* And others he animated with the Fear of Disgrace. *If you are beaten by the Ligures,* said he, *what will be said of you at Rome? What will the Conquerors of Carthage, Macedon, and Syria, think of you? Will you dare shew yourselves in the City?* Thus *Æmilius* roused the Courage of the *Legionaries*; and they all immediately answered, That they waited only for his Commands, to correct the Insolence of the *Ligures*. This Chearfulness in the Soldiers, was a happy Presage for the General; and when the *Ingauni* appeared, all was ready. In their first Attacks, these People had marched in good Order out of their Camps; (for they had two behind the Mountains;) but now, that they thought themselves sure of having no Enemy to oppose them, they marched in Confusion. They drew near to the Roman Camp, in a tumultuous Manner; and when they were within Reach of it, all on a sudden a great Shout was made on the Top of the Ramparts. The four Gates of the Camp were thrown open; the *Pro-Consular* Troops sallied out, like so many Torrent



Torrents let loose upon Men in Disorder, and stupified with Surprize; and the *Ligures* made so little Resistance, that it could scarce be called a Battel. There was a terrible Slaughter made of them. The Cavalry cut in Pieces those whom the Infantry had broken. Fifteen thousand *Ingauni* were left dead upon the Spot; two thousand five hundred made Prisoners of War; and the rest fled for Refuge to their two Camps, which were both taken from them, by the *Romans*. The Consequence of this Victory was, that the whole Canton of the *Ingauni* submitted to the *Romans*, and gave them Hostages. And then the *Pro-Consul* imprisoned the Pirates of this Nation, who had so long infested the Coasts of *Italy*, and disturbed Trade, as far as to *Spain*; and took from them two and thirty Ships. The News of this Victory filled *Rome* with Joy; and Thanksgivings were ordered to be given to the Gods, for three Days. The Senate put a Stop to the extraordinary Levies that were making in the City, and among the Allies; and *Paulus Æmilius* had Leave to return to *Rome*, and disband his Troops. By this Action his Name became more famous than ever; and he triumphed. Tho' he had a little too rashly led his Army into the Defiles, his Victory was too glorious a one, not to be rewarded with a Triumph. He had supported himself in a bad Situation, with Constancy, and had extricated himself by his Valour. This made strong Impressions of his Merit on the Minds of the People, who will hereafter raise him a second time to the *Consulate*; and then we shall see him conquer *Macedon*, and be honoured with a much more magnificent Triumph, wherein *Perses* will be led in Chains before his Chariot. The Day of *Æmilius's* first Triumph was also farther remarkable, for an Embassy that then came to *Rome*, from all the *Ligurian* Nation. They demanded an eternal Peace with the *Romans*, and promised never to take up Arms again, but with the Consent of the Republick. However, the Senate seemed to lay little Stress on these Promises. They referred the Ambassadors to the *Consuls*, whom they had sent towards their Province.

§.XXXIV. THE News which came from *Spain* gave the *Romans* as much Joy as the Defeat of the *Ligures*. Advices came, that in *The Hither Province*, almost all the *Celtiberian* Nation was reduced. They had long maintained their Revolt; but had never brought a more numerous Army against the *Romans*, than now. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* was now *Prætor* in *Hither Spain*, the second time; and it is certain the *Roman* Troops were not equal in Number to those of the Revolters. However, *Fulvius's* Ability supplied that Defect. Early in the Spring, he took the Field, entered the Country of the <sup>81</sup> *Carpetani*, and encamped near <sup>82</sup> *Æbura*, after he had left a moderate Garrison in the City. The *Celtiberians* also, depending on their Numbers, advanced into *Carpetania*; and posted themselves at the Foot of a Mountain, within Reach of the *Roman* Camp. The wise *Pro-Prætor* suffered the Ardour of the Enemy for a Battel to cool, for some time; (the *Roman* Generals had often succeeded by this phlegmatick Way of proceeding) and permitted only a small Body of his Horse to appear in the Plain, under the Command of his Brother, sometimes to watch the Enemy, and sometimes to give them false Alarms. This Management lasted four Days. The *Celtiberians* marched out of their Camp every Morning, in Order of Battel, and bid the Enemy Defiance. But *Fulvius* did not stir. Both Parties went foraging behind their Camps only. So that there were no Rencounters, or Parties taken. This seeming Fearfulness of the *Romans*, increased the Confidence of the *Celtiberians*. But nevertheless, they were tired with going so often to offer Battel, and having it declined; and they therefore kept themselves close in their Entrenchments, in full Assurance that the *Romans* would not attack them first. Which was the very Point *Fulvius* wanted to compass. After he had removed their Distrust, he took Advantage of their Security. He sent out silently in the Night a Part of his Horse, and six thousand Auxiliaries, to go and post themselves behind the Mountain against which the *Celtiberian* Camp lay. The Enemy were in great Tranquillity, and had no Thoughts of being attacked, even by Day. Nevertheless *Fulvius*, at break of Day,

<sup>81</sup> It were needless to repeat what we have already said of these People. It is sufficient to know that they were Masters of the Territory of *Toledo*, and of *La Mancha*, in *New Castille*.

<sup>82</sup> Besides the City of *Æbura* in *Portugal*, the

ancient Geographers mention two other Cities of that Name; one in *Bætica*, and the other in the Country of the *Edetani*. That of which *Livy* speaks seems to have been situated on the Banks of the *Tagus*, near *Talavera la Reyna*.



Year of *ROME* ordered a great Body of Cavalry to advance quite up to the Enemy's Trenches; and then the *Celtiberians* marched out in their Turn, to chase the *Romans*. However, the latter did not retire to their Camp, till they heard the Signal given for their Infantry to enter the Plain.

DLXXII.  
P. CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
M. BÆBIUS  
TAMPHILUS,  
Conuls.

THE whole *Celtiberian* Army was formed, and marched a great Pace, towards the *Roman* Camp, resolving to take it by Force. They were but five hundred Paces from it, when the *Romans* gave a great Shout, in the Bottom of their Trenches. This was the Signal agreed on with the Detachment which they had sent away the Night before, to the Mountain behind the *Celtiberian* Camp; and then the Rebels were attacked in two Places. Their Camp was first invellied by the *Roman* Squadron which came out of their Ambuscade; and *Fulvius* opened three of the Gates of his Camp, and marched out into the Plain the Troops which he had kept ready drawn up, within them. This sudden Resolution astonished the Enemy; and their Surprise was much increased, by what their last Line saw in the Camp which they had quitted. It was all in a Flame. As the *Celtiberians* had left only five hundred Men to guard it, it was soon taken by the Detachment. The *Romans* who commanded it, set Fire to that Part of it which could be seen by the two Armies; and this filled the *Romans* with Joy, and the *Celtiberians* with Terror. The latter found that they had no Retreat, in case of a Defeat; and their whole Dependance therefore must be on the Success of a Battel. Nevertheless, they thought the *Roman* Legions impenetrable; and therefore made their main Efforts on the Side of their left Wing, against the *Spanish* Auxiliaries in the *Roman* Army. They were ready to have broken thro' them; when *Fulvius* sent the seventh *Legion* to their Assistance. The Troops the *Pro-Prator* had left in Garrison at *Æbura*, came also, and fell on the *Celtiberians*; and to complete their Misfortune, the *Roman* Detachment likewise which had burnt their Camp, came to bear their Part in the Action. It drew near, and was going to attack the *Celtiberians* behind; and in this Extremity therefore, after they had already lost a great many Men, they disbanded and fled. So that the *Romans*, instead of having Enemies to fight with, had now nothing to do but to pursue Fugitives. The Cavalry, which was divided into several small Bodies, came up with them, and made a terrible Slaughter of them. Twenty five thousand of the Enemy were killed on the Field of Battel. The *Romans* made four thousand eight hundred Prisoners of War; and took above five hundred Horses, and ninety eight Standards. And this considerable Victory cost the *Romans* only two hundred *Legionaries*, seven hundred of the *Latin* Troops, and two thousand four hundred of the *Spanish* Auxiliaries. *Fulvius* spent the Night in his own Camp, and the Detachment lay in the *Celtiberian* Camp which they had taken. The next Day the *Romans* stripped the Dead, and distributed the Rewards of Valour.

Livy, B. 40.  
c. 33.

§. XXXV. BUT *Fulvius* did not content himself with having gained a Battel. In order to make his Victory useful, he left his Wounded in *Æbura*, crossed the Country of the *Carpetani*, and fell upon <sup>83</sup> *Contrebia*, a City of the *Celtiberians*. The Garrison were not in a Condition to sustain a Siege; and they called in Succours. The Cities and Towns in the Neighbourhood were very desirous of saving the Country, by preserving *Contrebia*, and their Troops marched in haste towards it. But they were retarded in their March by Rains, and the Overflowings of the Rivers. So that the *Contrebian*s despaired of Relief, treated with the *Romans*, and delivered up the Place, very seasonably for *Fulvius*. The Weather was so bad, and such continual Rains fell, that an Army could not keep the Field. However, the *Legions* found Shelter in the City they had newly conquered. Soon after, the Storms ceased, and the Roads were passable; and then the *Celtiberian* Troops began to move again, and hastened to deliver a City, which was already taken. They knew not that it had surrendered; and their Army advanced, and was surprized not to find the *Romans* before the Place. They thought the Rains had forced them to raise the Siege; and their Confidence increasing upon it, they marched in great Disorder. But when they were within Reach, *Fulvius* opened two Gates, made a vigorous Sally, and if all the Succours had come up

83 The City of *Contrebia* belonged to *New Castille*. The *Spanish* Geographers place it upon the little River of *Henares*, and in old *Celtiberia*. It is now called *Tortosa*, and is a different Place from the City of that Name in *Catalonia*, which stands at the Mouth of the *Ebro*.



together, the Slaughter had been still greater. However, the *Romans* killed about twelve thousand *Celtiberians*, made five thousand Prisoners, and took from them four hundred Horses, and sixty two Standards. These two Victories pacified *Celtiberia*, and procured the Brave *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the Honours of a Triumph; which he could not enjoy, till the next Year, after his Return to *Italy*. In *Further Spain*, the *Pro-Prætor Manlius Vulso* had also some Advantages over the *Lusitanians*; but none of his Victories equalled those of *Fulvius*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXII.  
P. CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
M. BÆTIUS  
TAMPHILUS,  
Consuls.

In the mean time, the Revolt still continued in the Province of *Sardinia*, and the Island of *Corfica* being near it, was infected with it. The *Prætor M. Pinarius* undertook some Expeditions there, which brought these Islanders to their Duty. In a Battel fought with the *Corficans*, *Pinarius* killed two thousand of their Men. From thence he went to *Sardinia*, and by some Battels, in which he always had the Advantage, brought the Revolters to Reason. The *Corficans* were forced to give Hostages; and paid the Tax that was laid upon them in Wax. Two thousand Pounds weight of it were demanded of them. They had then no Gold or Silver; and probably traded among one another only by Barter.

§. XXXVI. WHILST the *Roman* Generals were supporting the Glory of the Republick in different Places, the People and Senate of *Rome* made it their Business to reform Abuses in the State. A *Tribune of the People* was the Author of a Law, which the prevailing Luxury of the Age made necessary. The People set no Bounds to the Entertainments they gave. Besides that the Richness and Number of the Dishes made the Expences of them excessive, such great Numbers of People came to them, as made these Assemblies suspected. The Ambitious canvassed for Suffrages, not so much by shewing their Merit, as giving Treats. It was therefore necessary to remedy this Disorder; and it was done by Degrees. A zealous *Tribune of the People*, named *Orcius*, began with fixing<sup>84</sup> the Number of the Persons that any one should invite to an Entertainment at his own House. *Cato* contended for this Law, with all his Eloquence; and the Harangues he made to the People were full of Complaints of the Offences committed against it. Nor was this all. It was soon after found necessary to moderate the other Excesses of sumptuous Tables. Many young Debauchees sacrificed even their Modesty to the Passions of those who entertained them. Besides, they often came from an Entertainment, heated with Wine, to assist in the *Comitia*, when the most important Affairs of the Republick were under Consideration. To put an End to these Disorders therefore, it was declared unlawful for any Man to spend more at one Feast than a hundred *Asses*\* of Brass. Afterwards, it was found necessary to extend this Law to all *Italy*, and to subject both the Guests and the Masters of the Feasts to the Penalties of it. And at last, even the Quantity of Meat to be served up at an Entertainment, was settled by Law. Indeed all these Laws shew the Inclinations of the *Romans* to Intemperance; but they at the same time shew the Zeal of the Republick to restrain it.

Macrob. Sat 3.  
c. 17.

\* 6 s. 5 d. 1.  
Englsh.

ANOTHER<sup>86</sup> Law, which was made in the Consulship of *Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Bæbius Tamphilus*, was more useful to the Republick, and more lasting, than the *Orcian*. *Aquilius Gallus*, the *Tribune of the People*, was the Author of it. This *Plebiscitum* contained three Articles. The first regulated what Reparation should be made to private Persons for Damages done them, by killing a Slave, or an Ox; it enacted, That the highest Price should be paid for them, that Slaves or Oxen were sold for, that Year. The second Article settled what Reparation should be made for Injuries done to the *Citizens*, by spoiling their Lands, or Tools, or by robbing them of the Benefits they ought to reap from them, by forming unjust Companies. But these Regulations afterwards grew obsolete, and of no Force. Whereas the third Article continued always in Force, as well as the first. It enacted, That for Things lost, or burnt, or broken, Restitution should

Digest. l. 9.  
ad Leg. Aquil.  
Tit. 2.

Ulpian, ibid.

<sup>84</sup> *Macrobins* expressly says that the *Orcian* Law was published in the third Year after *Cato's* Consulship. We have therefore Reason to fix the Publication of it to the Year 572.

<sup>85</sup> Nevertheless, according to *Festus*, under the Word *Percundellatum*, *Cato* seems at first to have opposed the Publication of the *Orcian* Law. But then, the same Author, when he explains the Word

*Obsonitavere*, observes, that *Cato* changed his Opinion, and afterwards joined with the *Tribune Orcius*.

<sup>86</sup> Most *Civilians* have given us the Interpretation of this Law, without saying in what Year it was made. All we know is, that in *Tully's* time it was thought ancient, as he shews in his *Book Of Illustrious Orators*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXII.

P CORNELIUS  
CETREIUS,  
M BÆBIUS  
TAMPHILUS,  
Consuls.

be made to the Owners, according to any Price that those Things bore within thirty Days after. This Law took place of all those that had been made before, in relation to these Matters, and even of the Law of *The Twelve Tables*. And therefore the Civilians have taken very great Pains to explain and interpret *The Aquilian Law*.

THESE Regulations were made at *Rome*, whilst the *Consuls* were yet in *Liguria*. Their Year was very barren of Exploits, *M. Bæbius* was therefore recalled to the City, to preside in the *Comitia* for electing new *Consuls*; and then the Son-in-law opposed his Father-in-law, in the Election. This Rival for the *Consulate* was one *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, whose Mother *Hostilia* had married *Calpurnius Piso*, after the Death of *Flaccus*. This Woman, who idolized her Son, was very zealous for him; but it happened, as in Decency it should, that *Calpurnius* got the better of his Wife's Son. He was chosen *Consul* with *A. Posthumius Albinus*. Six Persons were also chosen *Prætors*, who drew Lots for their Provinces. *Hostilius Mancinus*, and *Minucius Augurinus*, continued at *Rome*, to judge Causes there. *Cornelius Mammula* went to *Sicily*; *C. Manius*, to *Sardinia*; *T. Sempronius* was appointed to relieve *Fulvius Flaccus*, in *Hither Spain*; and *L. Postumius*, to succeed *Manlius Vulso*, in *Further Spain*. After the Provinces of the *Prætors* were settled, those of the *Consuls* were fixed; and they both marched to *Liguria*. *Rome* had then no considerable War to maintain in any other Place<sup>87</sup>.

§. XXXVII. As

87 In this Year, says *Livy*, there were dug up, at the Foot of the *Janiculus*, two Stone Monuments like Tombs, the Joints of which were fastened with Lead. They were discovered by some Labourers, who were removing the Earth of a Field which belonged to a Citizen of *Rome*, named *Lucius Petilius*. He was then Secretary to the Magistrates. Both these Tombs were eight Foot long, and four broad. According to the *Greek* and *Latin* Inscriptions which were upon the Stones that covered them, one of them contained *Numa Pompilius's* Body, and the other contained several Volumes of his Writings. *Petilius* opened them, with the Advice of his Friends; and found no Footsteps in the first of a human Body. Time had consumed the Bones, as well as Flesh; in the Space of near five hundred Years, which had passed between the Death of the second King of *Rome*, and this Year 572. But the Manuscripts, were found entire. They were made up into two Bundles, which were tied with Strings, covered with Pitch, or Wax. Each Bundle contained seven Books; the Writing of which was very fresh. *Pliny* also relates this Fact, on the Credit of *Cassius Hemina*. According to this Author, the Oil of Cedar which was put upon these Books, had preserved them from Corruption all this while. The seven first, which were written in *Latin*, contained the Law of the *Pontifices*. The others were written in *Greek*. They treated of the Philosophy which prevailed in *Numa's* time. They were, according to *Valerius of Antium*, a Collection of *Pythagorean* Doctrines. This latter Writer probably designed by this Lie, to give Credit to the false Opinion of several Historians, which contended that *Numa* had been *Pythagoras's* Disciple. But be that as it will, *Petilius's* Friends had the Curiosity to read Books which were so venerable for their Antiquity. Then they were communicated to many Citizens. So that in a little time, all the City was acquainted with this new Discovery. *Quintus Petilius*, then *Prætor* of *Rome*, earnestly desired the Manuscripts of *Lucius Petilius*. The latter lay under Obligations to the *Prætor*, who by his Interest had procured him his Secretary's Place: And *Quintus* run over the two Collections. In so doing, he observed that the Maxims ascribed to *Numa* tended to destroy Polytheism, and the superstitious Ceremonies with which the old Way of Worship had been overburdened since the Death of this Lawgiver; and this was enough to make the *Prætor* believe, that they were fictitious Books, made only to do Prejudice to the Established Religion. He concluded that they ought

to be burnt, as pernicious Books. Nevertheless he left it to the Discretion of the Proprietor of them; and *Lucius* had Recourse to the *Tribunes* of the People, who brought the Affair before the Senate. The *Prætor* offered to swear, that it was dangerous for any one to read these Books; and upon *Quintus's* Word, the two Bundles were condemned to the Flames, without farther Examination. And in order to make the Proprietor amends for his Loss, a Sum of Money was ordered to be paid him, according to the Value that had been set upon them, by the *Tribunes*, and *Prætor*. But *Lucius* had too great a Soul to accept of the Money. However, in Obedience to the Decree, the Books were burnt by the *Victimarii*, whose Business it was to slay the Victims.

This is *Livy's* Account of this Fact; which other Historians represent differently. None of them agree, as to the Number of the Books. *Plutarch* and *Valerius Antias* say, there were twelve *Latin* ones, on Religion; and twelve *Greek*, on Philosophy. *Varro* and *Lactantius* make them to have been but twelve in all. And *Livy* makes them fourteen. According to *Pliny*, *Varro*, and *St. Austin*, *De Civitate Dei*, the Secretary's Name was *Cneius Terentius*. But *Lactantius* and *Valerius Maximus* call him *Petilius*. Doubtless, the latter was a *Freedman* of the *Petilian* Family, from which, according to Custom, he had taken that Name; and had, by the Interest of his *Patron*, obtained the Secretary's Place. We have elsewhere observed, that this Sort of Employments were granted only to *Freedmen*. Nor are the Historians better agreed, as to the Manner in which these Books were found. *Plutarch* says, that the two Monuments were discovered by some Streams of Water, which washed away the Earth. *Valerius Maximus* says, that only the Philosophical Books were burnt; and that the Senate saved the *Latin* ones, which treated of the *Pontifical* Law. Nor is this all. *Pliny* makes both *Numa's* Body and the Books, to have been in one Tomb. These different Accounts therefore, tho' they all confirm the Fact, leave us in doubt which to prefer, as to the Circumstances of it.

*Livy* observes also, that in the Year 572, not the least Rain fell for six Months. The Drought made the Lands barren; and that Barrenness produced general Famine. And the same Historian, among the other memorable Events of this Year, mentions the Dedication of two Temples; one of which stood near the Gate *Collina*, and was consecrated to *Venus Erycina*; the other was in *The Herb Market*.



§. XXXVII. As soon as *Postumius Albinus*, and *Calpurnius Piso*, had taken Possession of the *Fasces*, they went to preside in the Senate. The first Business that was brought before the House, related to *Hither Spain*. After *Fulvius* had vanquished, and, in part at least, pacified the *Celtiberians*, he sent three <sup>88</sup> Officers from the Army to *Rome*, to desire two Things of the *Conscript Fathers*. First, That they would return the Gods Thanks for his Victory; and secondly, That they would disband the Troops which had conquered under him in *Spain*, and give him Leave to return with them to *Italy*. These Brave Men had indeed been long in the Service, in a foreign Country. They had received no Pay all the Year; neither had proper Care been taken for their Subsistence. They were now very desirous of returning to their native Country; and it was to be feared, that if they were not recalled, they would desert, or a general Revolt would be the Consequence. So that nothing could be more reasonable than *Fulvius's* Request. Nevertheless, it did not pass without Opposition. *Tiberius Sempronius* was just nominated to succeed *Fulvius* in *Hither Spain*; and it was his Interest to find a well disciplined Army there, which had made themselves formidable to the *Celtiberians*. He therefore examined one of the Deputies sent by his Predecessor, in full Senate, in this Manner. *Is Celtiberia indeed entirely settled in Tranquillity? May I absolutely depend upon it, that the old Revolt there is entirely quelled? For my own Part, I have some Reason to believe that only some of the nearest Cities of the Provinces are subdued. And if that be the Case, is it not better to keep the old Legions in my Province, and send thither Recruits to supply the Places of those who are not able to serve any longer? If I only carry new Levies with me, shall I not have Reason to fear new Insurrections? Will the Celtiberians stand in Awe of unexperienced Troops, commanded by a new General? I declare to you beforehand, Conscript Fathers, that if I have the old Troops of Fulvius I shall not be afraid to march against the Enemy; but if I have only undisciplined Troops under me, I shall confine my self to my Trenches, and not stir out of them.* The Deputy could not say that *Hither Spain* was entirely pacified. *Who can answer, said he, for the sudden Commotions, and secret Designs of an untractable Nation? It is doubtless right to have an Army to oppose them. But then, at the same time, who can answer for the Submission of our old Troops in Spain? They are fatigued with a long Stay in a foreign Country, and demand their Congè. And can this be refused them? Both Justice and Compassion plead for them. And for my own part, I have heard them protest, when assembled round the General's Tent, That they would not continue in Spain, unless he did; and that if he came away, they would come with him.* This said, the Senators were going to put it to the Vote; but the *Consuls* suspended it, by saying; *That according to Order, the Senate ought first to settle the Affairs of the Consuls, before they determined any thing concerning the Prætorian Armies.* Upon which, it was immediately decreed, That the Army of each *Consul*, who were both to act in *Liguria*, should consist of two *Legions*, fifteen thousand Auxiliaries, and eight hundred Horse; That all these should be new-raised Men; and That the old *Consuls*, as soon as their Successors arrived, should disband their Troops. After this, the Request of the *Prætor Sempronius* was taken into Consideration; and the Senate found Means to gratify the Desires of the *Legionaries* in *Spain*, and at the same time satisfy the new *Consul*. They ordered, That the Soldiers who had been in the Service beyond Sea for six Years, should be dismissed, and the rest continue in the Army. *Sempronius* had also Leave to raise two *Legions*; that is, ten thousand four hundred Foot, and six hundred Horse. This new Body, when added to the rest of the *Legionaries* which *Fulvius* had under his Command, would doubtless be sufficient to keep the *Celtiberians* in Awe. As to *Fulvius*, *Supplications* were ordered as he desired; and he had Leave to disband the oldest of his Soldiers, and bring them with him into *Italy*. Indeed, in a Year wherein the Plague had raged in *Italy*, it was no easy Matter to make all

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXIII.  
A. POSTUMI-  
US ALBINUS,  
C. CALPURNI-  
US PISO, Con-  
suls.  
Livy, B. 40.  
c. 35.

et, and dedicated to *Piety*. The former was consecrated by *Lucius Porcius Licinus*; and the Honour of dedicating the latter fell to *Manius Acilius Glabrio*, who had vanquished *Antiochus the Great*, in the Battel of *Thermopylae*. The Consecrator erected in the latter a gilt Statue; which according to *Livy*,

was the first Statue gilt with Gold that had ever been seen in *Italy*.

88 One of these three Officers was *Lucius Minucius*, who was Lieutenant-General in the Army in *Spain*; and the other two were *Titus Menius*, and *Lucius Terentius Massa*, both *Legionary Tribunes*.

these



Year of these Levies. Nevertheless, eight complete *Legions* were raised; tho' the Republic did not seem to be in any great Want of them. Of such Importance did the Senate think it to the State, to keep her Subjects in continual Exercise, without Interruption! Even a Plague was not deemed a sufficient Excuse for the Youth not to serve the whole Term that the Law required.

ROM E  
DLXXIII.  
A. POSTUMIUS  
ALBINUS, C.  
CALPURNIUS  
PISO, Consuls.

THE Plague daily raged more and more in the City. The *Prætor Minucius* was dead of it; and after him the *Consul Calpurnius*, who had opposed his Son-in-law in the *Consulship*. And the Death of these Great Men gave Rise to Applications never before made. After the *Romans* had, in vain, tried all superstitious Remedies; after they had consulted the *Sybilline Books*; erected Statues of Gold to *Apollo*, *Æsculapius*, and the Goddess *Salus*; and made publick *Supplications*, at which every Citizen above twelve Years of Age assisted, crowned with Flowers, and holding Laurel-branches in their Hands; they at last fancied, that the Distemper was more owing to Witchcraft, than the Infection of the Air. Some Reports had also basely been whispered about, relating to some Poisonings which were not to be neglected. The Senate therefore gave a Commission to *Claudius Pulcher*, created *Prætor* in the room of *Minucius*, to make Enquiries about it in the City, and within ten Miles of it. *Mænius*, the *Prætor* nominated for *Sardinia*, had also Orders to make the same Search in all the rest of the *Roman Dominions*, before his Departure. And whilst the *Prætors* were employed in these Acts of Justice, it was necessary to chuse a Successor for the deceased *Consul Calpurnius*.

Year of  
ROM E  
DLXXIII.  
A. POSTUMIUS  
ALBINUS, Q.  
FULVIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.

The Person chosen was *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, the Son-in-law, who had opposed the late *Consul*; and this Choice created Jealousies, which opened the Eyes of many People. They suspected, that the Mother of the new *Consul* had poisoned her Husband, to pave the Way for her Son's succeeding him in the *Consulate*. Which was the more probable, because *Hostilia* had been very impatient at her Son's having been three times refused that Dignity. And at length, Witnesses appeared, who swore, That *Hostilia* had told *Fulvius*, when under great Concern for having failed of the *Consulate*, That before two Months were at an End, he should be promoted to it. Her Husband was actually dead in two Months; and *Fulvius* had still continued making Interest, during the Life of his Father-in-law. Upon these Testimonies, *Hostilia* was first accused, and then convicted, of poisoning, and condemned for having murdered her Husband. The Historians have not told us what Punishment was inflicted on this ambitious Mother, and treacherous Wife. But be that as it will, her Crime did not affect her Son. He continued *Consul*, and gained some Reputation, in that Dignity.

§. XXXVIII. *LIGURIA* had been the Province assigned the two *Consuls*. But the Death of *Calpurnius*, and the Election of his Successor, kept both *Postumius* and that Successor at *Rome*, longer than they desired. So that *Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Bæbius Tamphilus*, with the Title of *Pro-Consuls*, supplied the Place of the two *Consuls*, and did their Duty. These two Generals made their *Proconsulate* memorable in a barren *Consulship*. They entered together into the Country of those *Ligures* who were called *Apuans*; and the bare Appearance of the *Pro-Consuls* was sufficient to reduce this fierce Nation. The unexpected Arrival of two Armies surprized these *Ligures*, who were not upon their Guard; twelve thousand of these Rebels came and surrendered to the *Romans*; and the Country was left defenceless. Then the *Pro-Consuls*, who were victorious without fighting, formed a Design which crowned their Expedition. After they had consulted the Senate, they thought it necessary to transplant the best Part of these *Ligures* from the Mountains, which served them for Retreats. Without this, they thought the War would never be ended with this invincible People. And the Design was put in Execution, without any Opposition. The Republick had a vast Tract of Ground in *Samnium*, the ancient Inhabitants of which had been deprived of it. This Canton was called *The Taurasian Fields*; and *Bæbius Tamphilus* and *Cornelius Cethegus* removed these *Ligures* thither, with their Wives, Children, and Effects. But how hard did these Wretches struggle to avoid the Blow which threatened them! Nothing was more

89 See what we have said of the Situation and Extent of *The Taurasian Fields*, Vol. 2. The City of *Taurasium* gave them this Name. But some Commentators upon *Livy*, and among others *Sigo-*

*nus*, are of Opinion, that the Fields here spoken of were *The Taurasian Fields*, so called from an ancient City in *Bruttium*, the Ruins of which are now to be seen three Miles from *Samnium*.



terrible to them, than to be removed from their native Country, from the Temples of their Gods, and from the Tombs of their Ancestors. They offered to give Hostages, or to deliver up their Arms. But the Republick would not hear them; and they were forced to obey. The Sum allowed them for their <sup>90</sup> Removal, was a hundred and fifty thousand Pounds weight of Silver. This Sum was distributed among forty thousand Persons of free Condition, to buy them Houses in their new Habitations; and *Rome* assigned them Lands in Fee, for them to cultivate. The Commission for distributing these Lands was given to the two *Pro-Consuls*; but they desired the Senate to allow them five Persons to assist them with their Advice. The Distribution of the Lands was made without any Disturbance. Then *Bæbius* and *Tamphilus* returned to *Rome* with their Armies, and received the Honours of a Triumph. It was observed, that they were the first Generals who ever triumphed, without having gained pitched Battels. The *Romans* were grown less rigid than formerly. They no longer judged of the Merit of the Services done the Republick, by the Quantity of the Enemy's Blood that had been spilt. As for the *Legionaries*, they refused to attend the *Pro-Consuls* in their Triumph. There were no Distributions of Money to be expected after the Conquest of a poor Country, from which no Spoils had been brought. So that the Victors were attended in their Procession only by some vanquished *Apuans*, who had been forced to leave their native Country. This taught *Rome* the Method of transplanting Rebels from one Country to another; and she afterwards found, that by changing their Climate, she often changed their Manners and Inclinations.

BUT the Submission of the *Apuans* had not subdued all *Liguria*. After the *Pro-Consuls*, the *Consuls* for the Year also found Employment there. They both entered it different Ways. *Postumius Albinus* invested two Mountains of the *Apennines*, one of which was then called <sup>91</sup> *Balista*, and the other *Suisfontium*; and then the *Ligures*, which had taken Refuge there, were soon starved. The *Consul* set good Guards to all the Avenues, and intercepted their Provisions: So that the Rebels were forced to submit for Want, or perish with Hunger. In the flat Country, *Postumius* grubbed up their Vineyards, and burnt their Houses. From thence he went to the Coasts, and overrun the Countries of the <sup>92</sup> *Ingauni*, and *Intemelians*. There Complaints were brought to him against an Officer of Consideration, who was the Brother of the *Consul Fulvius*, and a *Legionary Tribune*. During the two Months that he was to command the Army in chief, he had disbanded it without Orders; and the Senate banished him to *Spain* beyond *New Carthage*. As for the disbanded *Legion*, *Postumius* sent after it, treated the Officers roughly, and brought them back to *Pisa*. Their Desertion was irregular; and they had therefore six Months Pay taken from them of their annual Allowance. And such of them as should not repair to their Colours, were ordered to be deprived of their Goods, and sold to the best Bidder. *Fulvius* on the other hand made War successfully in that Country of the *Apuans*, which lies next to the River *Macra*. He forced seven thousand of them to surrender at Discretion; and their Fate was the same as that of their Countrymen. They were put on Ship board, landed at *Naples*, and from thence conducted to *Samnium*, there to increase the Number of the transplanted *Ligures*, and enjoy the same Advantages with them.

§. XXXIX. DURING these Expeditions in *Italy*, *Sempronius* prepared to set out for *Hispania*, his Government. But in the mean time, whilst he delayed to come thither, doubtless, on Account of the Difficulty of making the Levies, *Fulvius* took the Field, as soon as the Season would permit. All the Parts of *Celiberia*, which had not yet submitted to the *Romans*, were delivered up to be plundered by the Soldiers; and then these unfortunate People were transported with Rage. They made surprising Efforts to raise new Levies; and to revenge so many Hostilities, added Artifice to Force. They resolved to post themselves in a

<sup>90</sup> These hundred and fifty thousand Pounds weight of Silver, at the Rate of twenty *Franks* per *Mark*, amount to six Millions *French*.

<sup>91</sup> These two Mountains are Branches of the *Apennines*. *Cluver* thinks that *Livy* means the

Mounts *Cervera*, and *Pinefe*, which are near the Springs of the River *Lavagna*.

<sup>92</sup> We have described the *Ingauni* and *Intemelii*, in the preceding Volumes.



Year of  
ROM E  
DLXXIII.

A. POSTUMI-  
US ALBINUS,  
Q. FULVIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.

Wood called 93 *Manlius's Pass*, through which the *Romans* must necessarily go, in order to meet the new *Prætor*. Accordingly *Postumius Albinus*, who was come into *Further Spain* to take Possession of the *Prætorship*, gave *Fulvius* Notice to repair to *Tarragona*, upon the Arrival of *Sempronius*, who was to succeed him. The *Pro-Prætor* marched on in haste, that he might be present at *Sempronius's* landing, and took his Way through the *Pass*, which the *Celtiberians* had seized before him. But how great was his Surprise, when he saw the Enemy which were in Ambush, come and fall on the advanced-Guard of the *Romans*! Nevertheless, this did not disconcert him. His Army was upon full March with their Baggage on their Shoulders; and he ordered all the Ranks to throw down their Bundles, and take to their Arms. He, in an instant, formed his Troops, as well as the Time and Place would suffer him; and cried out, running through the Lines, *We have only Cowards to deal with. Our Enemies have a Mind to honour our Return to Rome. Let us then carry thither our Swords again dipped in their Blood.* An Engagement followed, and the *Romans* faced every Way. Both the *Legionaries*, and the Cavalry of the Allies, performed extraordinary things. But the Enemy got Ground of the auxiliary Troops of the *Spaniards*, who were armed like themselves; and they were already in Disorder. And then the Enemy returned to the Charge upon the *Legionaries*, whom they had hitherto found impenetrable. In order to break into them, the *Celtiberians* formed two Battalions, with sharp Points, an Order not uncommon among them; and in this way of Attack they succeeded. The Onset was so violent, that the *Legions* could scarce withstand it. The Point of a *Celtiberian* Battalion was breaking into the *Roman Legions*; and then the General addressed himself to the *Legionary Cavalry* in the two Wings, in this manner. *What! Will you continue idle? Without you, all is lost. Do you give the Word of Command*, answered these brave Men, *and it shall be obeyed. Give your Horses the Reins then*, replied *Fulvius*, *and fall all together with the utmost Fury on the Extremity of the pointed Battalion.* The *Roman Horse* had already succeeded more than once in this way of Attack; and it had now a better Effect. The brave Troopers, as if they had devoted themselves to Death, rode through and through the Point of the Battalion, and put it into Disorder: and all the Force of the Enemy seemed to have been in this salient Angle. As soon as that was broken, the rest of the *Celtiberian Army* lost their Courage: it wavered, retired, and was borne down before the Enemy. The *Legionary Cavalry* by this Example, raised the Emulation of the Cavalry of the Allies; and as soon as they saw the Enemy move, without waiting for the General's Orders, they gave their Horses the Reins, and with the same Impetuosity, rode through the thickest Battalions. Then the *Celtiberians* had no Refuge but in Flight. *Fulvius* saw the Disorder of the Enemy from the Center of his Army; and made a Vow to build a Temple to *Fortuna Equestris*, and to celebrate Games in Honour of *Jupiter*. Immediately the Enemy left their Ranks in great Consternation; the *Romans* pursued them; and there had been a greater Slaughter made of them, if they had not found a Retreat in the Woods. Nevertheless, seventeen thousand of them were killed; three thousand two hundred made Prisoners; and the *Romans* took from them eleven hundred Horses, and seventy seven Standards. The *Romans* had no Camp to force. *Fulvius* lost four hundred and seventy two *Legionaries*, one thousand and nineteen of the *Italian Auxiliaries*, and three thousand of the *Spanish*. Thus the brave General extricated himself out of great Danger, by a most happy Victory; and crowned with these new Lawrels, arrived at *Tarragona*, where he found that *Sempronius* had been landed two Days. His Successor congratulated him upon his late Glory, and gave him the Decree of the Senate. The two Generals agreed between themselves what Troops should be carried into *Italy*, and what kept in *Spain*; and the same Fleet that had brought *Sempronius* with the new Levies, carried back *Fulvius* with the old Soldiers. *Fulvius* set sail, and after a happy Passage, came to *Rome*, and lodged in the Suburbs. His Fame had reached *Rome* before him; the People were informed

93 *Manlius's Pass* seems to have bordered on the Country of the *Vaccæi*, and that of the *Vætones*. At least there was a City called *Manliana*, in that

Neighbourhood. But some place it near *Mallorca*, and others near *Villa Franca*, which belongs to the Kingdom of *Leon*.



of his Exploits; and the *Comitia*, which were ready to assemble in the *Campus Martius*, cast their Eyes upon him, to promote him to the *Consulate*, before he had triumphed. News was brought him, that the Republick had raised him to the highest Dignity, and given him *L. Manlius Acidinus* for his Collegue; and then the *Consul* elect was wholly intent on making Preparations for his Triumph. He entered the City in great State, followed by the Soldiers he had brought back with him; and to grace his Procession, had carried before his Chariot, on Handbarrows, six score Crowns of Gold, thirty one Pounds weight of a Gold in Ingots, and a hundred and seventy three thousand pieces of Silver, coined at <sup>94</sup> *Osca* in Spain. The Bounties he gave his Troops were also considerable; no less than five hundred *Denarii* <sup>b</sup> to every common *Legionary*; a thousand <sup>c</sup> to every *Centurion*; and fifteen hundred <sup>d</sup> to every Trooper. *Fulvius* also made the same Presents to the Soldiers, Officers, and Troopers of the *Latin* Auxiliaries; and generally speaking, all those he had brought back with him, had their Pay doubled for the Year. Thus *Fulvius* gained all their Hearts, after he had brought from Spain even more Glory than Riches.

§. XL. BEFORE the *Consular* Year was expired, the Senate was informed of the Piracies which had been so much complained of for some Years, on the Coasts of the *Adriatick* Sea. The Authors of them were not known at *Rome*. But at length *Duronius*, who had been nominated *Prætor* of *Apuleia* the last Year, sent Word, that one of the Kings of *Illyricum*, had been the Cause of them. His Suspicion was founded on this, That all the Ships of the Pirates that had been seen in those Seas, had come from his Dominions. To which he added, That he had sent a Deputation to that Prince, whose Name was *Gentius*, to make Complaint to him, but could not obtain an Audience. And this Pride would doubtless have drawn a War on *Illyricum*, if the King had not guarded against it. He sent an Embassy to the Senate, and pleaded for his Excuse, That when the *Roman* Deputies came to *Illyricum*, he was sick, in the furthest Parts of his Dominions. Nevertheless it was objected to him, That the *Romans* and their Allies had received considerable Injuries in his Dominions, and That he actually kept some *Citizens* of *Rome* in Captivity at <sup>95</sup> *Corcyra*. The Ambassadors answered, in the Name of their Master, That he desired the Senate not to hearken to what his Enemies reported to his Prejudice. And *Rome* followed her old Maxim. She had Regard to the King's Submissions, and pardoned him. Besides, he was near enough to *Macedon* to be managed.

IN the same Year was published the famous *Plebiscitum*, known by the Name of *The Villian Law*. *L. Villius* <sup>96</sup> *Tappulus*, then *Tribune of the People*, had got it passed in the *Comitia*. The Age necessary for entering on the great Magistracies had been determined <sup>97</sup>, only by Decency, or Custom; and *Villius* got a Law made for that Purpose. It was thereby enacted, That no Man should be *Quæstor* <sup>98</sup>, before he was one and thirty Years of Age; *Curule Ædile*, before he was seven and thirty; *Prætor*, before he was forty; or *Consul*, before he was forty three. This Law continued in force till the Fall of the Republick; and did so much

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXIII.

A. POSTUMI-  
US ALBINUS,  
C. CALPURNI-  
US PISO, Con-  
suls.

<sup>a</sup> 1488 L.  
Sterl. at 4 L.  
per Ounce.

<sup>b</sup> 16l 2 s. 11 d.  
Arbuthnot.

<sup>c</sup> 32 l. 5 s. 10 d.  
<sup>d</sup> 48 l. 8 s. 9 d.

<sup>94</sup> *Osca* is still in being, in the Kingdom of *Aragon*, and is called *Huesca*.

<sup>95</sup> The *Corcyra* here spoken of, is *Corcyra the Black*, which stands on the Coasts of the *Adriatick* Sea, over against *Dalmatia*.

<sup>96</sup> This *Lucius Villius* seems to have been the son of another Person of the same Name, who governed *Sardinia*, in quality of *Prætor*, in the Year of *Rome* 554. In some Historians, the Copyists have altered his Name. Some call him *Junius*, others *Julius*, contrary to the greatest Number of Authors.

<sup>97</sup> Not that the *Romans* had not fixed the Age proper for Magistrates before the *Tribune Villius's* time. As early as in the Year of *Rome* 411, in the Consulship of *Caius Marcius Rutilus*, and *Quintus Æmilius Abala*, the *Tribune of the People*, *Lucius Æmilius*, had got a Law passed, which forbade all Citizens to aspire a second time at the Office they

had enjoyed once, in less than ten Years after it. *Livy* tells us plainly enough, with Regard to the Consulship of the Great *Scipio*, that before *Villius's* time, *Rome* had by several Regulations settled the proper Age for entering upon Offices. And this we have examined into in the preceding Volumes, when we spoke of the *Consuls*, *Senators*, and *Quæstors*. But we may affirm, That either these Laws were not express enough; or That a contrary Usage had prevailed, and gained a Right of Prescription.

<sup>98</sup> At least we guess so from *Cicero's* Words. He says of himself, that he enjoyed the Offices of the Republick exactly at the Age prescribed by the Laws. Now it is certain, That he was *Quæstor* in *Sicily* at the Age of thirty one; *Ædile* six Years after, that is, at thirty seven; *Prætor*, at forty; and *Consul*, at forty three.

*Cicero Philip.*

Honour



Year of Honour to the Author of it, that he from thence had the Surname of *Annalis*, which was always continued in his Branch of the Family 99.

DLXXIV.  
Q. FULVIUS  
FLACCUS, L.  
MANLIUS  
ACIDINUS,  
Consuls.  
*Val. Patere.*  
B. 2.

§. XLI. AND now, the time was come for the *Consuls* elect to enter upon their Office; and two Brothers took Possession of the *Fasces* together, for the first time, *Fulvius* and *Manlius* had the same Father, though the latter bore the Name of the *Manlian* Family, into which he had been adopted. The *Fasti Capitolini* also give him the additional Surname of *Fulvianus*, and thereby shew us his Family, as the Historians do. But their enjoying the *Consulship* together was not the only Innovation introduced into the Republick. When *Bæbius* was in Office, he had got a Law passed, that for the future, only four *Prætors* should be elected instead of six, and that each should continue two Years in his Province: And this Law, which had been neglected, was now revived. Only four Persons were promoted to the *Prætorship*. The Cognizance of Processes between the *Citizens* only, fell to *Mucius Sævola*; that of the Affairs of Foreigners, to *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*; Sicily, to another *Mucius Sævola*; and *Sardinia*, to *Valerius Lævinus*. But this Suppression of two *Prætorships* did not last long. *Rome* found that she had more need to multiply than diminish them.

*Aul. Gellius,*  
B. 12. c. 8.  
*Val. Max. B. 4.*  
c. 2.  
*Cicero.*

THEN a new Election of *Censors* opened another new Scene to the Republick. *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, the present *Pontifex Maximus*, who had been honoured with two *Consulships*, and had been sent into *Egypt* by the Republick, to be Guardian to young King *Ptolomy*, was pitched upon for one of them; and the Collegue the People inclined to give him, was that *Fulvius Nobilior*, who had enjoyed one *Consulship*, had distinguished himself by taking *Ambracia*, and had been honoured with a Triumph. The only Objection to their Promotion, was indeed an old Enmity which they once had to one another. What Concord could be expected between two Men, who hated each other? Yet both the Office and the publick Good required that they should agree. Nevertheless, the Esteem the People bore for both one and the other prevailed. They were nominated *Censors* together. It was customary for the new *Censors*, on the Day of their Election, to seat themselves in their *Curule Chairs*, in the *Field of Mars*, where the Elections were made, over against the Altar of that God, before the Assembly was dismissed. A great Number of the old Senators now appeared at this Ceremony. And then one of them, named *Cæcilius*, whose Age, and Merit gave him Authority to speak, addressed himself to the new Magistrates in this manner. *We have not forgotten, that in the Place where the People have just now chosen you, it is your Province to correct our Manners, and not ours to reform yours. Nevertheless, give me leave to represent to you an Affair, which gives many People a great deal of Concern. We desire to see you as much united in Affection, as you are by Merit and Office. Never was an Election of Censors more applauded than yours. You are agreeable to all the People, and disagreeable only to each other. But though your Enmities have been open, and time has confirmed them, they have hitherto been prejudicial only to yourselves. Whereas, now it is to be feared that the Republick may greatly suffer by them. And therefore, we who are under just Apprehensions on that Account, intreat you to be reconciled, and become Friends. Before this Altar, and in the Presence of the God who presides in this Place, put an end to your Animosities. We have raised you to the same Dignity, in Expectation of finding that you will be of the same Mind. Let there be a good Understanding between you, and act in concert in all Cases; whether you are to draw up the List of Senators, or reform the Knights, or make an Enumeration of the People, or set a Value on their Estates, or to put an end to the Ceremony with a Lustration. Let the Preamble to all your publick Acts be this. May our Regulations turn to the Advantage of my Collegue, as well as to mine. Shall then these affectionate Requests make no Impression on your Minds? Will you barely give them a hearing? Romulus became Friend to Tatius, after they had fought a Battel in this very Place. Let not your Hatred then be perpetual. Peace naturally succeeds War; and the most inveterate*

99 *Livy* tells us, that in the Year 573, the Senate, by an extraordinary Privilege, gave the Citizens of *Cannæ* Leave to draw up their publick Acts in the *Latin* Tongue; which had hitherto

been done in *Greek*. This Privilege was not differently granted to all the Cities, that were subject to the Republick.



*Enemies often become the most faithful Friends. The more warm your Dissentions have been, the more lasting will your Friendship be, after a real Reconciliation.*

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXIV.

THE Advice was affecting, and the Assembly applauded the Senator for it. Their Murmurings were a Testimony of their Desires; and the two Persons concerned, who were Men of Honour, were struck with them. They first mutually reproached one another. *Emilius* complained, That *Fulvius* had twice opposed his Promotion to the *Consulship*; and *Fulvius*, That *Emilius* had more than once affronted him, brought him before the Judges, and forced him to give Security for a Sum in Dispute. And after this first Storm, a Calm followed. The Persons reciprocally offended, were not of a Temper never to forgive. Their Reason got the better of their Resentment. They both agreed, That it became them to comply with the Desires of the Senate, and People, and to perfect a Reconciliation, which was necessary for the publick Good. And at length, upon the repeated Instances of the Assembly, they complied, gave each other their Hands, and walked together to the *Capitol*, there to strengthen the Bands of their new Friendship. What had passed in the *Campus Martius* was reported to the Senate; and *The Fathers* equally commended the Zeal of the illustrious *Citizens*, who had interposed to bring about a Reconciliation; and the Readiness of the two Parties to grant the Desires of the People and Senators.

Q FULVIUS  
FLACCUS, L.  
MANLIUS  
ACIDIUS,  
Consuls.

§. XLII. THE Friendship which follows open Ruptures, is generally the most constant. The Parties pique themselves upon taking care not to fall a second time into the Broils, which dishonour them. And thus the two Collegues exercised their Office with the most perfect Concord. They drew up the List of the Senators together; and only erased the Names of three, as unworthy of Seats in that august Assembly. *Emilius*, who was more severe, would have degraded a much greater Number; but *Fulvius* prevailed upon him to shew Favour to those who were least Criminal. And as a Testimony of his Esteem, *Fulvius* consented that *Emilius* should be first named in the List, and thereby made *Prince of the Senate*. So that his Collegue was now *Pontifex Maximus*, *Censor*, and *President* of the most august Body in the Republick, at the same time. But the two *Censors* were more severe to the *Roman Knights*. They reviewed them with critical Eyes. We may judge of the rest by the following Instance. A *Knight*, named *Antistius*, against whom there were some Complaints, appeared in his Rank before the *Censors*; and *Emilius*, to degrade him, took from him the Horse which the Republick gave him. His Friends cried out immediately, *What will his Father say! Young Antistius is a Man of Honour, and blameless.* To which *Emilius* briskly replied, *You say so; but I don't believe a Word of it.* Thus the Judgments of the *Censors*, and the Fear of being disgraced by them, preserved good Manners, in the two first Orders of Men in the Republick.

Cicer. de Orat.

THE Application of publick Funds, to the Decorations and Convenience of the City, and the Repair of the great Roads all over the State, was also another part of the *Censorial Office*. And *Emilius* and *Fulvius* very amicably agreed, to divide the Sums paid into the Treasury between them. Each had his Share of the Revenues, which he applied as he liked best. Nevertheless, they reserved some part of the Money for Uses, to which both agreed to appropriate it. *Emilius* for his part, undertook several publick Works. He first raised a Causeway near *Terracina*; which was not universally approved of. The *Censor* had a Country-house there; and it was suspected, that under the Appearance of the publick Good, he consulted only his own private Interest. Then he erected a Theatre near the Temple of *Apollo*, with all the Decorations and Conveniencies proper for it. He also ordered the Inside of the Temple of *Jupiter* on the *Capitol*, and the Columns without it, to be cleaned and whited; and he removed some old *Colours* which had long hung upon it, and some Bucklers, which were known to be Silver, tho' thought to be of Brass. But *Fulvius* employed the publick Money more usefully. He made a Key for the City of *Rome*; and erected the Peers of a Stone-Bridge, the

Plin. B. 35.

c. 3.

Livy, B. 40.

*Apollo* c. 51.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXIV.  
Q. FULVIUS  
FLACCUS, L.  
MANLIUS  
ACIDINUS,  
Consuls.

*Apollo Medicus*. With the Money the *Censors* had reserved for a joint-Under taking, they proposed to build an Aqueduct, agreed for a Price, and were going to raise the Arches of it. But one *Licinius Crassus* opposed it. It was to pass through his Land, and would be prejudicial to him. The *Censors* settled Taxes in several Places; and restored to the Publick several Oratories, which private Persons had usurped. But the Work that gained them most Credit, was the Alteration they made in the manner of giving Suffrages. Formerly all the People of the same *Tribe* were admitted into the Voting-place in Confusion, without observing any Order. But the present *Censors* required that for the future, they should be admitted only according to their Rank and Dignity. The Senators for Instance and *Knights* were to go together, and after them, the Persons of the same Profession, or Trade, in Companies. *Emilius* also during his *Censorship*, dedicated many Temples. At length the two Collegues made a *Census* of the People. The Number of the *Citizens* who were fit to bear Arms was two hundred seventy three thousand two hundred and forty four. And all things considered, it may be affirmed, that few *Censors* did the Republick more Service than these reconciled Enemies.

§. XLIII. WHILST they were busy in drawing up the List of the Senators, the *Consuls* set out for their Provinces, which were both in *Liguria*. There was no War in *Italy* but there; and the two Brothers went into different Parts of the Enemy's Country. The eldest was a great Soldier; and nothing stopped him. He marched his Troops over steep Rocks, and through Forests, which seemed impassable. He surprised the Enemy in the Plain, gave them Battel, took their Camp, killed three thousand two hundred Men, and forced the whole Country to surrender at Discretion. Then, in order to deprive these obstinate Men of all Opportunities to revolt, *Fulvius* forced them to leave their Mountains, and settle in the flat Country. Thanks were returned to the Gods at *Rome* for this Victory, as soon as the News came thither; and *Fulvius* had no sooner finished these Exploits, but he received fresh Orders. The *Gauls*, which lived near the extreme Parts of the *Alpes*, towards the Shore of the *Adriatick* Sea, out of *Italy*, were still desirous of entering it, and settling there. Though driven away from the Neighbourhood of *Aquileia*, a few Years ago, they were returned thither, to the Number of three thousand Men. They behaved themselves peaceably, and most humbly entreated the Republick, to give them leave to settle there. But the Name of the *Gauls* was odious to her. She had already suffered too much by their Neighbourhood. And *Fulvius* was the Man pitched on to drive them from the Confines of *Italy*. The Senate ordered him to enquire after the Authors of this new Transmigration, and to punish them. He did so, returned to *Rome*, and triumphed. It must be owned indeed, that the Honour the Senate and People granted him, was more Matter of Favour, than Merit. His Exploits were of no great Importance. But nevertheless, he gained much more Glory than his Brother *Manlius*. The latter had not signalized himself by any Expedition. *Fulvius* therefore entered *Rome* in Triumph; but his Procession was not pompous. He had brought no Money from his Province. A few Arms taken from the *Ligures* were all that were carried before him. Nevertheless, he gave each of his Soldiers three hundred pieces of Brass. And one thing was observed of this Triumph, which was, that it happened to be on the very same Day that *Fulvius* had triumphed over the *Celtiberians*, the last Year.

§. XLIV. *CELTIBERIA*, after the Loss of so many Battels, was not yet subdued. The *Spaniards* of this Country, persisted obstinately in their Revolt. *Sempronius Gracchus* had the last Year marched his Army into *Celtiberia*, as soon as his Predecessor *Fulvius* had resigned the Command of it to him; and it is probable, that he employed the first Month after his landing in reconnoitring the Country, trying its Strength, and disciplining the new Levies he had brought from *Italy*. The next Year (for he was to continue two Years in his Province) he formed a Scheme for completing the Conquest of *Celtiberia*. *Sempronius* was equal to the bravest Generals of his time, for Valour and Prudence. And in order the more effectually to reduce the troublesome Enemies he had to deal with, he invited *Postumius Albinus*, who commanded in *Further Spain*, and was then residing in *Lusitania*, to bring his Troops to him. His Design was to finish the War with



the *Celtiberians*, in Conjunction with his Collegue. *Postumius* began his March accordingly, but was stopped by the *Vaccaans*; who rebelling likewise, gave him more trouble than he expected. But before we relate his Exploits, we will return to *Sempronius*.

THE most distant Corner of *Celtiberia* was not yet subdued; and *Sempronius* penetrated into it. He first fell on the City of <sup>100</sup> *Munda*, attacked it by Night, and took it. He demanded Hostages for it, put a Garrison into it, took some Castles, ravaged the Corn Fields, and continued his Rout towards <sup>101</sup> *Certima*. This was the strongest City in the Country; and it was necessary to besiege it in Form. But as soon as the Inhabitants saw the *Mantelets*, and other Machines approach, they sent a Deputation to the *Roman* General; and *Sempronius* was surprised at the Frankness of these honest *Spaniards*. *If we were able to resist you*, said they, *we would sustain a Siege with Constancy. Give us leave therefore to seek for Succours among our Countrymen. You will then get some Honour by conquering us.* The *Roman* was so indulgent, as to give them Leave to go and beg for Assistance wherever they could get any; and they went, and brought with them to the *Roman* Camp, ten Envoys from the *Celtiberian* Army. They came to the Camp, in the Heat of the Day, and desired something to drink. Accordingly some Drink was readily given them, and they repeated their Request, and quenched their Thirst. After this, the oldest Man in the Company addressed himself to the *Prætor* in this manner. *We are curious to know*, said they, *whether your Forces are equal to the Greatness of your Enterprises. You shall be convinced of it instantly*, replied the *Consul*; and immediately ordered the Troops to arm, and pass in review before him, in the Presence of the Deputies. And this Sight, an Account of which was carried to the *Celtiberian* Camp, determined the Enemy to continue unactive. The Inhabitants of *Certima* in vain lighted Fires on the Tops of their Towers: No Succours appeared. They had therefore nothing to do, but to surrender at Discretion. And they did so, paid the *Romans* two Millions four hundred thousand \* *Sesterces* <sup>102</sup>, and delivered up to them forty Troopers of the chief of their Nobility, for Hostages.

AND now the Distrusts of the *Celtiberians* was one Reason why *Sempronius* should march against them. Their Camp, from whence they had sent the Deputation, was near *Alcea* <sup>103</sup>, a City between the *Tagus*, and the † *Anas*. And at first little Engagements paved the Way for a general Action. The *Prætor* sent out a large Detachment of his Auxiliaries, which the Enemy took for a whole Army; and then drew up his *Legionaries* behind the Gates of his Camp, to be in a Readiness to make a Sally, upon the first Orders. At the sight of the Detachment which appeared alone in the Plain, and in close Order, to deceive the Enemy; the latter thought themselves superiour in Number. Then they marched out of their Trenches with Confidence, and hastened towards the *Roman* Battalions, which retired in a little Disorder. This *Sempronius* waited for; and then his *Legionaries* marched out, and fell on the *Celtiberians* with such Fury, that they could not withstand them. They were routed, and made great Efforts to regain their Entrenchments, but lost many Men in their Rout. The *Romans* killed nine thousand of them, made three hundred and twenty Prisoners, took thirty seven Standards, and drove them from their Posts. Whereas the *Romans* lost only a hundred and nine Men; and the Consequence of this decisive Blow was, that *Celtiberia* was plundered, and destroyed with Fire and Sword. It is said, that *Sempronius* took a hundred and three Cities and Towns. But be that as it will, his Victory was certainly complete, and his Army got a great deal of rich Booty in the Country.

§. XLV. NEVERTHELESS, the City of *Alcea* was still to be taken; and upon bringing up the Machines, the Inhabitants, after a slight Resistance, retired to the Citadel, capitulated the next Day, and submitted to the Dominion of the Ro-

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXIV.

Q. FULVIUS  
FLACCUS, L.  
MANLIUS  
ACIDIUS,  
Consuls.

\* 19375 l.  
Sterl. Arbatb.

† The Guadi-  
ana.

<sup>100</sup> We know of no other City of *Munda*, but that which stood in *Bætica*, and is now called *Munda*, according to *Cluvius* and *Mariana*.

<sup>101</sup> Modern Geographers finding it impossible to discover the Situation of the ancient City of *Certima*, make it the same Place as *Cetina*, a City which stood on the Banks of the River *Salo*, now

*Xalon*, on the Confines of *Arragon* and *Castille*.

<sup>102</sup> Two Millions four hundred thousand *Sesterces*, amount to three hundred thousand *Livres*.

<sup>103</sup> *Alcea* is commonly placed in *New Castille*, near *Ucles*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXIV.

Q. FULVIUS  
FLACCUS, L.  
MANLIUS  
ACIDIUS,  
Consuls.

Livy, B. 40.  
c. 49.

App. in Iberic.

*mans.* Among the Captives there were two Sons and one Daughter of the most powerful *Spanish* King in that Country. His Name was *Turrus*. He desired an Audience of the *Prætor*, and when admitted, addressed himself to him thus. Can I hope to have my own, and the Lives of my Children saved? Live, answered *Sempronius* graciously, and your Children shall have their Liberty, and live with you. I am very sensible of your Goodness, replied *Turrus*; and am thereby encouraged to ask another Favour of you. Give me leave to serve in your Army, and join my Forces to yours. I heartily repent of having followed evil Counsels, and chosen a dangerous part. The Offer was accepted; the faithful *Spaniard* continued ever attached to the *Romans*, and did their Republick important Services.

THE *Prætor* also thought <sup>104</sup> *Ergavica* of such Importance, that it was necessary to Stop, and take it. It was both a great and powerful City. He hastened thither, and the terrified Inhabitants opened their Gates, and received the *Romans* as Friends. But this Submission, according to some Authors, was only a Feint, proceeding from sudden Terror. As soon as the *Roman* Army was gone, *Ergavica* again joined the Rebels. It was therefore necessary to return thither; but the *Prætor* found in his Way an Army of *Celtiberians* encamped at the Foot of Mount <sup>105</sup> *Cannus*, and there fought a Battel, which lasted from Day-break till Noon. And this Action, though bloody, was not decisive; all the Advantage the *Romans* gained by it was, that they were the more ready to fight a second Battel the next Day. Then *Sempronius* continued Master of the Field, and stripped the Dead. The Enemy were beaten. Nevertheless, though their Army was weakened, it was not yet dispersed; but by a third Battel, the *Romans* gained an unquestionable Superiority. Twenty two thousand of the Enemy were killed upon the Place, three hundred made Prisoners of War, and seventy two of their Standards taken. So that after this memorable Victory, *Ergavica* probably paid dear for her Perfidiousness. At least, it is certain, that the whole Country submitted with more Sincerity than before.

It is indeed surprising, that after the Loss of so many thousand Men, *Celtiberia* should not be exhausted. Yet still, as fast as the War was ended in one Canton, it was renewed in another. *Carabis* <sup>106</sup> was a City in Alliance with the *Romans*; and the *Celtiberians* thought themselves strong enough to besiege it. It was reported, that it would infallibly be taken; and this made it necessary for *Sempronius* to lose no time, in endeavouring to deliver it. But the Approaches to it were so well-guarded, that it seemed impossible to give the Besieged Notice, that Succours were coming to them. Nevertheless, it was very necessary to prevail on the Garrison not to surrender too precipitately; and a *Roman* Officer, named *Cominius*, found Means to enter the City, and keep up the Spirits of the Besieged. He dressed himself like a *Spaniard*, fell in with the Enemy's Forragers, and went with them into their Lines. From thence he made himself known to the Besieged, and was received into the City. The Assurances he gave the Besieged kept up their Courage; the *Roman* Army appeared; and the *Celtiberians* dispersed themselves. But still they had no Design to continue in Peace, and cultivate the Friendship of the Conquerors. Their Intention was not to deceive the *Roman* General with specious Appearances of a Reconciliation. *Cato* had formerly dismantled several *Spanish* Cities; and the Inhabitants of these Places had built themselves another City, which they called <sup>107</sup> *Complega*. There were a great many Soldiers in it; and there now came from thence near twenty thousand, in the Habits of Supplicants, and carrying Branches of Lawrel in their Hands, under Pretence of desiring Peace. They advanced in good Order towards *Sempronius's* Camp, as if were to present their Petitions to him; but this pacifick Air did not last long. As soon as these Deceivers came to the Foot of the Entrenchments, they seized their Arms, made great Shouts, and overwhelmed the *Romans* with Showers of

<sup>104</sup> *Molet* places *Ergavica* in the Kingdom of *Arragon*, near *Alcaniz*. Others think its Situation agrees better with that of *Santaver* in the Kingdom of *Toledo*. *Sanfon* pretends it stood in the Neighbourhood of *Mondéjar*, which belongs to *New Castille*. Instead of *Ergavica* we read *Ergavia* in the printed Copies. But the latter belonged to the Kingdom of *Navarre*; and we don't find that the *Roman* Armies had yet penetrated so far.

<sup>105</sup> Mount *Cannus*, now *Moncayo*, borders upon *Castille* and *Arragon*.

<sup>106</sup> *Appian* is the only Author who mentions *Carabis* in *Spain*, and he does not tell us its Situation.

<sup>107</sup> Some don't distinguish *Complega* from *Centabria*, others confound it with *Centabriga*; at the ancient Geographers have not given us sufficient Light to determine such Disputes.



Darts. Then *Sempronius* immediately formed a Design to revenge the Fraud of his Enemies; and to that end, retired with his Troops through one of the Gates of his Camp, as if terrified at this sudden Attack. The *Spaniards* fell greedily to plundering the Tents and Baggage; but *Sempronius* immediately returned upon them, and made a terrible Slaughter of them, whilst they were busy in pillaging. *Complega* was taken, and became subject to the *Romans*. And this was the last Blow the formidable *Prætor* gave the *Celtiberians*, before he returned to *Rome*. He pacified all *Celtiberia*, and all the other Nations, which her Example had drawn into the Revolt. He distributed Lands among those of his Soldiers who had none; made Rules for them, which were observed to Posterity; and by a Treaty, secured the Fidelity of the Inhabitants. And before he left *Spain*, *Sempronius* resolved to leave there some Monument to perpetuate his Memory; and to that end changed the Name of a City in the District of *Tarragona*, and gave it his own. It was formerly called *Illurcis* <sup>108</sup>, but *Sempronius* named it *Gracchuris*, from his own Surname of *Gracchus*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXIV.  
Q. FULVIUS  
FLACCUS, L.  
MANLIUS  
ACIDINUS,  
Consuls.

*Festus Pomp.*

ON the other Hand, *L. Postumius* defeated the *Vaccaei* and *Lusitanii*, in several Battels. We are assured, that he killed near forty thousand of them. So that after his return to *Italy* the next Year, he obtained the Honours of a Triumph with *Sempronius*. They made their Processions on two Days, immediately following one another. *Sempronius* brought into the publick Treasury forty thousand \* Pounds weight of Silver, and *Postumius* † twenty thousand. Such plentiful Harvests did the Republick reap, from the continual Wars her *Prætors* carried on with the *Spanish* Nations!

*Livy, B. 41.*  
\* 7.  
\* 120000 l.  
*Sterl. at 5 s.*  
*per Ounce.*  
† 60000 l.  
*Sterl.*

§. XLVI. Thus every thing succeeded in *Spain* as well as the Republick could desire; but in *Greece* a Storm was gathering, which threatened a speedy War. *Perses* had mounted the Throne of *Macedon* since the Death of *Philip*. This unfortunate Father had drawn on himself all the Misfortunes, which oppressed him in his old Age. He gave too much Credit to the false Reports of *Perses*, and carried his Distrusts of the *Romans* to excess. And from the time that his Son *Demetrius* was poisoned, whom he had sacrificed to his own Suspicions, and his Hatred to *Rome*; he did not enjoy one happy Day. He first went to *Demetrias*, to pass the Winter there, in order to dispel his Uneasiness, by change of Place. The Loss of *Demetrius* was not the only Cause of his Grief. The surviving Son gave him continual Torment. *Perses*, whose Pretensions were now no longer opposed by a Rival, shook off the Respect which he owed to his Father; and usurped the Authority and Office of a King. All the Lords in *Macedon* made their Court to him. The Father had only the Title of King, which it was hoped Death would soon deprive him of. Nay, the *Macedonians* even anticipated the fatal Moment in that Particular; and gave his Successor likewise the Name of King before his Father's Death. Hence the Desertion, and in a manner Solitude, in which *Philip* spent the rest of his Days.

THE King had but one faithful Friend, and inseparable Courtier left; which was *Antigonus*, the Nephew of another *Antigonus*, who had formerly been *Philip's* Tutor, when very young. This *Antigonus* was related to the Kings of *Macedon*, and had all the Qualities necessary for filling a Throne with Dignity. He was of a mature Age, and Nature had given him a majestick Stature and Presence, worthy of a Sovereign. He was much famed for Wisdom, Politeness, and especially Bravery, and Experience in War. But this Friend, who was so constant in his Friendship to *Philip*, even in his Afflictions, seems to have acted upon a view of Interest, as well as Principles of Honour, in his Attachment to the old King. After *Perses*, none had so good a Right to the Crown as *Antigonus*; and *Perses* was said to have some Defects in his Birth. So that the Hopes of reigning was doubtless a very pressing Motive to *Antigonus*, to be very assiduous about the King, who was dissatisfied with his Son; and the Rage of *Perses* against his Competitor increased in Proportion to the Ground he got in *Philip's* Affections. Whilst on the other hand, the Fury of his Rival increased *Antigonus's* Earnestness to supplant *Perses*. He was afraid, that if he failed of the Throne, he should find his King

<sup>108</sup> The City of *Illurcis* stood on the Banks of the *Ebro*, near *Navarre*. It was afterwards rebuilt, or enlarged by *Sempronius Gracchus*, and from that time called *Gracchuris*. See *Pompeius Festus*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXIV.

Q. FULVIUS  
FLACCUS, L.  
MANLIUS  
ACIDIUS,  
Consuls.

a most implacable Enemy : and therefore used all his Policy, to give *Philip* an utter Aversion to *Perses*. The old King often lamented the Loss of his second Son, in the Presence of *Antigonus*. *O that he was yet alive !* said he ; *O that I had Demetrius to oppose the wicked Attempts of Perses !* It was *Antigonus's* Business to put the Father frequently in mind of the Son he had unjustly destroyed. But his most essential Point was to make known to him the Calumny that *Perses* had raised against his Brother, and make the King sensible of it. Indeed there was Reason to believe, that *Apelles* and *Philocles* had carried on the Intrigue which had been the Ruin of *Demetrius*. They had been *Philip's* Ambassadors at *Rome*, and it was conjectured, that they might easily have forged the pretended Letter of *Flamininus*. Nay, it was said, that *Xychus*, the Secretary to the Embassy, had divulged the Secret of the counterfeit Letter. But after all, such Marks as these were not sufficient to convict a Person ; and Conviction was necessary to undeceive *Philip*.

THIS was the State of the Affair, when *Antigonus* accidentally met *Xychus*. He seized him, carried him to the King's Palace, and put him under a Guard till further Orders. Then he immediately went into the King's Apartment, and addressed himself to him thus. *I have often heard, my Lord, that you desired to be fully and truly informed of the Proceedings of your two Sons. You have entertained some Doubts, whether Demetrius was really guilty, or Perses had accused him falsely. And now it is in your own Power to search that Matter to the Bottom. I have brought into this Palace the only Man that can resolve your Doubts. Xychus is in the Hands of your Guards ; and you may call for him, and examine him.* If *Philip* had not been displeased with the only Son he had left, he would perhaps have waved an Enquiry, which could only end in fresh Grief. But his Resentments towards *Perses* made him seize this Opportunity of discovering this Mystery of Iniquity. *Xychus* seemed stunned when he came into the King's Presence. He first denied the Fact, and then wavered. And at length, by his Inconsistencies, made it probable, that the Rack would extort the Truth from him. Nay, without waiting for the Torture, he confessed the Cheat, in which he had been forced to be an Agent. Upon his Deposition, Orders were sent to arrest *Philocles* and *Apelles* ; but the latter was absent from Court. Upon the first Notice of *Xychus's* Examination, he had made his Escape to *Italy*. However *Philocles* was seized ; and some said, that he at first denied his having any Hand in the Cheat ; but that upon being confronted with *Xychus*, he confessed all. Whilst others say he died upon the Rack, without owning, to the last, that the Letter was forged. But be that as it will, *Philip* was but too well convinced that he had too hastily condemned an innocent Son, who was worthy of the Crown.

AND now, the Hatred the King conceived against *Perses*, was boundless. It was as great as his Grief at the Loss of *Demetrius*. In the mean time *Perses* could not but know, that his Father had discovered his Perfidiousness ; and at any other time, he would have fled. But his Power was now too well settled in *Macedon* for him to retire. All the Precaution he took, was always to keep at some Distance from the King. He thought this alone might guard him against the Rage of a Judge, whom time might soften. Indeed, *Philip* was both inconsolable, and highly exasperated. He found nothing to comfort him under his Grief, except *Antigonus* ; and this artful Courtier was ever labouring to increase his Rage. He painted *Perses* in very lively Colours ; though there was no need of Exaggeration, to make him odious. One Day when the King was quite borne down with Sorrow, he took *Antigonus* aside, and bespoke him thus. *Pity my woful State. I had been more happy if I had never been a Father. One of my Sons is dead and the other has murdered his Brother. However, I have still one virtuous Relation left, who is worthy of the Throne of our Ancestors. You, Antigonus, are a Nephew of a Guardian who was a Father to me. Be then a Son to me ; and mount my Throne. You will be a second Demetrius to me. As for Perses, I would rather die, than see him enjoy the Fruits of his villainous Intrigues in Peace.* A the King did more than he promised. He never shewed so much Regard for own Sons, as he now did for *Antigonus*. He carried him to all the Cities of *Macedon*, and recommended him to the Governors and Nobility of the Count. *Perses* was then in *Thrace*, where he was increasing his Party, and was forming an Army sufficient to support his Pretensions. It was therefore necessary to equip *Antigonus*.



*Antigonus's* Forces to those of *Perses*. And to this end *Philip* sent the Prince, whom he designed for his Successor, to conclude in Perion, a Negotiation, which had been long since begun, with the *Bastarnæ*.

§. XLVII. THESE *Bastarnæ* inhabited *Sarmatia* in *Europe*, pretty near the Mouth of the *Boristhenes*: And when *Philip* was yet wholly intent on going, like *Hannibal*, and making the *Roman* Republick tremble in the Heart of her Dominions; he had set on Foot an Alliance with these *Sarmatians*, though so far distant from his Dominions. The Method he had taken to bring these Barbarians into his Service, and keep them steady to him, was this. The <sup>109</sup> *Dardani* his Neighbours, and perhaps his Subjects, were a turbulent restless People, always ready to fall upon *Macedon*, as soon as her Kings were engaged in foreign Wars. *Philip* therefore had resolved to extirpate the *Dardani*, and settle in their room a Colony of *Bastarnæ*, who would very readily come from the furthest Parts of *Europe*, and settle in a temperate Climate. These Foreigners, said he, when in Possession of *Dardania*, will easily enter into Italy, through the Country of <sup>110</sup> the *Scordisci*. These People, who were originally Gauls, will readily grant a Passage thro' their Territories, or perhaps join with them, that they may have their Share of the Plunder of Italy. Or at worst, if the Romans meet the *Bastarnæ*, and defeat them; I shall at least have got rid of the *Dardani*. This was indeed a chimerical Project; but *Philip* was a self-willed old Man. He absolutely insisted, that *Antigonus* should set out for *Sarmatia*, to hasten the Transmigration of the *Bastarnæ*. You will bring this Reinforcement, said he, into *Macedon* with you, and may with it oppose the Army *Perses* is assembling in *Thrace*. Nevertheless, *Antigonus* left *Philip* with Regret. His Presence was necessary to keep up the King's Affection for him. Besides, the Prince had Reason to fear that *Philip* might die in his Absence. There were very just Grounds for such Apprehensions. Age and Vexation weakened the King more and more every Day. From *Demetrias* he removed to <sup>111</sup> *Laodicea*, where he resided for some time. Then he came to *Amphipolis* <sup>112</sup>; and there he was more grieved than ever at the Loss of *Demetrius*. The weaker he grew in Body and Mind, the more pungent was his Remorse. He fancied he continually saw his Son's Ghost reproaching him for his Credulity, and Injustice. He thought himself beset with Furies; and these Spectres would not suffer him to be at Rest, Day, or Night. These Agonies threw him into such a languishing Condition, that his Life was thought to be in Danger. And whilst the Strength of his Constitution still supported him, *Antigonus* passed the *Danube*, at the Head of a prodigious Multitude of *Bastarnæ*, who brought their Wives and Children with them. He was already entered into *Thrace*, where *Philip* had gained the Goodwill of the People, in the Places through which he passed. In the mean time *Perses* on the other hand took very different Measures. He had his Creatures at his Father's Court. Above all, he took care to gain *Calligenes*, a famous Physician, who had the care of the King's Health. *Calligenes*, as soon as he despaired of saving *Philip's* Life, immediately gave Prince *Perses* Notice, to make haste to come and take Possession of the Crown, and get himself proclaimed King. Ambition gave *Perses* Wings. Nevertheless, the King was dead before he arrived. But *Calligenes* concealed his Death; which was not made known till *Perses* was present. Thus this unworthy Prince mounted the Throne, which he had gained by heinous Crimes.

NEVERTHELESS, *Antigonus* had like to have prevented his Rival. As soon as he had entered *Thrace*, he left the Army he had brought on the Frontiers, and made all the haste he could to *Amphipolis*. He was coming, accompanied only with *Cotto*, one of the *Sarmatian* Lords, to give the King an Account of his Negotiation. But to his great Surprise, when he was at some Distance from the City, he heard that *Philip* was dead, and *Perses* had ascended the Throne. And

<sup>109</sup> We have already spoken of the *Dardani*. They are thought to have inhabited that part of *Asia*, which now contains the chief Countries in *Asia* and *Bulgaria*.

<sup>110</sup> The *Scordisci*, had come from *Transalpine Gaul*, as early as in the time of *Brennus*, and settled in the Countries next to *Mæsia* and *Pandosia*.

This Country now contains a Canton of *Rascia*, and *Bosnia*.

<sup>111</sup> There were several Cities of *Laodicea*, as we have elsewhere observed. That here spoken of stood in the East-part of *Macedon*.

<sup>112</sup> We shall speak of the City of *Amphipolis*, in the forty fifth Book of this History.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXIV.

Q. FULVIUS  
FLACCUS, L.  
MANLIUS  
ACIDIUS,  
Consuls.



Year of to complete his Misfortune, he fell into the Hands of the new King, who put  
 R O M E him to Death. As to the *Bastarnæ*, after the Death of the old King they were  
 DLXXIV. denied a Passage through the Provinces of *Thrace*. But they opened themselves  
 one with their Swords. Their Armies were equally numerous, both in Cavalry  
 and Infantry; and they forced the *Thracians* to fly for Refuge to the Mountains,  
 and leave them the flat Country. Nothing could disperse them, but the fear of  
 Thunder and Lightning, which the *Bastarnæ* thought were more frequent, and  
 more terrible, in *Thrace*, than in their more northern Countries. This made  
 them deliberate, whether they should pursue their March; and some of them  
 chose to repass the *Danube*. But a Body of thirty thousand of these Barbarians, under  
 the Command of a Leader named *Elonicus*, arrived in *Dardania*, and settled there.

Q. FULVIUS  
 FLACCUS, L.  
 MANLIUS  
 ACIDINUS,  
 Consuls.

IN the mean time, *Perses* took all means possible to preserve the Crown. He  
 thought it necessary to send an Embassy to *Rome*, to notify to the Republick his  
 Accession, desire her Friendship, and entreat her to give him the Title of King.  
 But the Senate was not ignorant that these first Steps of the *Macedonian* were only  
 feigned Submissions. They already knew that the Son would be a more bitter  
 Enemy to *Rome* than the Father had been. But nevertheless they would not de-  
 clare against him, till a more convenient time came, and the Proceedings of  
*Perses* made it necessary. When *Philip* died, he had left great Preparations for  
 the War, which to the Day of his Death, he proposed to carry on with the Ro-  
 mans: In his Arsenals were found Arms for sixty thousand Men, in his Magazines  
 eight hundred thousand Measures of Wheat, and in his Coffers Money enough to  
 pay ten thousand foreign Troops for ten Years. All these Riches fell into the  
 Hands of a Successor, whose Crimes made him unworthy to reign; and who dis-  
 honoured the Throne by numberless Iniquities. But we shall soon see that  
 the Calamities which speedily overtook him justified that Providence, which suf-  
 fered him to enjoy his Happiness for a Season. In the mean time, let us return  
 to the Affairs of *Rome*.

Phil. Life of  
 Phil. Erril.

§. XLVIII. THE Consul *Fulvius* presided at the great Elections; and *M. Junius*  
 Year of *Brutus*, and *A. Manlius Vulso*, were created Consuls by a Majority of Voices.  
 R O M E The ancient Custom of choosing six *Prætors* was now revived; so that the *Bæbian*  
 DLXXV. Law, which reduced them to four, continued in force but one Year. Two of  
 these *Prætors* were detained at *Rome*, to administer Justice there. Two others  
 set out for *Spain*, to succeed *Postumius* and *Sempronius*. And of the two others,  
 one went to govern *Sicily*, and the other *Sardinia*. As to the Consular Provinces,  
*Gaul* fell to *Manlius's* Lot; and *Liguria*, to that of *Junius Brutus*. These Pro-  
 vinces were now settled in Peace: So that there were few Hostilities to be feared;  
 few Lawrels to be gathered there. But it is well known, that all the Consuls were  
 ambitious of finding Matter for Triumphs in their Provinces. And *Manlius* fore-  
 seeing that little Glory was to be gained in his, and that his Army would languish  
 away their time in his Camp, he chose rather to make himself Enemies, than to  
 continue unactive. He marched his Army to the extreme Parts of *Italy*, with-  
 out the Orders, or Leave of the Senate; and with what Success comes now to  
 be related.

M. JUNIUS  
 BRUTUS, A.  
 MANLIUS  
 VULSO, Con-  
 suls.

*Istria* and *Illyricum* had formerly been subdued by the *Romans*. Some time  
 before the second *Punick* War, Queen *Teuta* had paid dear for the Robberies she  
 had suffered the *Illyricans* to commit. For these forty three Years, the *Istri*, (who  
 were subdued by the Consuls, *Scipio Asina*, and *Minucius Rufus*) had respected the  
 Power of *Rome*, lived in great Submission and Tranquillity, and preserved the  
 Friendship of the Republick. Their prudent Conduct had made them prosperous at  
 Home; and through the Protection of *Rome*, they lived secure from all their En-  
 mies Abroad. They were a happy People, had they but known their own Hap-  
 piness. But the natural Restlessness of Men, who are often tired even with Pro-  
 sperity, put the *Illyricans* upon Action. They were governed by a King name  
*Gentius*, the Son of that *Pleuratus*, whose Fidelity the *Romans* had experience  
 in the Wars of *Greece*. *Gentius* was in the Flower of his Age, and Master of  
 great People; who partly consisted of those *Gauls*, who had retired thither from  
*Italy* after their Defeats; and of those who had fled thither for Refuge from  
*Germany*: And the Historians seem to give the Name of *Gauls* to the Troops which  
*Manlius* came to engage. And though *Gentius* pretended an Inclination to  
 cultivate



cultivate the Friendship of the *Romans*, he was at Bottom perfidious, and underhand stirred up his Subjects to Piracy, and to fill all the Coast of *Italy* with Terror. Some Complaints of it were brought to the Senate of *Rome*; but these Hostilities were not yet notorious enough, for the *Romans* to look on *Gentius* as a Rebel, and the *Istri* as Enemies. Nevertheless, the *Consul* received Intelligence, that some *Istri*, joined with some *Illyricans*, had made Descents on the Confines of *Italy*, and threatened to enter it; and there needed no more, to make a Man greedy of Glory hasten to the Place where he hoped to acquire some. However, *Manlius* called a Council of War; and the wisest of the Officers in the Army were against carrying the War into *Istria*, without first consulting the Senate. But others, doubtless in Complaisance to the *Consul*, thought the Affair pressing, and of Importance; and that it was necessary to suppress the Insolence of these Corsairs, without having Recourse to *Rome*. And this Opinion prevailed. The *Consul* came and encamped near the Springs of the <sup>113</sup> *Timavus*; which emit so great a Quantity of Water, that it immediately makes a kind of Lake <sup>114</sup>, at about one Mile's Distance from the Sea. Orders were given to the *Praefect* who was to guard the Coasts, to bring his Squadron to the Mouth of the River. *C. Furius* accordingly appeared off the Port which the *Timavus* forms, in the Place where it discharges itself into the Sea; with him came a great Number of Barks laden with Provisions for the *Consular* Army; and there was set up there a kind of Market, to which the Soldiers came, to buy what they wanted.

§. XLIX. IN order to render the Communication easy, between the Port and the Camp, *Manlius* posted Guards in several Places. On the Side of *Istria* was posted a Battalion of *Placentian* Soldiers, and two *Manipuli* of *Legionaries*, to guard the Watering-places. On the Road that leads to *Aquileia*, the *Consul* placed a whole *Legion*, in order to support the Forragers who should cut Wood in the neighbouring Forest. Some auxiliary Troops of the *Gauls* had their Camp in that Neighbourhood; and, not exceeding three thousand in Number, they hid themselves from the Enemy behind a Hill. From thence they rambled round the *Roman* Camp, and were very vigilant and careful not to be seen. A little King, named *Carmel*, had brought them to assist the *Romans*. But notwithstanding the Vigilance of the *Gauls* and *Romans*, neither of them discovered, that an *Istrian* Army was drawing near the *Consul's* Camp. Till at length, it came one Day within Reach of it, when the Advanced-guards of the *Romans* were weaker than ordinary, and the Market was not defended by any Body of Troops, but was full only of unarmed Men, and Traders. The General therefore resolved to fall suddenly on the Battalions of the *Placentians*, and the two *Manipuli* that reinforced it. It was a bold Action; but it succeeded beyond the Hopes of the *Istrian*. By the Help of a thick Fog which rose in the Morning, the King of the *Istri* advanced with his *Phalanx*, without being seen by the *Romans*, till the Sun had dispersed the Darkness; and the Battalion and two *Manipuli* were terrified at the first Sight of the Enemy. At that Distance, the *Istrian* Army appeared to be more numerous than it was; the Remains of the Fog multiplied the Objects; and Fear increased the Deception. Under these Apprehensions, the *Roman* Guard left their Posts, and hastened towards their Camp. They were out of Breath when they entered it; and their Fear had taken away the Use of their Speech. Nevertheless, there was a great Disturbance at the Gates of the Camp. The Soldiers knew not what had obliged a Battalion and two *Manipuli* to retire in Disorder; and some said that the Enemy, by the Help of the Fog, were got into the Camp. Upon this therefore, there was a general Alarm, and a *Roman* Soldier cried out, *To the Sea! To the Sea!* The Multitude caught the Cry, it passed from Mouth to Mouth, and nothing was heard in the Camp, but *To the Sea! Let us fly to the Sea!* A Body of *Romans* pretended first to take this Cry for Orders; and then they fled, and gained the Port, and were followed by a Multitude of the Soldiers, some armed, and some disarmed. And who can govern Men in sudden Pannicks? The *Consul* in vain endeavoured to stop his Troops, by Intreaties, and Menaces. Their Fright made them deaf to all he said; and then the *Consul* himself was drawn away by

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXV.

M. JUNIUS  
BRUTUS, A.  
MANLIUS  
VULSO, Con-  
suls.  
Livy, B. 41.  
c. 2.

<sup>113</sup> The *Timavus*, called by the *Italians*, *Timavo*, a River of *Carniola*, which falls into the *Adriatic* above *Aquileia*, on the Side of *Trieſte*.

<sup>114</sup> This Lake is the same that the *Italians*, now call, *Della Pietra Rossa*.



Year of the Example of his Army. So that there remained in the Camp only one *Legionary Tribune*, named *Licinius Strabo*, with three *Manipuli* of his *Legion*; and the Constancy of this Brave Man was ill rewarded. The *Istri* found the Avenues to the Camp defenceless, and the Camp itself deserted. They entered it, and marched on to the *Prætorium*. There the *Tribune* was yet exhorting his *Legionaries* to sustain the Efforts of the Enemy. Accordingly, these few *Romans* stood their Ground, and fought with Fury. And in one word, these Brave Men sold their Lives dear; and the Dispute did not end till *Licinius* fell down dead, on a Heap of *Istrians*. Such was the Fate of this Brave *Tribune*, who better deserved to command the Army, than the *Consul* the Republick had chosen!

R O M E  
DLXXV.  
M. JUNIUS  
BRUTUS, A  
MANLIUS  
VULSO, Con-  
suls.

AFTER this, the Conquerors penetrated to the *Quæstor's* Quarters, without any more Resistance; and there found every thing in great Order, and the Tables ready spread for an Entertainment. The Plenty of Dishes which were already served up, tempted the King of the *Istri* to place himself at the Table; and it was a rich Banquet, for a Prince who was used to live frugally. This Opportunity, and the Victory, much rejoiced him and his Army; and they eat and drank very heartily. In short, there was a general Feast in the Camp taken by Assault; whilst the *Consular* Army was in the greatest Disorder and Confusion. The Victuallers put their Provisions on board; the Merchants carried off their Merchandizes; the Sailors struck their Tents, and destroyed their Barracks; and the Soldiers seized the Sloops, in order to get to the Ships. Nay, they fought with one another. The Mariners would not let the Crowd come near their Skiffs; the Soldiers struck the Mariners with their Swords, and threw Darts at them; and the Seamen defended themselves with their Oars and Crooks. There were scarce two thousand of these Soldiers that were armed. Almost all the Troopers were on foot. The *Roman* Army was now an Assembly of Men, who looked more like Black-guards, than Soldiers. Which if the Enemy had observed, it would have been very easy to have defeated them. In this Extremity therefore, *Manlius* sent for the *Legion* which he had posted on the Road to *Aquileia*; together with the little Army of *Gauls* which *Carmel* commanded. This was his only Resource.

THE *Consul* observed, That since the taking of the Camp, the *Istri* continued surprizingly unactive. They made no Motion at all. They neither sent out a Detachment to watch the Enemy; nor so much as posted Guards at the Avenues of the Camp. And he from thence guessed, That they were either entirely taken up with plundering, or drunk and asleep. He therefore ordered the few Troops he had left to prepare to follow him. *Let us*, said he to his Soldiers, *wipe off this Reproach which has been cast on the Roman Name. Let us re take the Camp with as much Valour, as the Enemy had good Fortune, in taking it from us.* Then all the Men he had armed marched, by his Orders, towards their own Entrenchments. Every Trooper took up a Foot-Soldier behind him, and the ablest Soldiers rode two and two on the Beasts of Burden. *Manlius* lost no time; soon arrived at the Foot of the Rampart, with the *Legion*, and little *Gallic* Army; and then *Atius*, the first *Tribune* of the fugitive *Legion*, signalized himself. After he had exhorted his Men to behave themselves well, he threw an Ensign over the Wall of the Camp, and, without tarrying till the rest were come up, entered first thro' the Gate of the Camp, as if to fetch the Standard. And this Boldness encouraged the *Romans*. They followed *Atius*, and found no Resistance. Those of the *Istri* which were but half drunk, had only Presence of Mind enough to take to their Heels; and the rest who were dead-drunk, and fast asleep, never woke more. It was observed, that those *Romans*, who being wounded, or overpowered with Numbers, had surrendered to the Enemy after the first Battel, made the greatest Slaughter of them. They killed eight thousand <sup>115</sup> of the *Istri*, and did not spare one. As for their King, his Subjects put him on horseback, drunk he was, and saved him by Flight. Thus the *Romans* recovered their Camp, and lost only a little Wine and Meat. This tumultuous Battel cost them but two hundred and thirty seven Men, the greatest Part of which had lost their Lives in the Attack, and in their Flight in the Morning.

<sup>115</sup> *Livy* observes, that a private Trooper, named *Cains Popilius Sabellus*, was one of those who distinguished themselves most, in this last Attack. Though much incommoded by a Wound he received; he spread Death and Slaughter among the Enemy's Troops.



§. L. THE Disgrace the *Romans* had suffered at their Camp, near the *Timavus*, would not have been known so soon at *Rome*, had it not been for an Accident. R O M E DLXXV.  
 Two of the new Inhabitants of *Aquileia*, both *Aquilii*, were bringing a Convoy to the *Roman* Camp, at the very time that the *Istri* were Masters of it. They therefore immediately turned about in all Haste, and brought the News to *Aquileia*; from whence it spread, in a few Days, to *Rome*, and made a great Noise there. The People in the Capital were already prejudiced against *Manlius's* Proceedings. He had undertaken the War with the *Istri* of his own Head, and without Orders from the Senate. Besides, Fame had magnified the Misfortunes of his Army. It was thought to be defeated and destroyed. The first Care therefore of the Republick was to remedy the Misfortunes she took for granted; and she began with commanding extraordinary Levies to be made at *Rome*, and among the Allies. The City of *Rome* was directed to raise two new *Legions*; and the Country of the *Latins* to furnish ten thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse. Orders were sent to the *Consul Junius*, to leave *Liguria*, go into *Cisalpine Gaul*, there raise as many Men as he could, and march with them towards *Istria*. The Precautions of the *Romans* were exceeding great, even upon the least Occasions.

In the mean time the *Tribunes of the People* were continually exclaiming against the rash *Consul*. They were very free of their Invectives against him, upon bare Prejudices and uncertain News. But at length, *Junius* came with a considerable Reinforcement to *Aquileia*; and from thence gave the Senate an Account of the true Situation of Affairs in *Istria*. *Rome* was much rejoiced to find, That *Manlius's* Rout had been but momentary; That his Army was in being; and That he had humbled the Enemy by retaking his Camp. And the Levies to be raised in the City, and among the Allies, were immediately countermanded; and many Troops disbanded, among whom the Plague began to spread. On the other hand, the King of the *Istri* was yet encamped in the Neighbourhood of the *Timavus*. But he now disbanded his Soldiers; as not thinking himself in a Condition to keep the Field, in the Presence of two united *Consuls*.

THIS was the Situation of Affairs, when the *Consular* Year was near expiring. The Senate therefore wrote to the two Collegues, to agree between themselves, which of them should come, and preside at the Elections. But *Manlius* was yet too much defamed in *Rome*, for him to appear there; and he therefore suffered *Junius* to go. Nevertheless, the Absence of *Manlius* did not appease the Wrath of two *Tribunes of the People*, who yet appeared more zealous against him than their Collegues. It had been already settled, That *Manlius* and *Junius* should continue to carry on the War in *Istria* the next Year, in Quality of *Pro-Consuls*; and *Manlius's* Enemies, who were *Licinius Nerva*, and *Papirius Turdus*, did their utmost to prevail on the People to disannul this honourable Appointment. They would fain have obliged *Manlius* to return to *Rome* as soon as possible; that they might prosecute him in the *Comitia*. But *Q. Fabius*, who was also a *Tribune of the People*, opposed the Motion of his two Collegues, and at last prevailed. *Manlius* was confirmed *Pro-Consul* in *Istria*, and continued there, at least for some time, at the Head of his Army.

WHILST *Junius* was proceeding slowly on to the City, to preside in the Elections, the Senate was taken up with the Business of the *Levant*. Bad News was brought from *Sardinia*. The revolted *Ilians*, and <sup>116</sup> *Balares*, who had joined together, had prevailed. The *Roman* Army had suffered so much by Distempers, that it was not in a Condition to resist the Rebels. The latter had made themselves Masters of the Province. Only some few Cities remained faithful, and they demanded speedy Succours. The Misfortune was great, and required a speedy Remedy; nevertheless the Affair was postponed till after the Elections.

THEN the Complaints of the *Lycians*, tho' of less Consequence to the Republick, were heard with as much Attention. It may be remembered, that in the Distribution of the Lands conquered in *Asia*, *Scipio* gave *Lycia* to the *Rhodians*, whose faithful Allies to *Rome*, during the War with *Antiochus*. And when the *Lycians* had changed their Masters, they were heavily oppressed by them. They there-

<sup>116</sup> The *Balares* were a People of *Sardinia*, who have now no Remains. *Piner* calls this Canton *Baromela*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXV.

M. JUNIUS  
BRUTUS, A.  
MANLIUS  
VULSO, Con-  
suls.

Polyb. in ex-  
cerpt. Legat.  
N. 60, 61.

Liv. B. 41.  
c. 6.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXVI.  
C. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER,  
TIB. SEMPRO-  
NIUS GRAC-  
CHUS, Consuls.

fore came to *Rome* for Redress under their Misfortunes, and addressed themselves to the Senate in this manner. *We were formerly subject to the King of Syria; and found his Government very mild, in Comparison of the Oppressions we endure from the Rhodians. We now undergo all the Hardships of Slavery. We are treated like Persons bought with Money. All Kinds of Severity are used, not only against particular Persons, but against the whole Nation. The Honour of our Wives and Daughters is not safe. Our Estates are at the Mercy of our Masters. Our Lands are pillaged; and no Appearance of Justice is preserved in the Usurpations they make upon us. Rome was then the Refuge of the Distressed. The Senate wrote a Letter to the Rhodians, which was carried by the Lycian Envoys themselves, to this Effect. We never intended to enslave the Countries we gave you. None of those People that were born free, were reduced to a State of Slavery by us, when we made them subject to you. Remember then, that the Lycians are Allies to the People of Rome, at the same time that they are your Subjects. But the Rhodians took this Letter, which had been wholly founded in Compassion, in ill Part. We shall soon see this Republick, which was so well-affected to the Romans, change her Sentiments, and enter into Engagements with the Enemies of Rome. So that Rhodes did not comply with the Will of the Senate; and her Severities forced the Lycians to revolt. They set up for Independency, and endeavoured to shake off the Rhodian Yoke; which laid the Foundation for a long Process, which both Parties carried on at the Tribunal of the Romans.*

THE Affairs of the East were yet transacting at *Rome*, when the Consul *Junius* arrived from *Istria*, to preside in the great *Comitia*. When he was introduced into the Senate, he had much Difficulty to answer the Questions that were put to him, by the two *Tribunes* who declared against *Manlius*. Nay, they were not content with examining the Consul before the *Conscript Fathers*, but brought him to the Tribunal of the People, and there teized him with fresh Enquiries. *Why*, said they, *did not Manlius come to Rome himself? Whose Orders had he for leaving his Province, and committing Hostilities in Istria? Did the Senate ever give their Consent to it? Did the People order it? And we see it has answered accordingly! It is difficult to say, whether this War was more irregularly begun, or more imprudently carried on. Two of our Advanced-Guards ran away. The Consul's Camp was deserted. Both Horse and Foot ran in Confusion to the Port, without their Arms; Manlius himself fled. And since he refuses to come hither, to give an Account of his Conduct, we will take Care that he shall not want a Prosecution, as soon as his Office is expired. To all which Questions and Reproaches on his Colleague, Junius only answered, That he had been but nine Days in Istria; That he was not acquainted with the Affairs of the Country; and That Fame had reported more at Rome, than he could discover upon the Place. This Moderation did Honour to Junius; and he immediately assembled the *Comitia* in the *Campus Martius*, laid down the Consulship, and returned to *Istria*, where he and *Manlius* were to continue the War, in Quality of *Pro Consuls*.*

S. LI. As soon as *Claudius Pulcher*, and *Tib. Sempronius*, were promoted to the Consulate; new *Prators* were also chosen. *Ælius Tubero* was *Prator Romanus*; and *T. Quintius Flaminius*, *Prator Peregrinus*. *Cornelius Scipio*, and *Valerius Lavinius*, went *Prators* to the two Provinces of *Cisalpine Gaul*. And lastly *Numisius* was sent Governour to *Sicily*, and *Mummius* to *Sardinia*. Then it was considered, that a *Prator* was not sufficient to reduce *Sardinia* and *Corfica*; and it was thought more proper to send thither one of the *Consuls*, with a *Consular Army* to bring these Rebels to their Duty. So that the two chief Scenes of Action for *Rome* this Year were *Istria* and *Sardinia*. The two Collegues drew Lots for the Provinces; and *Istria* fell to *Claudius Pulcher*, and *Sardinia* to *Sempronius*. So that the *Prator Mummius* had no Province. Nevertheless, it was necessary to employ him. And an Opportunity offered itself, which found him an Employment suitable to his Dignity.

THE Cities and Provinces in Alliance with *Rome*, had always been obliged to Treaties to furnish their Contingents of Troops for the *Roman Armies*, to carry on all Wars at Home and Abroad. Nevertheless, the Inhabitants of these Cities and Provinces had found out many different Ways of easing themselves or their Children, of the Burden of depriving their Families of so many young Men



were to have been taken from them for the Army. Some found Means to carry their Children to *Rome*, and procure them the Right of Citizenship there. By a feigned Sale they submitted, in Appearance, to become Slaves to some *Roman Citizens*; but it was upon Promise, that they should soon be set at Liberty, and thereby be made *Roman Citizens*. Others had found out another Expedient, to evade the Obligation they lay under to take the Field; which was, to remove to *Rome* themselves, settle there, and obtain the Right of *Citizenship*. Indeed the *Municipal Laws* had in some Sort remedied this last Inconvenience. None could be an Inhabitant of the Capital, unless before his Departure he had left one of his Children in his Province, to perpetuate his Family there. But after all, this Law had not prevented all the ill Consequences of these Removals, which were now become common. They who had no Children, left their native Cities, and settled at *Rome*, without leaving any of their Families to discharge the Offices of their Country; and this was an Abuse of which the Allies of *Rome* had long complained. The *Samnites* in particular, and the *Peligni*, represented, That four thousand Families had removed out of their Provinces to *Fregellæ*, a *Roman Colony*, where they enjoyed the same Rights, in this Respect, as at *Rome*. *In time*, said they, *our Provinces will be deserted, and we shall not be able to raise the Number of Soldiers which the Romans demand of us*. Nay, their Complaints went yet farther. A great Number of these Strangers, without regard to Law, removed their whole Families to *Rome*, or the *Roman Colonies*; and yet the Contingents of these unpeopled Cities and Provinces, were not diminished. They therefore demanded two things. First, That these Deserters from their native Country should be obliged to return to their old Habitations. And secondly, That a Law should be made to prevent these Transmigrations for the future, which were so prejudicial to the Republick, and so burdensome to her Allies. The Senate thought the Demands of the several Nations in their Alliance reasonable; and the *Consul Claudius* pronounced this Decree. *That all those who, since the Censorship of T. Quinctius, and M. Claudius, had got themselves enrolled in the Census of the Citizens of Rome, whether they were themselves alive, or had succeeded their Fathers, should return to their native Countries, before the first Day of November*. And in order to prevent these fraudulent Manumissions for the future, the Senate made this Regulation. *That every Dictator, Consul, President in an Interregnum, or Prætor, who should be present at the Manumissions which should be made in the Forum, should oblige him who presented his Slave to be made free, to swear that he had no Design to take any Citizen from his native City: And That whoever failed to take this Oath, should render the Enfranchisement of his Slave null*. And *Mummius* had the Charge of seeing these two Decrees put in Execution. This, in some measure, made him Amends for his *Prætorship of Sardinia*, which had been taken from him, and given to the *Consul Sempronius*.

THIS *Consul* set out thither, and there maintained the Glory he had<sup>117</sup> acquired in *Celtiberia*. By how many Battels fought with the *Sardinians* and *Corfiens*, did he merit the Triumph with which he was honoured! After the two Years he spent here successively, one as *Consul*, and the other as *Pro-Consul*, he left no Enemies to be subdued. In his *Consulship*, he fought the *Ilians* and *Balares* together; killed twelve thousand of them upon the Spot; took their Camp; and seemed to have paved the Way, for his Successor whom he expected, to give the Rebels an entire Defeat. One *M. Popillius Lænas* was the *Prætor* to whose Lot *Sardinia* fell. But he was not in haste to go to his Province, to reap the Remains of another Man's Glory. He represented to the Senate, That it was neither for the publick Good, nor for the Honour of the *Consul Sempronius*, that another Person should go and reap the Fruits of his Labours; That it belonged to him alone, to finish the Conquest of these two Islands; and That these too frequent Changes of Generals interrupted the Course of their Victories. And *Popillius's* Excuse was accepted. *Sempronius* continued in *Sardinia*, carried on the War there with the Title of *Pro-Consul*, settled his Province in Peace, and did not re-

<sup>117</sup> The *Consul Sempronius* had triumphed in the end of the Year 575, on account of his Conquest of the *Celtiberians*. The next Day, *Lucius Postumus Albinus* had received the same Honours, after

having subdued the *Lusitanians*. The former had brought from his Expedition forty thousand Pounds weight of Silver in Bars; and the latter twenty thousand.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXVI.  
C. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER,  
TIB. SEMPRO-  
NIUS GRAC-  
CHUS, Consuls.



Year of  
ROM E  
DLXXVI.  
C. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER,  
TIB. SEMPRO-  
NIUS GRAC-  
CHUS, Consuls.

turn to *Rome*, till the second Year after his *Consulship*. His triumphant Procession was not very considerable on account of any great Sums of Money which he brought into the publick Treasury. What was most remarkable in it was the prodigious Number of *Sardinians* that were sold by Auction. Hence, say some, came the Proverb, <sup>118</sup> *Sardinians to sell!* Tho' others carry the Origin of it higher. But be that as it will, *Sempronius* himself, in an Inscription which he ordered to be put on the Temple of the Goddess *Matuta*, informs Posterity, that in *Sardinia* he had taken and killed, twenty thousand of the Rebels. We have a little anticipated this last Exploit, in Point of Time; in order to give the Reader one entire View of this whole glorious Expedition of *Sempronius*.

§. LII. As for the *Consul Claudius Pulcher*, he was so far from delaying to set out for *Istria*, that he even precipitated his Journey from *Rome*. His Impatience or his Jealousy, made him neglect certain Ceremonies, which had been usually performed by the *Roman Consuls*, before they took the Field. He had been informed, That *Manlius* and *Junius*, the two *Consuls* for the last Year, after they had spent the Winter in *Aquileia*, were entered into *Istria*, very early in the Spring; and this News made him fear that the Senate would take from him a Province where two *Pro Consuls* began to signalize themselves. All the Fields in *Istria* were already laid waste. The *Istrians* had indeed assembled in Haste a tumultuous Army; but these weak Troops had not been able to resist the united Forces of the two *Roman Pro-Consuls*. The latter had killed in one Battel four thousand of the Enemy; and the rest of the *Istrian* Army had dispersed itself. What Occasion was there then, for a *Consul* to go and take upon him the Command of an Army, which was victorious under its old Commanders? Nevertheless, *Claudius* thought *Istria* too glorious a Scene to be neglected. In a sudden Fit of Love for Glory, he set out in the Night, and forgot to pay his Vows to *Jupiter*, or take that military Habit in form, which distinguished the *Roman* Generals in the Field. He came to the Camp in *Istria*, without any Attendants, or *Lictors*. Nor was this all. When the *Consul* saw the two *Pro-Consuls*, the Objects of his Jealousy, he was fired more than ever; and assembled his Army before his Tent, to harangue them. His whole Discourse consisted of Invectives against *Manlius* and *Junius*; and he reproached the former with the suffering his Camp to be taken, and his Flight. Strange Imprudence! This was in effect reproaching all the Troops, as well as the General; they were more to blame for deserting the Camp, than he. So that the Soldiers were enraged at the *Consul's* Speech. And as for *Junius*, the *Consul* reproached him for having joined his Troops to those of a dishonoured Collegue; and concluded his Harangue, with an Order to the two *Pro Consuls* to leave the Army, and return to *Rome*.

THESE Proceedings of *Claudius* seemed violent ones, even to the Soldiers themselves; and they first cried out, That the *Consul* should be obeyed, when he appeared in the Camp invested with the usual Marks of his Dignity, and installed in the usual Terms. This Revolt threw the fiery *Claudius* into a Fury, which is not to be expressed. He instantly ordered the *Pro Quæstor* to fetch him some Chains out of the Magazine, to load the *Pro-Consuls* with them; and then the three Commanders came to an open Quarrel. The *Pro-Quæstor* refused to put the *Consul's* Orders in Execution. The *Legionaries* made a Rampart for the *Pro-Consuls*, with their Bodies; and with their Shouts insulted the mad *Claudius*. And in short, the Matter was carried so far, that the despised *Consul* was forced to go back to the Ship which had brought him from *Aquileia*, and return to *Rome*.

BUT before his Departure, *Claudius* had had the Precaution to write to his Collegue *Sempronius*, who was not yet set out for *Sardinia*, to hasten the Levies in the City. Order it so, said he, that the two Legions, and the Auxiliaries, of which my Army is to consist, be upon their March before my Arrival. Accordingly *Sempronius* performed the Desire of his Collegue; and the new Army designed to *Claudius* were upon their March for *Aquileia*. As for *Claudius* himself, he came to the City almost as soon as his Letter; and in the first place assembled the *Comitia*, and complained of the Proceedings of *Junius* and *Manlius*. But it was not customary at *Rome* to pronounce Sentence against the Accused, till they had been

<sup>118</sup> See what we have said of this old Proverb, in the preceding Volumes.



heard. However, the *Consul* at length performed the Ceremonies of Religion and Policy, which were necessary for a Man in his Employment; and set out again the third Day. And now, he even made more Haste to *Istria*, than he had done the first time.

Year of  
ROMAN  
DLXXVI.

C. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER,  
TIB. SEMPRO-  
NIUS GRAC-  
CHUS, Consuls.

DURING his Absence, the *Pro-Consuls*, *Junius* and *Manlius*, vigorously pursued the Siege of a City belonging to the Enemy, called <sup>119</sup> *Nesattium*. How great would have been their Glory, if they could have taken it before the *Consul's* Return! But it was exceeding strong. The King of *Istria*, named *Æpulo*, and the chief Lords of the Country, had shut themselves up in it. The *Pro-Consuls* were busy in battering it, when the *Consul* arrived. He was followed by the new Army which had been raised for him; and now his Orders could no longer be disputed. He was invested in his Office with all the Forms that were necessary to gain him Respect; and he ordered the *Pro Consuls* to be gone immediately, and lead back their Armies to the Capital. *Mine is sufficient*, said he, *and I will continue the Siege of Nesattium, with Soldiers that will obey me.* It must be owned, that *Claudius* had all the Fire and Activity of the greatest Generals.

The besieged City had not suffered much by the *Pro-Consuls*; and it was necessary for *Claudius* to make vigorous Efforts, in order to reduce it. Then the *Ram*, *Moveable Towers*, *Mantelets*, and in a word, all the Machines of War, were employed; but to no Effect. And at length, the new General thought of an Expedient, which none but *Romans* could have put in execution. *Nesattium* stood on a River called <sup>120</sup> *Arfia*, which discharges itself into the Sea pretty near the City. This was the only Water the Besieged could use, for themselves or their Cattel; and *Claudius* undertook to turn the Course of the River. The *Romans*, with indefatigable Labour, dug a new Bed for the *Arfia*, and carried it into the Sea thro' a new Channel, made at a great Distance from the City. The natural Impatience of the *Consul* would not suffer him to wait till the *Istri* were forced by Hunger to surrender at Discretion; and he therefore obliged them to submit to the *Roman* Yoke by Thirst. This vast Labour seemed a Prodigy to the Besieged. (And indeed, the *Romans* had never before attempted to alter the Course of Rivers; though we shall hereafter see more painful Labours only Sport to them.) Nevertheless, the greatest Part of the Besieged preferred Death to Slavery. They began with cutting the Throats of their Wives and Children, and throwing them from the Ramparts into the Ditches. This horrible Sight caused a great Outcry in the City; all was in Confusion there; and the *Romans* seized this Opportunity to mount the Walls. They were soon Masters of the Ramparts, and filled the Place with Terror. The *Istri* tried to escape thro' the Gates; and new Massacres increased the Clamours. But *Æpulo* was not terrified at them. His Resolution was fixed. He stabbed himself with his own Sword; and thereby avoided the Shame of being made a Spectacle in his Conqueror's Triumph. All the Inhabitants and Garrison of *Nesattium*, either fell by the Sword, or were reduced to Slavery. And this speedy Success was followed by the taking of two other Cities, in which the whole Strength of *Istria* consisted. One was *Mutila* <sup>121</sup>, and the other <sup>122</sup> *Faveria*. They were both taken by Assault; and both given up to be plundered; and the Soldiers found more Booty in them, than they had hoped for in so poor a Country. Thus by subduing three Places, and without gaining one Battel, the *Consul Claudius* pacified the *Istrian* Nation, and brought it into Subjection to his Republick.

<sup>119</sup> The City of *Nesattium* stood in the most Eastern Part of *Istria*, towards the Confines of *Liguria*, near the Mouth of the River *Arfia*, in the Place where we now see *Castel Nuovo*.

<sup>120</sup> The River *Arfia*, called *Arfa* by the *Italians*, divides *Istria* from *Illyricum*. It discharges itself into the *Adriatic* Sea.

<sup>121</sup> We know nothing certain of the Situation of *Mutila*. *Cluver* thinks it stood in the Neighbourhood of a City, which is now called *Medolino*.

<sup>122</sup> The same Geographer thinks that *Faveria* was not far from the Place where there is now a City of *Istria* which the *Italians* call *Pegra*. It stands on the Banks of the *Arfa*.



T H E

# Roman History.

## B O O K XLIII.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXVI.

C. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER,  
TIB. SEMPRO-  
NIUS GRAC-  
CHUS, Consuls.

§. I. **T**HUS *Istria* was now subdued by the *Consul Claudius*, with a Rapidity not common of late in the *Roman* Conquests. Nevertheless, the active General was not content with subduing one Kingdom in a Campaign. He received Intelligence, in the furthest Parts of *Italy*, that the *Ligures* were renewing their old Plots: and being likewise invited by the Senate, to lead his victorious Army into *Liguria*, if he pleased; he hastened thither from *Pisa*, where he tarried but a few Days, and flew to the Enemy. The *Ligurian* Camp was then posted on the Banks of the *Scultenna*; a River which runs between *Modena* and *Bologna*, and discharges itself into the *Po*. And in a few Days he came up with the Enemy, attacked and overcame them. The *Ligures* lost in the Battle fifteen thousand seven hundred Men, who were either killed, or taken, and fifty one Standards. Their Camp was taken, and the Vanquished went and hid themselves in their Mountains. What Honours then were not due from the Republic, to a General who had pacified two Provinces in one Year! The Senate had already granted him *Supplications* for two Days, on account of his Victory in *Istria* only; and the new Advantages he now gained over the *Ligures*, compleated his Glory. The Honours of a Triumph were decreed him on two Accounts. In his Procession, he had carried before his Chariot some little Silver, which had been taken from those Enemies who had very little Money; and he gave some Bounties to his Soldiers. But as he made a Distinction in his Bounties, between the *Roman* Troops and the Auxiliaries; the latter were sullen and silent during the Procession; which was the most modest Manner in which they could shew their Discontent.

§. II. AFTER his Triumph, *Claudius* presided in the Elections. The *Comitia* promoted <sup>2</sup> *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispalus*, and *Q. Petillius Spurius*, to the *Consulate*. Six *Prætors* were chosen, as usual; but the two to whom the Provinces in *Spain* fell, excused themselves from going thither. The Entrails of the Victims, and the Answers of the *Aruspices* foreboded nothing but Misfortunes to them. So that the old *Prætors* of *Spain*, whose time was expired, were, contrary to Custom, continued in their Governments a third Year. As to the *Prætor* who took Cognizance of the Law-suits between the *Citizens*, he had a Case brought before him which was new. Two Heirs contended about the Succession to an Estate. The first was a Son who demanded his Father's Inheritance. But his Antagonist objected to the Legality of his Birth, because his Mother had acknowledged, that she had gone thirteen Months with him. The Law of the *Decemviri*, or of *The Twelve Tables*, said, that no Claim for a Succession should be allowed, unless the Person claiming had been born in the tenth Month; even he that was born in the eleventh was rejected. But notwithstanding the Law, the *Prætor*, upon better Grounds, determined in favour of the Son born in the thirteenth Month. *Nature*, said he, *has not absolutely fixed the Time of Womens Delivery to one certain Period*.

<sup>1</sup> The River formerly called *Scaltenna*, now bears the Name of *Panaro*. It divides the Territory of *Bologna*, from *The State of Modena*, after which it loses itself in the *Po*.

<sup>2</sup> *Marianus*, and *Cuspinian's Tables*, distinguish

the second *Consul*, *Quintus Petillius Spurius*, by the Surname of *Spado*. But it is a Mistake, which ought to be corrected upon the Credit of the *Early Capitolini*.



ON the Ides of March, the *Consuls* entered upon their Office, and made it their first Year of Business to return the Gods thanks, and consult them concerning the Success of their Administration. And then a thing is said to have happened which is not very credible. *Cn. Cornelius* first offered the Sacrifice, which it was usual for the *Consuls* to offer upon taking Possession of the *Consulate*; and came himself in a great Fright to the Senate, and told them the Wonder he had seen. *When they had boiled the Bowels of the Victim I had sacrificed, its Liver, said he, was turned into Water. It was not to be found among the Intestines of the Brute. With what Misfortunes am I threatened?* And no sooner had *Cornelius* said this, but *Petillius* his Collegue came, and gave the *Fathers* much the same Account of himself. *When the Ox, said he, which I had slain before the Altar was opened, I found, to my great Surprise, that the upper part of his Liver was wanting. I therefore endeavoured to appease the Gods, by new Sacrifices, and offered no less than three Bulls; but could obtain no favourable Answer.* The Senate therefore thought it necessary to multiply their Offerings, and present Victims to all the Gods; and it is said, That then all the Divinities, except the Goddess *Salus*, declared themselves in favour of the *Consul*. This Account has much the Air of a Fable invented by the *Pontifices*, and put into their Annals, to gain their Religion Credit. That both the *Consuls* should die in their *Consulate*, was too remarkable an Event, for the *Pontifices* not to make the Gods to interfere in it, and invent some Circumstance which was proper to bring Honour to the *Aruspices*. What proves the Forgery is, that neither of the *Consuls* abdicated, but both drew Lots for their Provinces. It fell to *Cornelius's* Lot, to command the Army which lay encamped near *Pisa*; and to *Petillius's*, to make War in *Liguria*. But the *Prætors* designed for *Spain* were not so rash as the *Consuls*. They would not go to their Provinces, for fear of the Misfortunes which the Entrails of the Victims denounced against them.

THESE first Acts of Religion were also followed by another. The *Consul Cornelius* went and presided in the Assembly at the *Feriæ Latinae*, and at the Sacrifices which were offered up in the Temple of *Jupiter Latialis*. But there was some Defect in these Ceremonies. It was usual for the Head of each of the Cities of the *Latin Confederacy*, to pronounce a certain Form of Prayers. But the chief Magistrate of *Lanuvium*, either through Inadvertency, or Design, omitted to pray for the Prosperity of the *Roman People*. This was thought an Affair of Importance; and it was brought before the Senate of *Rome*. The *Fathers* referred it to the *Pontifical College*; and they determined, That the Feast should be begun again, and That the City of *Lanuvium* should bear the new Expences of it. The same *Consul Cornelius* was present at the Repetition of the Ceremony, which was then finished; and as he was coming down from *The Hill of Alba*, he was seized with an apopleckick Fit. It immediately turned to a Palsey; and he was carried to the Waters of *Cumæ*, and there died. His Body was brought to *Rome*; and the Republick ordered Obsequies for him, worthy of a Man of his Rank. Then as soon as the *Auspices* would suffer him, *Petillius*, the surviving *Consul*, assembled the *Comitia*, and *C. Valerius Lævinus* was chosen *Consul*, in the room of *Cornelius Scipio*.

§ III. THESE religious Offices, the Death of his Collegue, and the Trouble of a new Election, kept *Petillius* longer at *Rome* than he expected. In the mean time *Claudius*, who had been so active in his *Consulate* the last Year, was now commanding the Army in *Liguria*, in quality of *Pro-Consul*; and his martial Ardour was roused by the unexpected Motions of the *Ligures*. These invincible Enemies had seized *Mutina*\*, and driven the *Roman Colony* out of it. *Claudius* therefore, ever content with himself, came with incredible Expedition, and retook the City in less than three Days. Then, proud of his new Conquest, he sent an Account of it to the Senate; and being as vain as brave, told them, that they had nothing more to fear from the Revolt of the *Ligures*. Indeed eight thousand of them had been put to the Sword at the retaking of *Mutina*; and *Claudius* thought, that the *Romans* had nothing to do but come and take Possession of the Fields of *Liguria*, and distribute them among indigent *Citizens*. But the Vanity of this General was soon abated, by the new Insurrections the *Ligures* raised in their own Country. *Claudius* however lost no time in meeting them. The *Pro-Consul* was dreaded by the Nation on Account of his Conquest of them on the Banks of the *Scultenna*, and the Recovery of *Mutina*; and the *Ligures* therefore retired to their

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXVII.  
Cn. CORNELIUS SCIPIO  
HÆPULUS, Q.  
PETILLIUS  
SPURINUS,  
Consuls.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXVII.  
Q. PETILLIUS  
SPURINUS, C.  
VALERIUS  
LÆVINUS,  
Consuls.  
\* *Modena.*  
*Livy, B. 41.*  
*c. 16.*



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXVII.

Q. PETILLI-  
US SPURINUS,  
C. VALERIUS  
LÆVINUS,  
Consuls.

Mountains, entrenched themselves there, and surrounded their Trenches with Walls. So that Men thus secured could not be attacked; and the *Pro-Consul* therefore vented his Impetuosity against the few *Ligures* which were left in the Plains, and could not so soon retire to the Mountains. He killed about fifteen hundred of them. At the same time, the entrenched *Ligures* exercised their Fury against the *Romans*, whom they had made Prisoners at *Mutina*; and they were all massacred. As for the Cattle they had taken, the Barbarians brought them into their Temples, and sacrificed them in Honour to their Divinities. The rest of their Booty was hung up on the Walls of their Sanctuaries. Among other things there were several Vessels, which were more proper for private Uses, than for Ornaments for Temples. The *Ligures*, though near *Rome*, and in the midst of *Italy*, had not yet learnt that Politeness, which the *Romans* had now brought to some Perfection, by their Commerce with the *Greeks*.

In the mean time *Claudius* was preparing to give *Liguria* the finishing Stroke; and he proposed to attack the two Mountains, which served for an *Asylum* to his Enemies. One was called *Letum*, and the other *Balista*. The *Pro-Consular* Army had actually surrounded them, when the *Consul* *Petillius* sent Orders to *Claudius* to meet him with his Army in *Cisalpine Gaul*, on the Banks of the *3 Sechia*. The *Consul* indeed was jealous. The Success of *Claudius* was too glittering. *Petillius* wanted to rob him of the Honour of having reduced and pacified *Liguria*. And as desirous as *Claudius* was of acquiring all the Glory of that Conquest, he obeyed the *Consul*; but then *Petillius* likewise found a Rival. *Lævinus* came in haste to join him. The two Heads of the Republick divided the *Roman* Troops between them, after they had reviewed them together; and then drew Lots for the different Parts of *Liguria*, in which they were to carry on the War. And it is said (though probably this also may be a Fiction of the *Pontifices*) that *Petillius* had not a good Lot, though he thought it so. The pretended Reason for which is, that he did not draw his Lot in a Temple; whereas his Collegue chose to draw his, at the Foot of the Altars. But be that as it will, the Event will shew that the most dangerous Post fell to *Petillius*.

§. IV. After this, the two *Consuls* separated; each took his Rout towards the Country which had fallen to him by Lot; and we will first attend *Petillius*. He marched to the very Place from whence he had recalled *Claudius*; that is, he went and invested the *Ligures* in the Mountains of *Letum* and *Balista*; where they had fortified themselves. And it is said, That the *Consul*, before he began his Attacks, harangued his Soldiers; and without knowing it, himself foretold his approaching Death, in the ambiguous Terms he made use of. *To Day*, said he, *I shall take Letum*; which Words, in the Language he spoke, had two Senses. *Petillius* meant, that he should make himself Master of the Mountain; but the Words also signified, *That he should die that Day*. And this fortuitous Prediction indeed proved very true. The Mountains were invested, and attacked in two Places. On the Side where the *Consul* himself commanded, the *Romans* had the Advantage. At the other Attack the *Legionaries* gave Way; and it was to be feared, would be routed. *Petillius* therefore rode full Speed to them, and put himself at the Head of the staggering Troops. This was a rash Action; and it cost him his Life. He was run through with a Javelin, and fell down dead. The Enemy however did not know, that the Horseman who lay dead was the *Consul*; and few of the *Romans* perceived it. They who knew him hid his Body, that the Army might not be discouraged. And at length *Petillius's* Prediction was fulfilled in both Senses. *Letum* and *Balista* were taken, as well as the *Consul* lost his Life; five thousand *Ligures* were killed on the Spot; and the *Romans*, though deprived of their General, lost but fifty two Men. A memorable Event, in the relation of which many Fables have been interspersed!

*LÆVINUS* rejoiced to hear of the Victory of the *Romans*; but was grieved at the Loss of his Collegue. And here the Historians fail us, and leave us to guess at *Lævinus's* Success in *Liguria*. It is presumed however, that he went, and vented his Rage on the *Ligures* of the Mountains, and completed *Petillius's* Victory.

<sup>3</sup> The *Sechia*, known to the Ancients by the Name of *Gabellus*, rises in the *Apennines*; and after it has taken its Course between the State of *Modena*, and the Territory of *Rhegio*, discharges itself into the *Po*.



least it is pretty certain that he came to *Rome*, and triumphed. The Senate decreed at the same time, That two Days should be set apart for publick Prayers, and one for the Triumph of the surviving *Consul*; and That the Soldiers, who had not relieved *Petillius* in time, should be punished. They were deprived of the Pay that was due to them for the rest of the Year. Thus the *Ligures* were vanquished, but not subdued. A strange Nation, and wonderfully constant in maintaining their Liberty! *Rome* gave Law to *Greece*, *Africa*, and *Asia*; and yet this fierce People still made the greatest Efforts against the *Romans*, in a Corner of *Italy* itself, and as it were at the Gates of *Rome*. They were so far like the *Samnites*; whom *Rome* had found it as difficult to subdue, at a time when her Power was confined within narrow Bounds.

Year of  
*R O M E*  
DLXXVII.  
C VALERIS  
LÆVINUS,  
Consul.

§. V. DURING the Campaign, the Senate were chiefly employed about the Affairs of the East. Ever since the last Year the Ambassadors of *Seleucus* King of *Syria*, and the Successor of *Antiochus the Great*, were come to *Rome*, to treat about sending home Prince *Antiochus*, the Brother of *Seleucus*. It may be remembered, that this young Bud of the Blood of the *Seleucidae*, had been given in Hostage to the *Romans* by his Father, after his Defeat. He had been long at *Rome*; was now twenty seven Years of Age; and either out of Fondness, or Distrust, *Seleucus* was desirous of bringing his Brother into *Syria*, and sending to *Rome* in his stead his own Son *Demetrius*, who was but ten Years old. The Affair was warmly debated in the Senate; but at length the Exchange was accepted. Prince *Antiochus* set out for *Asia*; and *Seleucus*, who sent for him, could not then have any sure Forebodings of his own approaching End. Nevertheless, *Antiochus* was no sooner arrived at *Athens*; but he received the News of his Brother's Death. That *Heliodorus*, whom *Seleucus* had formerly sent to *Palestine*, to plunder the Temple of *Jerusalem*, had assassinated the King. So that the same Hand, which was employed in the Sacrilege, revenged it on the Author of it by Parricide. Nay, the wicked *Heliodorus* had done more than this. He had seized the Throne. *Eumenes*, the King of *Pergamus*, doubtless upon the Recommendation of the *Romans*, was forced to conduct *Antiochus* into his Brother's Dominions with an armed Force; drive out the Usurper; and put the Prince, who had been brought up at *Rome*, in Possession of his Inheritance. A Revolution, which would have been more agreeable to the Senate, if *Antiochus* had shewn himself worthy of the Throne he filled, and the Education he had received among the *Romans*.

App. in Sy. a.

*Macedon* also afforded the *Conscript Fathers* much Matter for Deliberation. Ever since *Perses* had been settled in the quiet Possession of the Throne, he had made it his whole Business to stir up Enemies against the Republick. Though ungrateful and undutiful to his Father, he had imbibed his Hatred to *Rome*, and retained it. He privately prepared for making War with her, and entered into Negotiations with all her Enemies. *Perses* knew very well what Offence *Rome* had lately given the *Rhodians*. By a late Decree of the Senate, the *Lycians* had been freed from the Slavery, which the *Rhodians* imposed upon them. The King of *Macedon* therefore sought the Friendship of the *Rhodians*, in order to draw them off from the *Romans*. *Laodicea* his Wife was fetched immediately from *Rhodes* to *Macedon*, to share the Throne of one of the most powerful Monarchs in the World. The Marriage was solemnized with exceeding great Pomp. *Perses* sent the *Rhodians* Materials for building a Fleet; and the *Rhodians* sent away *Laodicea* with a very fine Squadron. The *Rhodians* and *Macedonians* made mutual Presents; and *Perses* gave all, even the Soldiers, and Seamen on board the *Rhodian* Gallies, gold Ribbons. This Alliance which the *Rhodians* had brought about, must doubtless have given some Jealousy to the *Romans*; but the time for shewing it was not yet come.

Polyb. in Legat.  
n. 60.

§. VI. AFTER the Affairs of the *Levant*, those of *Rome* were to be settled. The *Comitia* for electing new *Consuls* were to be assembled. But the Difficulty was to determine who should preside in the Assembly. Indeed, after the Death of the two *Consuls* for the Year, there was a third left, namely *Lævinus*, on

We have no express Testimony of *Valerius's* triumph. But the Advantages he gained in his expeditions in *Liguria*, give us Reason to believe, that he did obtain an Honour which the People

often granted for less Exploits. But be that as it will, *Valerius Maximus* tells us, B. 2. c. 7. that the Senate highly extolled the deceased *Petillius*, *Valerius's* Predecessor.

. whom



Year of whom the right of presiding in the *Comitia* seemed to be devolved. But those  
 R O M E who were skilful in Ceremonials, started Difficulties against it. *When*, said they,  
 DLXXVII. the Consuls who were first chosen in the *Comitia* for the Year, both die; the Consul  
 C. VALERIUS who is chosen in the second *Comitia* for that Year, has no Right to preside in the  
 LAVINUS, Assemblies in The Field of Mars. And the Affair was litigated. It was first  
 Consul. brought before the Senate; the *Conscript Fathers* referred it to the Determination  
 of the *Pontifices*; and they concluded on having an *Interregnum*, that they might  
 with the greater Certainty avoid all the Defects of an Election which might be  
 contested. It is well known, how very scrupulous the *Romans* were with respect  
 to the least Observances of Religion; and by an *Interregnum* all Difficulties were  
 removed. Then *Rome* proceeded to the Elections, and <sup>5</sup> *P. Mucius Scævola*,  
 and *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, were promoted to the *Consulate*; the last, a second  
 time. It is also certain, that new *Prætors* were chosen; but the Historians are so  
 defective here, that it is better to omit their Names, than supply them by Con-  
 jecture. All they tell us of them is, that *Appius Centho* went *Prætor* to *Further*  
*Spain*, and there completed the Reduction of the *Celtiberians*. As for the *Con-*  
*suls* they drew Lots for their Provinces. *Gaul* fell to *Lepidus*; and *Liguria* to  
*Scævola*. But there is Reason to believe that their first Care was to appease the  
 Anger of the Gods, with Regard to the Plague that then raged in *Italy*, and had  
 lasted two Years. Never Distemper made more Havock. Both Men and Beasts  
 were attacked by it. The Streets of *Rome* were full of dead Bodies, which were  
 left there for a Prey for Dogs, and Vultures. But as greedy as these Animals  
 are of their Prey, the Infection of these Bodies was so strong, that they would  
 not come nigh them. The Corruption of the Air had produced the Plague; and  
 now the Plague increased that Corruption. So that the Mortality first spread from  
*Rome* into the Country, and was afterwards brought from thence back again into  
 the City. After this it may be presumed, that the *Consuls* did not delay setting  
 out for their Provinces.

Year of  
 R O M E  
 DLXXVIII.  
 P. MUCIUS  
 SCÆVOLA,  
 M. ÆMILIUS  
 LEPIDUS,  
 Consuls.

*Lepidus* easily brought to Reason the *Boii*, and other *Gauls* about the *Po*.  
 Then to keep himself in Action, he fell on the <sup>6</sup> *Ligures*, who bordered on *Cis-*  
*alpine Gaul*, on this side the *Apennines*; and by the Diversion made in their own  
 Country, and the Advantages he gained over them, put it out of their Power to  
 send any Assistance to their Countrymen, on the other side of the Mountains. In the  
 mean time, *Scævola* was making War with the *Ligures* on the Sea-Coast; and if we  
 gave Credit to a Medal which we find in a very faulty Collection, we should say with  
 Confidence, that he made use of Sea as well as Land Forces to reduce these Re-  
 bels. This Monument would authorize us to affirm, that *Scævola* owed his Vic-  
 tory to the *Roman Fleet*, and it would at least give us some Light in this dark  
 time. But all our Accounts of it are confused; every thing is uncertain that is  
 reported of it, even the Medal itself. And therefore we shall only say, upon a  
 Presumption pretty well founded, since it is built upon the *Fasti Capitolini*, that  
 the two *Consuls* merited <sup>7</sup> Triumphs by their Exploits.

The *Agrus*  
*Goltzi.*

§. VII. But the Accounts we have of the News which was brought from the  
*Levant*, are a little more clear. We have already observed, That *Philip*, King  
 of *Macedon*, towards the end of his Reign, had brought a considerable Body of  
*Bastarnæ* from the Banks of the *Boristhenes*, into his own Dominions. Part of  
 these Barbarians had returned home; and the rest had fallen upon *Dardania*, and  
 settled there. But these were bad Guests, and became equally insupportable to *Perseus*  
 and the *Dardani*. The latter were grieved with their Oppressions; and the for-  
 mer was fearful, lest, as they had been brought by his Father, they should demand

<sup>5</sup> We have upon the Authority of the *Fasti Ca-*  
*pitolini*, given *Mucius Scævola*, the *Prænomen* of  
*Publius*; notwithstanding any thing that is said to  
 the contrary by *Cassiodorus*, *Obsequens*, and other  
 Writers, who sometimes call him *Quintus*, and  
 sometimes *Marcus*.

<sup>6</sup> Among these People of *Liguria*, *Livy* reckons  
 up the *Garnuli*, *Lapicini*, and *Hercates*. *Cluver*  
 places them near the Springs of the River *Lavagna*.

<sup>7</sup> In a Fragment which we have of the *Fasti*  
*Capitolini*, mention is made of two Triumphs un-

der the Year 578. Indeed the Names of the tri-  
 umphant Victors are worn out of the Marble. But  
 we may infer from *Livy's* Account, that the two  
*Consuls*, *P. Mucius Scævola*, and *Marcus Æmilius*  
*Lepidus*, received those Honours. Upon the Re-  
 port of the Victories gained in *Cisalpine Gaul*, &c.  
 in *Liguria*, by the two *Consuls*, the Senate, &c.  
 the *Roman* Historian, ordered Prayers to be offered  
 up in the Temples three Days, and solemn Sac-  
 rifices to be made by way of Thanksgiving to the  
 Gods.



their Pay, and fall upon *Macedon*. The new King therefore used all his Policy to raise Divisions among the *Bastarnæ* and the *Dardani*, designing to destroy both.

*Dardania* had entered into the *Roman* Confederacy; and had had recourse to the Senate of *Rome*. Upon the Report her Ambassadors made of the Oppressions the Province laboured under, from a People of *Sarmatia*, who had been brought upon them by the Intrigues of *Perfes*, the Republick sent *Aulus Postumius* thither, attended with a fine Army, to enquire into the Ravages committed by the *Bastarnæ*, in *Dardania*; and to discover the Design of *Perfes*, in putting a fierce and restless People in Motion. It was rumoured, that the *Macedonian's* Intention was to join the *Bastarnæ* with the *Gauls* that bordered on the East of *Italy*, and send both together into the Heart of the Republick. Accordingly *Postumius* came into *Dardania*; but his Report was only this, That the Country was all in a Flame, through the Incursions and Rapines of the *Sarmatians*. He could not discover, That *Perfes* was the Author of all these Troubles, or That he had any Design of bringing the *Bastarnæ* into *Italy*. The Senate therefore contented themselves with only admonishing him, by his Ambassadors which resided at *Rome*, to take care to observe the Treaties, and not give the Republick any Umbrage.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXVIII.

P. MUCIUS  
SCÆVOLA,  
M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS,  
Consuls.  
*Polyb. in Le-  
gat. N. 62.  
Livy, B. 41.  
c. 19.*

In the mean time, *Dardania* was still molested with the Robberies of the *Sarmatians*. These Barbarians did not leave it, as had been expected; and it was therefore necessary to make use of Force to drive them out. This was however a difficult Affair. The *Bastarnæ* had made an Alliance with the *Thracians*, which were next to their own Country, and with the *Scordisci*, a People of *Pannonia*. Nevertheless the *Dardani* attacked the *Bastarnæ* in the Territories they had seized; and chose the Winter for this Expedition. The *Thracians* and *Scordisci* were then withdrawn; and the *Bastarnæ* were left to themselves. The Rendezvous of the *Dardani* was at a City near the Camp of their Robbers, and there they divided their Army into two Bodies. One marched directly the shortest Way, to attack the Trenches of the Enemy. The other took a Compass through the Woods, and fell on the Camp of the *Bastarnæ* suddenly. The first Body were too much in haste to engage. They were beaten and repulsed, and retired twelve Miles from the Field of Battel to the City, whence they had set out. But whilst the *Bastarnæ* were pursuing the Enemy, that part of the *Dardanian* Army, which had been hindered from joining in the first Battel, by the great Compass they had taken, came up to the Enemy's Camp. Their Officers were much surprized to find it absolutely deserted. And as the Provisions and Utensils of the *Bastarnæ* were still in it, they suspected some Artifice in this precipitate Flight; and chose rather to burn the Tents and Provisions, than seize them. Then they without Delay marched after the *Bastarnæ*, and found them busy in forcing the City, which was the Retreat of their Countrymen. But the bare Approach of the Enemy terrified the Barbarians. On one side they saw their Camp in a Flame, and on the other a fresh Body of *Dardani* pursuing hard after them. And then they changed their Attack into a shameful Flight. The Men, Women, and Children, all dispersed themselves about the Fields; plundered them; laid them waste; and immediately took the Road to their own Country. They came to the Banks of the *Danube*; and Men, who were accustomed to cold, were not stopped by the Rigour of the Season. They thought the River frozen harder than ordinary; and believed they could walk over it without Danger. And indeed the Ice bore them for some time; but at length being too weak to bear the Weight of so many Men and Horses, it broke on all sides at once; and this Army, which was formidable to *Rome*, *Macedon*, and *Dardania*, was all swallowed up in the Waters. And it may be affirmed, that no Body had a greater Loss in this Misfortune of the *Bastarnæ*, than *Perfes*. If he had understood his true Interest, he might have successfully employed the Arms of this fierce People against the *Romans*, whom he now looked on as his Enemies. But he was both Covetous and Prodigious. His Avarice made him afraid of the Expence of maintaining these brave Strangers; and his

*Orosius B. 4*

<sup>8</sup> Some Authors say, that *Perfes* himself turned his Arms against the *Bastarnæ*, and joined his Troops to those of the *Dardani*. This suspicious Prince thought he could not, without Danger, bring into

his Kingdom a fierce People, who were accustomed to Robberies, and laid all the Places waste, thro' which they passed.



Year of R O M E DLXXVIII. Prodigality made him squander away his Treasures in vain Expences. He was equally indiscreet in his Bounties and Savings.

§. VIII. As for *Rome*, she rejoiced at the News of the Departure of the *Bastarnæ*. Her greatest Attention was still fixed upon *Macedon*. It may be affirmed, That she prolonged the War with the *Ligures*, only to employ her Troops, and keep them in Exercise, till she marched them against *Perses*. It was expected, That he would ere long declare himself; and That from private Practices he would soon proceed to overt Acts. But in the mean time *Rome* moved on with equal Pace. In the *Comitia*, *Sp. Postumius Albinus*, and *Q. 9 Mucius Scævola*, were chosen *Consuls*. And as for the *Prætors*, the Accounts we have of this Year are so very defective, that we can only be certain of the Names of some of them. One <sup>10</sup> was the Son of the Great *Scipio Africanus*; but a Son very unlike his Father. He was weak in Body and Mind; and had no Merit to plead for the *Prætorship*, but a great Name, and the Remembrance of the Heroes of his Family. *Fortune* ought to have blushed, says an ancient Author, for making his Father's Secretary, and a Client of his Family, a Competitor with the only Remains of this noble House. This Competitor was one *Cicereius*. All the People inclined to favour him; and Virtue would have prevailed over Birth, if the Client had not been ashamed to oppose his Patron. The Moment the Election was going to begin, *Cicereius* pulled off his white Robe, and declined standing. Nor was this all. He went among the People, and solicited Votes for the Son of an Hero who had honoured him with his Confidence. So that it must be owned, that all the Credit of the Nomination belonged to *Cicereius*. *Scipio* was indeed promoted to the *Prætorship*; but it would have been more for his Honour to have declined it. It fell to his Lot to determine the Suits between the *Citizens* and Foreigners; and his Relations did their utmost to persuade him to renounce that Office; and accordingly he did not sit to hear one Cause, or pronounce one Decree. Nay, they prevailed upon him even to lay aside the Ring he wore, on which was the Head of his Father, whom he disgraced by his Incapacity.

Year of R O M E DLXXIX.  
SP. POSTUMI-  
US ALBINUS,  
Q. MUCIUS  
SCÆVOLA,  
Consuls.  
Val. Max.  
B. 4. c. 5.

Idem. B. 3. c. 5.

Liv. B. 41.  
c. 21.

THE two *Consuls* first set themselves about finding out a Remedy for the great Calamity which still afflicted *Rome*. The Plague still raged there; and in those who had been seized with it, and had not died in seven Days, it turned to a quartan Ague, in which they languished away for some time, and were then carried off. The Slaves, who were more neglected than their Masters, died in greater Numbers. The Magazine of Stores for Funerals, which was kept in the Temple of *Libitina*, was daily exhausted, for the Obsequies of People of free Condition; and the Distemper was most mortal among the Priests and *Pontifices*. It was therefore necessary to have recourse to the Gods. After the *Sybilline* Books had been consulted, the *Decemviri*, who kept them, ordered a Day of publick Prayers. Besides, the *Consuls* made a Vow, in the Name of the *Roman* People, which was pronounced by *Marcus* the *Pontifex Maximus*, to institute *Feriæ* for two Days, and order all the Temples to be opened, if the Plague ceased in the City, and the *Roman* Territory. Yet still the pretended Protection of the Gods had not an immediate Effect. The Distemper continued to rage; and made it difficult for the *Consuls* to raise Levies. What their Exploits were in *Gaul* and *Liguria*, the only Provinces that could be assigned them, we cannot guess. But the Silence of the Historians and *Triumphal Tables* makes us believe that their Success was inconsiderable. The *Pro-Consul Æmilius* only distinguished himself a little by his Arms; and but little. The City of *Patavium* <sup>11</sup> was divided by violent Factions; *Æmilius* came thither; and by his Presence, and the Fear of his Arms, quelled the Mutineers. All was quiet, and the *Pro-Consul* returned to *Rome*.

<sup>9</sup> The Name of *Quintus Mucius Scævola* is altered by some Annalists. *Cassiodorus* and *Pliny*, B. 2. are mistaken in making one *Quintus Minucius*, Collegue to *Spurius Postumius*. The *Fasti Capitolini* give *Postumius* both the Surnames of *Albinus* and *Paululus*. The latter was probably given him, on Account of the lowness of his Stature. Or perhaps one of his Ancestors, who had that Defect, transmitted it to his Posterity.

<sup>10</sup> *Livy* and *Valerius Maximus* differ as to the

*Prænomens* of the *Prætor*, *Cornelius Scipio*. The former calls him *Lucius*; the latter *Cneius*. See what we have said before of *Scipio's* Son.

<sup>11</sup> *Patavium*, now known by the Name of *Padua*, has ever been thought one of the most considerable Cities in *Italy*, for its Antiquity. It glories in having been founded by the famous *Antenor*, who after the Ruin of *Troy*, his native City, settled with his Men, in the Western Part of *Frin-*



§. IX. BUT this Year, which was so barren in military Exploits, was memorable for some Works of Peace. *Rome* had chosen two *Censors*, who were severe, and zealous for the publick Good. One was *Fulvius Flaccus*; the other *Postumius Albinus*. *Cato's Censorship* was not remarkable for greater Works than theirs. Their first Business was to draw up a List of the Senate; and they placed *Emilius Lepidus* at the Head of it, as President. Then they shewed no Favour or Regard to any Person, when they came to cut off from that Body, the most unworthy Members of it. *Fulvius Flaccus* struck out the Name of his own Brother, who was to share his Father's Inheritance with him. Nor did he shew more Favour to the Son of the Great *Scipio*, though *Prætor*. In short, he degraded no less than nine Senators, most of them of great Families. Nevertheless, all these Persons, who were struck out of the List of the *Conscript Fathers*, had not been guilty of any Acts of Injustice, or any Licentiousness; witness the Brother of the *Censor Fulvius*. His only Crime was his having disbanded a *Legion* of which he was *Tribune*, without the Orders of his General. Acts of Disobedience, which were contrary to good Order, and military Discipline, were unpardonable at *Rome*. And the *Censors* treated the *Roman Knights*, and those among the People who had led scandalous Lives with the same Severity. They took from the former the Horses the Republick kept for them; and deprived the latter of their right of *Citizenship*, still leaving them subject to pay Taxes.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXIX.  
SP. POSTUMI  
US ALBINUS,  
Q. MUCIUS  
SCÆVOLA,  
Censors  
Liv. B. 41.  
c. 27.

AFTER this Reformation of Manners, they did several very useful Works. The great Roads were every where repaired. It is indeed very surprising; but the City of *Rome*, which had now subsisted for near six hundred Years, had never yet been paved. Hence the Infection of the Air, and numberless Inconveniencies to the Inhabitants. *Fulvius* and *Emilius* were the first who paved the Streets. And out of the City, the great Roads were, generally speaking, scarce passable. The two *Censors* therefore mended them with great Quantities of Flints, and filled up the Holes for the Convenience of Carriages. They also built Bridges in several Places; erected a Theatre for *The Scenic Games*; and added new Ornaments to the *Circus* for Chariot-races. Nay, they did not neglect procuring proper Ornaments, and making the necessary Repairs for the Cities in the Province. *Postumius* indeed was more timorous, and more reserved than *Fulvius*. He durst not undertake any thing, without an Order from the Senate. But his Collegue erected Buildings in many Places out of *Rome*, and gained the Affection of the *Colonies*. It is said, that he carried his Boldness too far. When he made War in *Spain*, he had made a Vow to build a Temple to *Fortuna Equestris*; and when he was *Censor*, he hastened the erecting it, and dedicated it himself. And in order to embellish this favourite Work as much as possible, he took out of the Temple <sup>12</sup> of *Juno Lavinia*, the fine Marble with which it was tiled. This was deemed Sacrilege by the Senate, who passed a Decree, requiring, that the Spoils which had been taken out of the Temple of *Juno*, should be carried back to the Territory of *Croton*; and to this Sacrilege were imputed all the Misfortunes of *Fulvius's* Life. His two Sons were killed in the *Illyrican* War; and this Loss grieved him so much, that he ran distracted, and hanged himself. But to return to his *Censorship*. He and his Collegue finished it with an Enumeration of the People, and a *Lustrum*, which ought to be reckoned the fifty first from their Institution. According to some, there then appeared to be in *Rome* two hundred sixty nine thousand and fifteen Men fit to bear Arms. But others reckon them to have been but two hundred fifty seven thousand two hundred and thirty one; and the last is the most probable Account. The Plague had carried off a great Number of *Citizens* at *Rome*; and a considerable Number of Strangers who had settled there, were obliged to return to their native Cities.

Val. Max. B. 1.  
c. 1. §. 20.  
Lactant. B. 2.  
Instit.

Livy, B. 42.  
c. 10.

§. X. AND now, *Italy* was pretty quiet; but in *Spain*, the *Celtiberians* began to recover the terrible Blow *Sempronius Gracchus* had given them. Their Commissions were first perceived in the *Prætorship* of *Titinius*; and at length the Revolt broke out, as soon as *Claudius* had taken upon him the Command of the *Roman* Army. Their first overt Act was a sudden Attack of the *Prætor's* Trenches. As

Livy, B. 41.  
c. 26.

<sup>12</sup> We have already spoken of the Temple consecrated to *Juno Lavinia*, near *The Lacinian Promontory*, in *South Italy*, in the preceding Volume.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXIX.  
SP. POSTUMI-  
VS ALBINUS,  
Q. MUCIUS  
SCÆVOLA.  
Consuls.

Fast. Capitol.

soon as the Day broke, the advanced Guards and Centinels, who were posted to watch the Ramparts of the Camp, cried out, *To Arms*. The Enemy began to appear already; and immediately seized all the Avenues to the Camp. But *Claudius* by his Valour, and Presence of Mind, guarded against this sudden Irruption. After a short Exhortation he proposed a Battel to his Soldiers; gave the Signal; and opened the Gates for them to march into the Plain. But they were already beset by the *Celtiberians*, and it was necessary to make great Efforts to get out. The Enemy opposed it with Vigour. However, at length the *Romans* gained the Plain, formed themselves, and made a wide Front, that they might not be surrounded. Then they fell on the Enemy with such Imperuosity, as put them into Disorder; and in some Hours they were dispersed. Fifteen thousand *Celtiberians* were killed on the Spot, or made Prisoners; and they lost thirty two Standards. The *Romans* also took their Camp, thereby rendered their Victory compleere, and made their Enemies peaceable. This News filled *Rome* with Joy, and with Gratitude to the Gods. Many Victims were slain on their Altars, by way of Thanksgiving to them. And as soon as the Conqueror returned to *Rome*, an Ovation was granted him. He had brought from his Province ten thousand Pounds Weight of Silver, and five thousand of Gold. So that many Generals had been honoured with the great Triumphs, for less glorious and less useful Victories. Perhaps the War which was expected to break out immediately with *Macedon*, made the Affairs of *Spain* less regarded.

§. XI. ACCOUNTS were sent to *Rome* from all Parts, That *Perses* was soliciting the Nations of *Asia*, *Greece*, and *Africa*, to declare against the Republick. Three *Roman* Ambassadors, very lately returned from the Coasts of *Africa*, had given the Senate Information of the Negotiations of the King of *Macedon* with *Carthage*. They said they had learnt, first from King *Masinissa*, and then from the *Carthaginians* themselves, That *Perses* had sent a Deputation to the *African* Republick; and That his Envoy had been privately introduced into the Senate of *Carthage*, by Night. Indeed the *Roman* Ambassadors could not discover the Proposals of the *Macedonian*, or the Resolutions of the *Carthaginian* Senate; and their Ignorance of these Particulars, itself increased the Suspicions of the Senate. The Ambassadors of *Rome* likewise added, that *Carthage* had also privately sent a Deputation to *Macedon*.

IN order therefore to interrupt this Negotiation, or at least discover the Secret of it, the Senate thought it necessary to send three Men of great Reputation to *Perses*. When they came to *Macedon*, they did not find the King in his Capital. He was gone at the Head of an Army on an Expedition, which could not but be disagreeable to the *Romans*. A Canton of *Dolopia*<sup>13</sup>, which pretended to be exempt from the Jurisdiction of the *Macedonians*, had refused to submit to the Will of a Prince, which it did not acknowledge for its Sovereign. The Affair was litigated in a judicial Manner, and actually brought before the Senate of *Rome*. Nevertheless *Perses*, without waiting for the Determination of the *Script Fathers*, and in Contempt of the *Roman* Tribunal, was gone to reduce the *Dolopes* by force of Arms; and soon brought the whole Nation into Subjection to him.

BUT this first Step did not satisfy a King, who was determined to break the Chains which hung heavily about him. He now made it his whole Business to gain over to his Interest the *Greek* Cities and Nations; and draw them off from the *Romans*. To this end he thought his Presence necessary among Nations, who would perhaps sooner hearken to a neighbouring King, than a distant Republick: And he therefore pretended to have some Vow to discharge at the Temple of *Delphi*, or I know not what Answers to receive of the Oracle. But this was merely Pretence. His real Design was to pass through *Greece*, purely to make himself Allies there. To this end he crossed Mount *Oeta*, and surprized the *Greeks* with his sudden Appearance among them. The Terror of it spread into *Asia*, and alarmed *Eumenes* in *Pergamus*. But *Perses* marched on very peaceably in all Places; and his Discourse was full of Humanity. At length he arrived at *Delphi*

<sup>13</sup> *Dolopia* was then a Region of *Thessaly*. It bordered upon *Epirus*. We have spoken of it several times already.



and tarried only three Days there. In his Return, he took his Rout thro' *Phthiotis*, and *Thessaly*. His Father had formerly been guilty of great Cruelties in all these Countries, and they were fresh in the Memories of the People. The Son therefore took Care to commit no Violence among those whose Affections he wanted to gain. He did not commit one Act of Oppression, in his whole Journey; and the King also took another Precaution. He sent Deputies, or circular Letters, to all the free Cities in *Thessaly*; to remonstrate to them, that they ought not to continue the Hatred they had conceived against *Philip*, to his Successor, who courted their Friendship.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVIII  
SP. POSTUMI-  
US ALBINUS,  
Q. MUCIUS  
SCÆVOLA,  
Consuls.

§. XII. THE *Macedonian* thought his greatest Difficulty would be to gain over the *Achaean* Republick, and the Cities of *Athens*. Their Hatred against him was carried so far, that the Subjects of *Perses* were not suffered to enter into *Achaia*, or *Attica*; and the *Athenians* and *Achaians* were forbidden to carry on any Commerce in *Macedon*. And therefore, the fugitive Slaves on both Sides used to fly for Refuge to the Enemies of their Masters. However, *Perses* made the first Advances towards a Reconciliation, by sending back to the *Achaians* and *Athenians* such of their Slaves, as had taken Refuge in his Dominions. This was in effect courting their Friendship; and with this acceptable Present he sent a gracious Letter, but no Embassy. One *Xenarchus* was then the Head of the *Achaean* Nation; and he inclined to favour the King. He thought to have made him his Friend; and therefore read the *Macedonian's* Letter in a full Assembly of the Lords of the Country. The greatest Number liked it; and especially they who had received their Slaves. But there were some Men in the Diet who had the publick Good at Heart, and carried their Views beyond Appearances. Such was *Callicrates*, a timorous Man indeed, but a profound Politician. He rose up, and spoke thus: *To receive the Slaves which are returned us, may seem to us to be a Matter of little Importance. But I think it a Point of the utmost Consequence to the Achaean Republick. Shall we suffer ourselves to be taken in the Snare which the Macedonian lays for us? We have, very wisely, forbidden all Commerce with this neighbouring King, because he would, by his Intrigues, plunge us again into our old Misfortunes. And to what does this sending back of our Slaves tend, but to enslave us? I grant, the Design of Perses is only to court our Alliance. But surely, this were selling it at a very low Price. Shall we squander away the Friendship of the Romans, which has cost us so much, for such a Trifle? To enter into the least Engagements with Perses is to renounce Rome. The Alliances which he seeks to make in all Places are only the Forerunners of the War he will make with her. Philip formed the Design; his Death alone suspending the immediate Execution of it; and the Son has inherited his Father's Aversions. This was the only Merit, whereby he obtained the Crown, before Demetrius his Brother, whom he murdered! I can assure you, without a Revelation, that his Hatred to Rome is ready to break out. Perses has long been wholly employed in making Preparations for War. Nay, he has already begun it. The Affair of Dolopia, which he has just now subdued, is his first open Attempt against the Roman Power. His Journey to Delphi plainly discovers his Pretensions. The more Moderation he has affected to shew, in his Passage through Thessaly, the more plainly he has manifested his Designs to all intelligent Persons. His Aim is evidently at Rome; and he would draw you and all Greece into a War with her. Let him then undertake it himself at his Peril! To enter into Engagements with him, is to draw all the West upon us. I am therefore of Opinion, That we ought to refuse these dangerous Presents, live as utter Strangers to Macedon, and confirm the Decree which forbids all manner of Commerce with her.*

It must be owned, That this was the Discourse of a Man of Sense, who could foresee Misfortunes at a great Distance; and of a zealous Citizen, who would fain have saved his Country. Nevertheless, it did not pass without Contradiction. The Head of *Achaia*, who inclined to favour *Perses*, had a Brother named *Arco*, a Man of Eloquence, and able to make Head against *Callicrates*. And this was the man whom *Xenarchus* solicited, to speak for the Re-establishment of a good Understanding between *Achaia* and *Macedon*. His Speech was this. *I am sensible that I am reduced to this Difficulty, that I cannot speak with Gratitude of the Present Perses has made us, without incurring the Suspicion of betraying the Cause of the Romans, and the Interests of my Country. One would imagine, by Callicrates's Speech,*

Y y y y

that



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXIX.

SP. POSTUMI-  
US ALBINUS,  
Q. MUCIUS  
SCÆVOLA.  
Consuls.

*that he had been present at the Deliberations of the Roman Senate, and was privy Counsellor to the King of Macedon. He pronounces concerning the Present, like a Man well acquainted with the State of Affairs; and of the future, like a Man inspired. And indeed, he is a profound Politician; he is an Oracle. But as for me, who don't pretend to see farther than my Neighbours, I can't find out that Perſes is any thing but the Friend and Ally of the Romans. There has been no Rupture between thoſe two Powers, ſince the Conſcript Fathers acknowledged this Son of Philip to be the true Heir to his Dominions. Is complying with the Commands of the imperious Republick the Way to incur her Diſpleaſure? As then we were attached to her in time of War, let us be ſo in time of Peace. But ſince Rome herſelf keeps a Correſpondence with Perſes, why ſhould we and the Athenians only reſuſe to have any Commerce with him? Are we afraid of him? This Confeſſion might indeed become the Dolopes, whom he juſt ſubdued. But if we have Forces enough to ſecure us againſt his Enterprizes, why don't we reap the Advantages of his Neighbourhood? Why don't we do as the Ætolians, Theſſalians, Epirots, and indeed all the Greeks? What Injury has Perſes done us? Ought not the Benefits we have received from the old King of Macedon, make us forget the little Affronts Perſes has offered us? Our Obligations to Macedon were once allowed to be ſo great, that they kept us long in Suſpence whether we ſhould prefer the Roman Party to the Macedonian. And what is it I aim at in all this? Is it to induce you to enter into an Alliance with Perſes? Or is it to prevail on you to prefer Macedon to the Roman Confederacy? No; it is only to put an End to thoſe Coldneſſes which are prejudicial to us. It is only to procure our Traders Admittance into the Port of Macedon; and to deprive our fugitive Slaves of an Aſylum which is always open to receive them, whenever they make their Eſcape from us. Theſe only are my Views. And can Rome take Offence at them? Your Fears on that Account, Callicrates, are vain. You put upon us your own imaginary Dreams of War, for Realities. Your Speculations and Foreſight diſturb your own Reſt, and thwart our Happineſs. I again repeat it. We may ceaſe to be Enemies to Perſes, without ceaſing to be Friends to Rome, at the ſame time. It will be time enough to declare againſt him, when he ſhall have come to a Rupture with the Republick. Till then, we have no Reaſon to be more zealous for our Friends, than they are for their own Intereſt.*

THIS Diſcourſe would have immediately determined the Diet to comply with the Macedonian's Deſires, if a Point of Honour had not come to Callicrates's Aſſiſtance. The chief Lords of the Aſſembly obſerved that Perſes had not vouchſafed to treat with them, otherwiſe than by a ſhort Letter; and they thought the King ſhould have ſent an Embaſſy to them. The Achæan Republick, ſaid they, *was worthy of all the Regard Perſes could have ſhewn her.* And this Want of Reſpect poſtponed the Determination; ſo that the Aſſembly did not then accept of the King's Offers. As ſoon therefore as Perſes knew this, he ſent Ambaſſadors to the next Diet which was held at Megalopolis. But the Advocates for Rome then oppoſed their Reception, and rendered this Negotiation of Perſes fruitleſs. The Roman Ambaſſadors ſent their Republick an Account of all theſe Particulars, and of ſome other Circumſtances, of leſs Importance, relating to the Affairs of Greece. The Ætolians were divided, and actually at War. Their Diſſentions had already produced Treasons<sup>14</sup>, and Maſſacres; and the Roman Deputies could not reconcile them. The Cretans had alſo run into the ſame Fury, which had ſlept for ſome Months, and then broke out again with greater Violence. And laſtly, the Lycians had revolted from the Rhodians, who were rather their Tyrants than their Maſters. And the Romans were obliged, in Point of Policy, to prevent the Evils which theſe intestine Broils in the Eaſtern Nations might produce. Perſes might have taken Advantage of theſe riſing Troubles. The Senate therefore took proper Meaſures

14 At Hypata, a City of the Ætolian Confederacy, eighty of the chief of the young Nobility embraced Polyxenus's Party; but they had been driven out by the prevailing Faction, of which Eupolemus was the Head. This Man, under the Appearance of a Reconciliation, concealed the blackeſt Treachery. He ſuffered the Exiles to return home, and gave them all poſſible Aſſurances of a ſincere Friendſhip. Eupolemus himſelf, accompanied by a great

Multitude of People, went out to meet them; and this favourable Reception made them abſolutely ſecure. But the Traitor treated them in this manner only in order to be able to ſacrifice them to his Revenge with the more Safety. They were no ſooner got within the Gate of the City; but they were immediately maſſacred, calling upon the Gods to witneſs the Aſſurances of Safety that had been given them by Oath.



both to guard against the Menaces of the *Macedonian*, and calm the Disturbances in those *Greek Countries* which were subject to their Jurisdiction.

§. XIII. DURING these various Transactions, the time came for creating new *Consuls*; and the great Number of the Competitors, and their Intrigues, made the Elections difficult. At length, the Majority declared for *L. Postumius Albinus*, and *M. Popilius Lænas*. The *Prætors* who were then chosen drew Lots for their Provinces. *Attilius Serranus*, and *Cluvius Saxula*, divided between them the Cognizance of all Causes at *Rome*. *Fabius Buteo* was appointed to govern *Hither Spain*; and *M. Matienus*, *Further Spain*. *Sicily* fell to *Furius Crassipes*; and *Sardinia*, to *C. Cicereius*. It was but just, that the latter should be rewarded for giving up the *Prætorship*, as he had done the last Year. He had thrown it up to the Son of the Great *Scipio*, in Gratitude to the Family of his Patrons; and the Lots seemed now to do Justice to his Virtue. By giving him *Sardinia*, they gave him an Opportunity to signalize himself by Arms. When he came into the Island of *Corfica* with his Recruits, he there took upon him the Command of the *Roman Army*; gave the Rebels Battel without Delay; killed seven thousand of them; and made one thousand Prisoners of War. But the Victory was long disputed; and in the Heat of the Action he made a Vow to build a Temple to *Juno*<sup>15</sup> *Moneta*. However, at length he became superior to his Enemies, and condemned them to pay him two hundred thousand Pounds weight of Wax. This first Advantage procured him a peaceable Entry into the Island of *Sardinia*; and he made the *Sardinians* fear and reverence the Majesty of the *Roman People*.

THE new *Consuls* entered upon their Office on *The Ides of March*. The Senate had no Province to assign them but *Liguria*; and they were both designed for that Country. But the War of the *Romans* in *Liguria* was only an Amusement. For *Rome* began new Quarrels every Year, with these unfortunate People; only to have an Opportunity to pitch her Camps, and exercise her Men, in their Country. And as now there was no great Force wanting to defend or attack a Country laid waste by so many Wars; one single *Consul* was therefore judged sufficient to finish what was to be done there. So that *Popillius* only marched thither; and we shall soon see his Battels and his Acts of Inhumanity in this Country. The Senate found *Postumius* Employment elsewhere. Since the retaking of *Capua* from *Hannibal*, the fruitful Plains of *Campania* had been partly sold to Peasants, partly distributed among some *Citizens* of *Rome*, and partly reserved for inalienable Demesnes for the Republick. And it had happened, as it generally does, that the publick Lands were become a Prey to the Owners of the neighbouring ones, who had encroached upon them, and usurped them. However, this was no easy Matter to settle. It required all the Authority of a *Consul*; and *Postumius* was judged capable of it. And indeed he paved the Way for it by an Act of Severity, which made him dreaded. Before he was *Consul*, he had gone a Pilgrimage to *Præneste*. He had had a Sacrifice to offer there, in the Temple of *Fortune*. But tho' he was then a Man of Importance at *Rome*, the *Prænestini* had neglected him. They had neither given him a publick nor a private Reception. This Affront sunk deep into his Heart; and he resented it when he came to be *Consul*. *Præneste* was in his Way to *Campania*; and he wrote to the Inhabitants of it, to send out their Magistrates to meet him; to appoint and furnish Lodgings for him; and to prepare Beasts of Burden and Carriages for his Baggage. This was an extraordinary Order. The Great Officers of the Republick had hitherto taken their Journeys without any Expence to the Cities of the Province. To this End, the publick Treasury furnished the Generals of Armies with all Necessaries, even Tents and Mules; and on the Road, they lodged with their Friends, between whom and themselves the Rights of Hospitality were mutually maintained. The Commons of the *Roman State* were only obliged to find Conveyances for the Couriers which the Republick sent to different Places. But *Postumius* altered the settled Custom. He was the first who eased the Exchequer of this heavy Burden, and laid it on the Cities of the Allies. His personal Resentment created them a lasting Vexation; not so much by procuring any Edict from the People, or Decree from the Senate, as by the Contagion of one single Precedent.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXIX.

SP. POSTUMI-  
US ALBINUS,  
Q. MUCIUS  
SÆVOLA,  
Consuls.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXX.

L. POSTUMIUS  
ALBINUS, M.  
POPILIUS LÆ-  
NAS, Consuls.

Livy, B. 42.  
c. 7, 8.

<sup>15</sup> See what we have said of the Surname of *Moneta*, which the *Romans* gave the Goddess *Juno*; in the second Volume, and several other Parts of this Work.



Year of  
ROME  
DLXXX.

L. POSTUMIUS  
ALBINUS, M.  
POPILIUS LÆ-  
NAS, Consuls.

§. XIV. THUS *Postumius* then made himself useful to his Republick by Innovations, and by recovering her Demesnes; whilst *Popillius* made the *Roman* Yoke insupportable to *Liguria*. The *Consuls* had hitherto attacked the *Ligures* only by Cantons, which they had reduced one after another; and the *Statiellates*, a People bordering on the Banks of the *Tanarus*, were the Persons against whom *Popillius* marched. He encamped in a large Field, near <sup>16</sup> *Carystus*, a *Ligurian* City, which served for a Retreat for the Armies of the Country; and the *Ligures*, upon his Arrival, sheltering themselves behind their Walls, the *Roman* pretended to intend to lay Siege to the City. Upon this, the *Ligurian* Troops marched out into the Plain, and there drew up in Battalia. This was the very thing that the *Consul* designed by his seeming Preparations for a Siege; and he instantly marched against the Enemy. The *Ligures* were Brave, Constant, and Warlike. This *Rome* had often experienced; and now, they sustained the Attack of the *Romans* for three Hours together, with a Constancy which kept the Victory dubious. Their Infantry were impenetrable; the *Legionaries*, with all their Efforts, could not break them. *Popillius* therefore had Recourse to his Cavalry. He sent them Orders to ride full speed on the Enemy, and break thro' them on three Sides. They set out with great Swiftneſs, trod every thing they met under their Horses Feet, broke thro' the Files, and at length came to the hindmoſt Rank, and took the Enemy in the Rear. This filled them with Terror and Disorder. There was no Safety any longer, but in Flight. They therefore dispersed themselves; every one ran croſs the Fields; and few reached the City. The *Roman* Cavalry had penetrated to it, and guarded the Avenues. So that the Vanquished fell like ſo many Victims, by the Swords of the Conquerors. The latter killed no leſs than ten thouſand of them, made ſeven hundred Priſoners, and took eighty two Standards. On the other hand, the *Romans* loſt about three thouſand Men in the firſt Attack. And the Glory of *Popillius* would have been compleat, had he not tarniſhed it with ſuch Proceedings as were unworthy of the Humanity and good Faith upon which the *Romans* valued themſelves. After their Defeat, the *Statiellates* aſſembled, and reckoned up the Remains of their Army. Then finding the Forces of their Nation reduced to ten thouſand Men, this terrible Blow diſcouraged them. They thought therefore that they had nothing to do but to ſurrender to their Conquerors; and they did ſo. They did not indeed ſettle Terms upon their delivering themſelves up; but they had Reason to hope for the ſame Treatment from *Popillius* which their Countrymen had met with from other *Consuls*, their Conquerors. But the Caſe was otherwiſe. *Popillius* treated them with great Rigour. He took away their Arms, diſmantled their Cities, reduced them to Slavery, and ſold them and their Goods to the beſt Bidder. Nay, the *Consul* valued himſelf upon his Inhumanity, and pleaded it as Matter of Merit, in a Letter which he wrote to the Senate. The *Prætor* *A. Attilius* read it in the Houſe; and the *Conſcript Fathers* were much enraged at hearing it. What! ſaid they, ſhall theſe *Statiellates*, who were the only People in *Liguria* who had never declared againſt *Rome*, be the worſt treated of any? Should the War have been carried into their Canton before they had committed any Hoſtilities? Should they not have been treated tenderly after their Surrendry? Shall no Favour be ſhewn to unfortunate Perſons who implore the Clemency of the *Roman* People? What a Reflection is this on the Republick! Shall our Generals have often ſpared the declared Enemies of the *Roman* Name; and ſhall *Popillius*, have ſold by Auction a peaceable People, who only took up Arms in their own Defence? At this Rate, what Nation will ever ſubmit to us for the future! And theſe Complaints were followed by a Decree of the Senate, requiring *Popillius* to return the Money he had received for the Sale of the *Statiellates*; to reſtore them their Liberty, and as many of their Goods as could be recovered; to make new Arms for them; to ſettle them again in their own Territories; and then to withdraw his Troops out of their Province. And the Senate concluded their Decree, with Words which Poſterity ought never to forget. Victory is glorious, when it is confined to the ſubduing untractable Enemies; but it is ſhameful, when it goes ſo far as to oppreſs the Unfortunate.

Livy, B. 42.  
c. 8.

<sup>16</sup> Cluver thinks that the City of *Carystus* was the ſame that the *Italians* now call *Garuſco*. It ſtands almoſt in the Road from *Torſona* to *Genoa*.



BUT *Popillius* was as obstinate as he was cruel; and the Orders of the Senate provoked him. He immediately sent his Army to encamp near *Pisa*; and without putting any other Part of his Orders in Execution, returned to *Rome*; caused the Senate to be assembled, without the Walls, in the Temple of *Bellona*; and there inveighed against *Attilius*. *What could make this Prætor, said he, change the Request I ordered him to present to the Senate for Thanksgivings to the Gods, into an Accusation. Did he design to make the Ligures triumph over their Conquerors? Was it his Aim to dishonour a Consul, and cause him to be delivered up to a vanquished Enemy? I now insist, in my turn, That a Fine be laid on Attilius; That the Decree passed against me be annulled; That publick Prayers be ordered to be offered up for my Victory; and That those Honours be decreed me which I have merited by it.* But *Popillius's* Demand only drew Reprimands upon him. The *Consul* spoke of him to his Face, with as little regard as they had done in his Absence. He therefore returned to his Province, a Victor indeed, but much discontented. The *Fathers* waited for the End of his *Consulship*, to subdue his Pride; and we shall then see him appear again on the Stage.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXX.  
L. POSTUMIUS  
ALBINUS, M.  
POPILIUS LÆ-  
NAS, Consuls.

§. XV. IN the mean time, *Rome* had her Eyes constantly fixed on *Macedon*. She was continually sending Ambassadors thither, not so much to treat with *Perfes*, as to watch him. They who returned last, reported that they could not obtain an Audience; sometimes it was pretended that he was not in the Way; and sometimes he feigned Sickneſs. But notwithstanding all his Disguises, they had discovered that the *Macedonian* was preparing to declare War with the *Romans*. All things were got ready for it, and the Die was already cast. And these Reports were confirmed by the several Envoys which were continually coming to *Rome* from *Greece*. The *Ætolians* in particular, who came to demand Redress for the Misfortunes of their Republick, discovered to the Senate all the private Practices of *Perfes*, in order to reconcile the *Greek Nations* to him, and the Reasons of the Progress he began to make. *All Greece, said they, is divided between two Monarchs, her nearest Neighbours, one in Europe, and the other in Asia. On one Side the King of Pergamus, and on the other the King of Macedon, labours to gain the Affections of the Greeks; the former in order to attach them to Rome; the latter in order to make them rise up against her. But if we consider their Conduct only, there is no Comparison between them. Eumenes is a Prince without Faults. The Cities which are made subject to him, live as happily as free Cities. There is scarce any one of our Republicks which has not received Favours from him. And yet so unaccountable is the Temper of the Greeks, that they rather incline to Perfes. The artful Macedonian is continually caressing them. He is perpetually carrying on some Negotiation with them, either by Letters, or Embassies. His Presents are moderate, but his Promises boundless. Many Peoples Eyes are dazzled with them, notwithstanding the Villanies of the Man. Immediately after his Father's Death, he stabbed his Wife with his own Hand. He has lately killed Apelles his Confidant and Agent, who murdered Demetrius for him. And nothing is talked of, but his publick and private Assassinations. Yet still many Greek Nations prefer this Tyrant before the most moderate of all Kings! Does this then proceed from their Regard for the Ancientness of the Throne of Macedon; or their Contempt for the new Kingdom of Pergamus? Or is it not rather founded in a Jealousy of the Grandeur of the Romans? Is it not Eumenes's Crime that he is attached to Rome; and Perfes's Merit that he hates her?*

UPON these Informations therefore, the Senate resolved to send some wise Men Deputies to *Greece*. The Quarrels of the *Thessalians* among one another, and the intestine Dissentions of the *Ætolians*, gave them a fair Occasion for it; and *Appianus Claudius* was accordingly sent to re-establish Concord in *Thessaly*; and one *Marcellus*, to settle the Differences in *Ætolia*. And when these two illustrious Romans were upon the Spot, they probably visited the *Greek Cities*, and confirmed them in their old Confederacy with *Rome*. But, whatever was the Case of *Claudius*, it is certain that *Marcellus* went from *Ætolia* to *Peloponnesus*. There he caused the *Achaean Diet* to be assembled; and praised the Constancy of the Lords of the Country in rejecting the Offers and Sollicitations of *Perfes*. This was a plain Demonstration of the Umbrage the Republick had taken at the Proceedings of the *Macedonian*: And then *Eumenes*, who was perhaps present at the *Achaean Assembly*,



Year of  
ROME  
DLXXX.

L. POSTUMIUS  
ALBINUS, M.  
POPILIUS LÆ-  
NAS, Consuls.

Assembly, resolved to give the *Romans* a true Information of all the secret Preparations *Perses* was making, to make War with Fury. He had reason to be surprized at the Dilatoriness of the Senate, in preventing a dangerous Enemy, who was gathering Strength whilst they neglected him. But after all, this was no uncommon thing with the *Romans*. They were very active in putting an End to Expeditions which were begun; but slow in undertaking them. They took their Measures with Prudence; and their Valour soon put their Designs in Execution. And now, in order to throw the whole Blame entirely on *Perses*, *Rome* vouchsafed to send five new Ambassadors to *Macedon*; with Orders, to go from thence to *Alexandria*, and there renew the old Alliance with the new King *Ptolomy*. And here, the Affairs of *Egypt* have too great a Connection with our History, to be omitted.

*Pausan. B. 1.*  
*Joseph. B. 12.*

§. XVI. EVER<sup>17</sup> since the Death of *Ptolomy*<sup>18</sup> *Epiphanes*, that is, for these last seven Years complete, *Cleopatra*, the Sister of *Seleucus* King of *Syria*, and of his Brother *Antiochus*, had continued a Widow, and governed *Egypt*, in Quality of Guardian to her Children, who were<sup>19</sup> Minors. And she conceived a Fondness for *Alexander*, the<sup>20</sup> youngest, which tended to nothing less than robbing *Ptolomy*, the eldest, of his Crown. This capricious Mother hated the latter; and had got him banished into the Island of *Cyprus*, in the Life-time<sup>21</sup> of the King her Husband. Hence the Surname of *Philometor* was given to the eldest, by way of Derision; as the youngest had the Surname of *Physcon*. But Mothers are often blind in their Preferences. This very Son whom she so tenderly loved, this *Physcon*, this Delight<sup>22</sup> of *Cleopatra's* Soul, killed her with his own Hands, and was more unnatural to her than the Son she hated and proscribed. In the mean time, *Antiochus*, who had been brought up at *Rome*, had already<sup>23</sup> mounted the Throne of *Syria*, in the room of *Seleucus*, who had been cruelly<sup>24</sup> murdered by *Heliodorus*. The sudden Appearance of this Brother of the late King, gave him the Name of *Epiphanes*<sup>25</sup>, which is translated by the Word *Illustrious*. However, *Epiphanes*

<sup>17</sup> *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon*, *Beda*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and most modern Chronologists, agree, That *Ptolomy Epiphanes* died about the Beginning of the 150th Olympiad, in the Year of *Rome* 573, the Consulate of *Aulus Postumius Albinus Luscus*, and *Gaius Calpurnius Piso*, after a Reign of twenty four Years. Nevertheless some, as *Calvisius*, and *Capellus*, make this Prince to have reigned only twenty three Years; and make the 573d Year of *Rome* the first of *Ptolomy Philometor*. And *Tornielli* takes the middle Way. He reconciles the two Opinions, by placing the Death of *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, and the Accession of *Philometor*, towards the Close of the same Year. We adopt the first Opinion, as that which is most generally received. As to that of *St. Epiphanius*, who makes him to have reigned but twenty two Years, it cannot be reconciled with the Testimonies of ancient Authors.

<sup>18</sup> If, as *St. Jerom* and *Justin* assure us, *Ptolomy Epiphanes* was at most but five Years old, when he began to reign, after the Death of his Father *Ptolomy Philopator*; we must then say, that he died in the twenty ninth or thirtieth Year of his Age.

<sup>19</sup> If we had not the Testimonies of *St. Jerom* and *Josephus*, concerning the Minority of *Philometor* and *Physcon*, the Course of the History would be sufficient to shew it. The Ancients agree, that above six Years after the Death of their Father *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, *Antiochus* undertook to govern *Egypt* in Quality of Guardian to these Princes. Which is a Proof that they were then very young.

<sup>20</sup> This young Prince, whom *Pausanias* calls *Alexander*, is the same to whom the other Historians give the Name of *Ptolomy Physcon*.

<sup>21</sup> According to *Pausanias*, *Cleopatra*, after the Death of her Husband *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, could not prevail on the People of *Alexandria* to favour *Physcon*. She was forced to recall *Philometor*, to prevent Seditions. So that he was acknowledged to be the lawful Heir to the Crown. Nevertheless, she sent her Son *Alexander* into the Island of *Cyprus*,

with the Title of King; and waited only for an Opportunity to place him on the Throne, in Prejudice to his Elder Brother.

<sup>22</sup> *Genebrard* is mistaken, in the second Book of his *Chronology*, when he says, that the elder of the two *Ptolomys* murdered his Mother, and was ironically surnamed *Philometor*. All the Historians agree, in throwing this horrible Parricide on *Alexander* the younger Brother. *Cleopatra* was killed by her own Son, about the Year of *Rome* 588, which was the 15th Year of the Reign of *Philometor*.

<sup>23</sup> The most skillful Chronologists agree, that *Antiochus* began his Reign in the second Year of the 151st Olympiad; which answers to the Year of *Rome* 578, the Consulate of *Publius Mucius Scaevola*, and *Marcus Aemilius Lepidus*.

<sup>24</sup> Some Writers doubt whether *Seleucus* was not poisoned by *Heliodorus*. At least, we know nothing certain of the Manner of his Death. But it is certain that he reigned twelve Years.

<sup>25</sup> Some have thought that *Antiochus* acquired the Surname of *Epiphanes*, by the Victories by which he signalized the first Years of his Reign. Others pretend that he owed this glorious Appellation entirely to the base Flattery of the Courtiers, on whom he liberally bestowed his Favours. But this last Conjecture seems most probable, if we judge of *Antiochus* by the true Character the prophane Historians have given us of him, as well as sacred Writer. They represent him as a Prince who, after he had dishonoured the Regal Dignity by the most extravagant Follies, made his Memory execrable by his Violences, and Cruelties. Inasmuch that some Writers, instead of the Surname of *Epiphanes*, give him that of *Epimanes*; which signifies in Greek, *Madman*. This is the Character which *Polybius*, *Appian*, *Athenæus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Justin*, and *Josephus*, as well as the sacred Historians, have given to the Posterity of this unworthy Usurper of the *Syrian* Throne.



took Possession of the Throne of his Brother, rather as Guardian to young *Demetrius*, then at *Rome*, than in his own Right. The Succession ought regularly to have gone from Father to Son; and consequently, from *Seleucus* to *Demetrius*. But the Age of the Pupil served for a Pretence for the Usurpation of *Antiochus*; and he was not content with usurping this great Kingdom, under Pretence of seizing it for his Ward. He now was wholly bent on making himself Master of *Egypt* too; under the same pretended Right of Guardianship. This was that Prince of whom the Prophet of the Living God foretold, That he should be a fraudulent Usurper.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXX.

L. POSTUMIUS  
ALBINUS, M.  
POPILIUS LÆ-  
NAS, Consul.

Dan. xi. 21.

*ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES*, the Brother of *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, and Uncle to the two young Princes, *Philometor* and *Physcon*, took the Part of the Eldest. He pretended to undertake to establish him in his Rights, against the Faction of *Physcon*, who was supported by the Grandees of the Kingdom. But this Appearance of Justice was in Reality only a Mask for the Ambition of the Uncle. His only Design was to make his own Advantage of a disputed Minor's Title, and to place his Nephew's Crown on his own Head. We have already observed, that *Cleopatra* had brought the King of *Egypt* for her Portion, *Cælo-Syria*, *Judæa*, and *Samaria*; and *Epiphanes* was now very desirous of adding this Part of the *Syrian* Empire to his Dominions. Being attended by a numerous Army, and proud of the Protection of the *Romans*, he entered *Cælo-Syria*, under Pretence of revenging the Injuries done to *Philometor*. But an unquestionable Authority tells us, that he received not the Honour of the Regal Power; but under the Appearances of a Guardian, became the Robber of *Cælo-Syria*, and left it, loaded with the Plunder of the Country. Nor was *Judæa* exempt from the Pillages he committed in all the Provinces which had been annexed to *Egypt* by *Cleopatra's* Marriage. The People of God were governed by High-Priests; and the High-Priest *Onias* was the Man who then did the Office of King. Ambition, Avarice, Incontinence, and a Contempt for the Worship of the True God, now prevailed among the *Jews*, instead of the Virtues of their Forefathers. The Brother of the High-Priest *Onias*, whose Name was *Jesus*, a venerable Name, which he afterwards changed for that of *Jason*, was a Villain who was capable of attempting any thing in order to aggrandize himself. He thought the virtuous *Onias* had too long enjoyed the Regal Power, which was annexed to the High-Priesthood. And in order to raise himself upon the Ruin of his Brother, *Jason* had Recourse to *Antiochus*, gave the Usurper a scandalous Character of him, and made him suspected of espousing *Physcon's* Party. Nor was this all. *Jason* promised the *Syrian* King, that if he promoted him to the High-Priesthood, he would deliver up to him all the Riches of the Temple of *Jerusalem*; which *Seleucus* would formerly have seized. These sacrilegious Offers were accepted, *Onias* was <sup>26</sup> deposed, and Wickedness took the Place of Virtue. Under this detestable Reign, the Manners of the *Jews* were totally corrupted. The Customs of the *Gentiles* were introduced among them. They were ashamed of their Circumcision, which was the distinguishing Mark of the Holy Nation. They built Amphitheatres in *Jerusalem* for prophane Shows; and Places for the most infamous Debaucheries. The Priests themselves were not ashamed to become Boxers, and to leave the sacred Function to run to Games, in which they often became Actors. This was the Condition in which *Antiochus* found *Jerusalem*, when he first made his Entrance into it. *Jason* made all the Preparations for his Reception, that the basest Flattery could dictate; and this blind People were profuse of their Acclamations to an idolatrous King, whose Tyranny they were soon to experience!

D. Hieron. in  
Daniel.

Daniel, *ibid.*

As for *Antiochus* himself, he extended his Views beyond *Cælo-Syria* and *Judæa*. His Eyes were chiefly fixed on *Egypt*. Nevertheless, before he appeared there in Person, he by his Agents solicited the *Egyptians* to declare him Guardian to his Nephews. But as it was no difficult matter to see thro' the *Syrian's* Designs; *Egypt* suspected it, and would not commit the Guardianship of her Kings to him. *Antiochus* therefore took by Force what she refused to give him. He entered *Egypt*, at the Head of an Army, and set up for an Avenger of the Wrongs which had been

Daniel, *ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Upon so venerable an Authority as that of the sacred Books, we have Reason to reject the Testimony of *Josephus*, who says that *Jason* did not

get the High-Priesthood till after the Death of the High-Priest *Onias*.



Year of done his eldest Nephew. The Kingdom was defended by two Persons, who were  
**R O M E** faithful to the young Princes. One was an Eunuch named *Elucius*, who had  
 DLXXX. brought up *Philometor* from his Infancy : The other was an *Egyptian* Officer, nam-  
 ed *Leneus*. But these two Defenders of *Egypt* were immediately defeated in a  
 L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS, M. POPILIUS LÆ-  
 NAS, Consuls. Battel which was fought near <sup>27</sup> *Pelusium*. *Philometor* fell into the Hands of his  
 Uncle, who affected to care for him very much; and carried him to <sup>25</sup> *Memphis*.  
 There the *Syrian* took upon him the Office of Regent of the Kingdom; and the  
 Desolations he caused in it are not to be expressed. All the Cities and the  
 Fields were pillaged. *Alexandria*, where the youngest of the two Princes was kept  
 confined, was sacked. So many Violences therefore could not but be soon re-  
 ported at *Rome*; and it was the Policy of the *Syrian* to be beforehand with the  
 Senate, concerning his *Egyptian* Expedition. He knew very well that *Egypt* had  
 long entered into strict Engagements with the prevailing Republick; and therefore  
 he dispatched away an Embassy to the Capital of the World, immediately after he  
 returned to *Syria*.

*Pol. in Legat.*  
 N. 38.

<sup>a</sup> 2906250 l.  
*Sterl. Arbuth.*

<sup>b</sup> 12318-1.  
 10 s. *Arbuth.*  
<sup>c</sup> 27375 l. *Ar-  
 buth not.*

<sup>d</sup> Worth  
 240000 l. *Sterl.*  
 at 4 l. per  
*Ounce.*

By the Treaty concluded between the *Scipio's* and *Antiochus the Great*, it had  
 been agreed, that the King of *Syria* should pay the *Romans*, in the twelve  
 Years next after the Date of it, at equal Payments, fifteen thousand <sup>a</sup> *Talents*,  
 to make the Conquerors amends for the Expence of the War. *Seleucus* had  
 neglected to pay this Debt in his Reign; and his Successor had not yet been  
 in a Condition to discharge it: Though there were already sixteen Years expired  
 since the Ratification of the Treaty. But now *Epiphanes* found himself rich  
 enough to send the whole Sum to *Rome*. He had received from *Jason* the  
*Jew*, for the Purchase of the *Pontificate* and Royalty, three hundred and sixty  
<sup>b</sup> *Talents* of Silver, which the latter had taken out of the Temple of *Jerusalem*;  
 and eighty <sup>c</sup> more *Talents*, which the ambitious *Jason* had raised out of the Reve-  
 nues of the Nation. Besides, what immense Sums must *Antiochus* have brought  
 from *Egypt*! So that this Prince had, by Sacrilege and Robberies, enabled himself  
 to pay his Debts. Hence the Sums which he sent to *Rome* with *Apollonius*, the  
 Head of his Embassy: who, besides the Debt, carried also considerable Presents for  
 the Republick. When the *Syrians* arrived at *Rome*, and were introduced into the  
 Senate; their Speech chiefly consisted of Apologies, in the Name of the King  
 their Master, for having so long delayed to satisfy the *Romans*. They brought, as a  
 free Gift, several Vases of Gold, which weighed five hundred <sup>d</sup> Pounds; returned the  
 Republick Thanks for the happy Education their King had received at *Rome*, and  
 the Marks of Honour that were paid him during his Abode there; and concluded  
 with demanding, that the Alliance between *Rome* and *Syria* should be renewed.  
 As for the *Romans*, they had no Regard to his Oppressions in the Provinces from  
 whence he had drawn his Money, or to his Robberies of Temples. Perhaps no  
 Complaints had been brought to them of it. They received the Envoys of *Antiochus*  
 graciously, defrayed their Expences, and made them Presents. And the  
*Prætor Attilius* was ordered to draw up the Act of Confederacy upon the same  
 Foot, on which it had been made with the Father of *Antiochus*. The Money  
 which the *Syrian* had sent was put into the Hands of the *Quæstors*; and the Vases  
 of Gold were delivered to the *Censors*, to be offered to such of the Gods as they  
 thought fit. Is it then at all surprizing that the *Romans* should be immensely rich?  
 Their City was, if I may so speak, a great Gulph, which swallowed up all the  
 Riches of the World. The triumphant Victors brought some thither; and the  
 rest came by the Tributes that were raised in the Provinces, or by the Presents that  
 were sent by the Nations and Cities that sought the Protection of the Republick.  
 The Treasury of *Rome* was then full, to the great Misfortune of *Perses*, who

<sup>27</sup> *Pelusium*, which some Moderns have very im-  
 properly confounded with *Damiet*, was one of the  
 chief Cities in *Lower Egypt*. The Ancients agree in  
 placing it near the most Eastern Mouth of the *Nile*.  
 For this Reason, the Place where this River ran in-  
 to the Sea was called *The Mouth of Pelusium*. This  
 City, which is a little further distant from the Sea  
 than *Damiet*, is at best but a Village at present,  
 which the Natives call *Belbais*.

<sup>28</sup> Most modern Geographers think that old  
*Memphis*, the Capital of one of the three *Dynasties*

of *Egypt*, stood where *Grand Cairo* now does. But  
 others pretend that it stood seventeen Leagues South  
 of this City, a little below the Point of *The Delta*.  
*Herodotus* makes *Menes* the first King of *Egypt*, and  
 have been the Founder of it. This was probably the  
 same Person whom *Josephus* calls *Minus*, and whom  
 some have taken for *Misraim*, the Son of *Noah*. Near  
*Memphis* were built the Pyramids, the Remains of  
 which are to this Day the Admiration of all Travellers.



used all Means to draw upon him the Anger of this powerful People; and their Patience was indeed soon tired out after this time. But it was necessary first to finish the War in *Liguria*; which we shall see done under the succeeding *Consuls*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXX.

§. XVII. BUT what could induce *Rome* to choose two *Plebeian Consuls* at this time, cannot easily be imagined. Indeed, since the *Consulate* had been divided between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, two of the former had sometimes been chosen *Consuls* together. But two *Plebeians* together had never yet governed the Republick, in that Capacity. And it is surprizing that the Historians should say nothing of so remarkable an Epocha. All we know of it is from the *Fasti Capitolini*, which have given Posterity more exact Accounts of the Governors of *Rome*, than her Writers. If we may be permitted to form a Conjecture concerning what all the Historians are silent; it is this. It seems probable, That so great a Number of *Plebeians* were now arrived at the highest Dignities at different times, that there began to be very little Difference made between the Families of the most ancient Nobility, and those which had lately been ennobled by Offices. At least, we shall find that nothing will be more common from this time, to the *Dictatorship* of *Julius Caesar*, than to see two *Plebeians* chosen *Consuls* together. Or perhaps so many of the original *Patrician* Families were extinct, that they could not supply the Republick with a *Consul*, every Year. But be that as it will, the Majority of the Suffrages fell on *P. Acilius Ligus*, and *C. Popillius Lænas*, both of *Plebeian* Extraction; and they were declared *Consuls*.

L. POSTUMIUS  
ALBINUS, M.  
POPILIUS LÆ-  
NAS, Consuls.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVI.

P. ACILIUS  
LIGUS, C.  
POPILIUS  
LÆNAS, Con-  
suls.

It is also surprizing, that a second *Popilius* should be chosen in *The Field of Mars*, to succeed his Brother in the *Consulate*. *M. Popilius* had very lately brought a Scandal upon the State, by his Fury, and Disobedience. He was now at *Pisa*, and would not put the Orders of the Senate in execution. So that the *Statiellates* still languished away their time in Slavery, though *Rome* had passed a Decree for their Deliverance. The Senate therefore were inclined, upon the Motion of *Acilius Ligus*, to renew their Decree, and force the refractory *Popillius* to set them at Liberty, and put them in Possession of their Lands. But the other new *Consul*, the Brother of the Accused, opposed *Acilius's* Motion; and threatened his Collegue, that he would protest against the Decree of the Senate, if he obtained one. And at length the weak *Acilius* complied with the Entreaties of the *Popillii*, and dropped his Motion. The *Conscript Fathers* were therefore justly enraged at both the *Consuls*.

Livy, B. 42.  
c. 10.

THE War with *Macedon* was in a manner resolved on. So that the new *Consuls* expected, that one of them would have the East for his Province. But their Hopes were vain. Whether the *Fathers* were willing to mortify the two *Plebeian* Collegues; or whether the Affair of *Macedon* was not yet come to Maturity, the Senate assigned them only *Liguria* for their Province. Indeed their Hopes were revived by a Promise, that *Macedon* should be given to one of them, if they would prosecute and condemn the Rebel *Popillius*. But their Affection prevailed over their Regard for Equity; and therefore the Senate took Pleasure in punishing them. They refused them every thing that they asked. They had desired Leave to raise new Levies for their Armies. But the Senate obliged them to be content with the Troops which their Predecessors had commanded in *Liguria*.

§. XVIII. THE *Consuls* were piqued at the little Regard the Senate had for them; and they were heard to say, That as soon as they had performed the Ceremony of their Installation in the Temple of *Jupiter* on *The Hill of Alba*, they would leave *Rome*, go and govern their Province, and undertake nothing for the Glory of the *Roman* Name. But this first Fire of the two Malecontents, only drew upon them fresh Mortifications. They fixed their Residence at *Rome*, and found Pretences to continue there. The unexpected Arrival of the King of *Pergamus*, was what first detained them. The prudent and generous *Eumenes*, ever sincerely affected to *Rome*, had the last Year made strict Enquiries into the Preparations made by *Perses* for War, and the Nations he had drawn into his Interest; and he personally undertook this Voyage to *Rome*, out of pure Zeal. Some Historians indeed say, that he only sent his Brother *Attalus* thither; but the greatest Number of them assure us, That the King would not trust any Body but himself with this important Negotiation. A Friend of this Character was received with a Magnificence

Val. Ant. &  
pud Liv.



Year of  
R O M E

DLXXXI.

P. ACILIUS  
LIGUS, C.  
POPILIUS  
LÆNAS, Con-  
suls.

worthy of a great Sovereign, and a powerful Republick. He was introduced into the Senate in great Form; and there spoke thus.

*MY earnest Desires to see Rome, to pay my Duty to the Gods worshiped there, to behold the Majesty of the Roman People, and to pay my Gratitude to the most august Senate in the World, were sufficient Motives to have induced me to cross the Seas, purely out of Inclination. But there is also another Inducement, which I thought made it absolutely necessary for me to leave my own Dominions. I am come to inform you of the Proceedings of a King who is your Enemy, and conceals his Designs under the Veil of Friendship. What a Monster is this Perſes, whose Enterprizes you are too dilatory in preventing! He assassinated his Brother, stabbed his Wife, and brought his Father to the Grave by repeated Vexations, before he entered into his present treacherous Measures against you. Nevertheless, his Hatred to you is older than his Reign. In Philip's time, he drew into Macedon a Swarm of Barbarians, in order to bring them into Italy; and then he stirred up the Bastarnæ against the Dardani your Allies. Nay, his Hatred to Rome was what raised him to the Throne, in Preference to a Brother who had been brought up by you, and was your Friend. And since his Accession, he has continued steady to his Resentments, and left nothing unattempted against you. His Youth and Experience in the Art of War raised his Courage. His Father brought him up in a Camp; and his first Campaigns were made against Rome. Hence his Aversion for the Republick, which he has shewn by numberless Acts, since he has had the Reins of Government in his Hands. He has attempted, nay, he has done more than his Father Philip. He has by some Artifices or other gained the Affections, both of the Greeks and Asiatics. Is this then purely his good Luck; or is it the Effect of the universal Jealousy of the People of the East, of the Success of your Arms? Perſes has the Reputation of hating you; and yet Perſes is beloved. By how many Alliances has he made himself formidable? His Wife is the Daughter of Seleucus, and his Sister is married to Prusias. Bœotia, which was formerly such an Enemy to Philip, has entered into an Alliance with his Son. Achaia was very near declaring in his Favour. Ætolia has received Succours from him to appease her intestine Broils. But what am I saying? Perſes, without these foreign Assistances, is very strong of himself. He has already raised thirty thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse in Macedon. His Magazines are stored with Provisions for ten Years. He has Money enough in his Treasury to pay thirty thousand Mercenaries for a great while. The Mines he has dug in his Dominions bring him in large Revenues every Year. His Magazines of Arms are so well provided, that he can arm two hundred thousand Men. And in short, if his Macedonians should fail him, he has a Nursery of Soldiers in Thrace, which are always ready to obey his Orders. I don't exaggerate. I did not leave Pergamus to put a Cheat upon you. I have seen the Greek Cities openly espouse his Interest. I my self have seen him force some Provinces to declare for him; and prevail on others by Sollicitations. I have observed a great deal of Difference, between his Proceedings and your's. You have had nothing in view, but to procure him Peace. He has abused your Intentions, and prepared for War. He has driven Abrupolis, one of the petty Kings of Thrace, and your Friend, out of his Dominions. Aretarus, a little Sovereign in Illyricum, kept a faithful Correspondence with you; and Perſes has caused him to be assassinated. He has put to Death two illustrious Thebans, because they declared they would discover his Intrigues to you. In a Word, he has made War in Dolopia; and sowed Dissentions in Doris, Thessaly, and Perrœbia. And with what Design? To find them Employment enough at Home, that he may not have them upon his Back when he comes into Italy. His Intention is to bring the War hither, into the Heart of your Republick. He is a second Hannibal; and you will soon see him seize the Provinces which are nearest to you. Could I then foresee all these Misfortunes, and not give you Notice of it? I am discharging a Duty which Gratitude requires at the Hands of a faithful Friend, and one who has been enriched by your Favours. The Gods grant, that upon this Information, you may take such Resolutions as are worthy of you; and such as shall prove most for the Safety of your Allies in the Levant, who depend upon You.*

Livy, B. 42.  
c. 13.

Livy. *ibid.*

THIS Discourse from a King made strong Impressions on the Senators. It cleared up all the Suspicions, which their own Ambassadors, and those of the Greek Republicks, had given them, of Philip's Conduct. Nevertheless, the Intelligence

Eumenes



*Eumenes* gave was buried in Silence. The Secrets of the Senate were inviolably kept. It was not known till after the War was ended, what had passed at the Audience which *The Conscript Fathers* gave to the King of *Pergamus*. Indeed the Senate came to no Resolutions at their first sitting. They were willing to hear the Ambassadors of *Perses*, before they came to a Determination. So careful were the *Romans* not to engage precipitately in Enterprizes of any kind! Some Days after, *Harpalus*, the Head of the *Macedonian* Embassy, was introduced with his Colleagues into the Senate; and these Deputies in vain endeavoured to impose on *The Conscript Fathers*. The Informations they had received from *Eumenes*, had put them upon their Guard, against the Artifices of King *Perses*. They refuted all the Pretences *Harpalus* made use of to cover his Master's Proceedings: And at length the proud Deputy grew out of all Temper. *Rome then*, said he, *will not believe me, when I assure her, that Perses has neither done, nor designed to do any thing, in Violation of his Treaties with her. She is for War. Very well. We accept the Challenge. Heaven and our Arms shall determine the Dispute.*

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXI.  
P. ACILIUS  
LIGUS, C.  
POPILIUS  
LÆNAS, Con-  
suls.

THEIR Curiosity had now brought many Deputies to *Rome*, from several of the Greek Nations. They were impatient to know the Result of the Audiences which the Senate had given to the King of *Pergamus*, and the *Macedonian* Ambassadors. All *Greece* was interested in the Affair. The *Rhodians* also had sent to *Rome* one of their Heads, named *Satyrus*; who took it for granted, that *Eumenes* had included his Republick, in the Informations he had given against the King of *Macedon*. He therefore sought for an Opportunity to meet *Eumenes* in the Senate-House, and by the Help of his Friends and Patrons, did so. *Satyrus* was a violent Man; and he broke out into extravagant Reproaches on the King of *Pergamus*. *It is you*, said he, *who have stirred up Lycia against the Rhodian Government. You have done more Mischief in Asia than ever Antiochus the Great did.* These Invectives were agreeable to the *Asiatics*, where *Perses* had now many Friends. But the only Effect they had at *Rome*, was to render the *Rhodian* suspected, and increase the Affection the *Romans* had for *Eumenes*. The Senate heaped Honours upon him; made him fine Presents; and among other things gave him a *Curule Chair*, and a General's Bartoon adorned with Ivory.

§. XIX. DURING these Transactions in the Capital, whither the Nations of the *Levant* were come, to act different Parts, *Harpalus* was returned to *Macedon*. He had told his Master, that the *Romans* had not indeed declared War, or ordered any Preparations to be made for it; but that they were so exasperated, that they could not delay it. But this News did not terrify *Perses*. His Troops were in as good a Condition as he desired, at least to be upon the defensive. All the Advantage he lost was that of surprizing the Enemy, when his Party should have been better formed; and the artful Politician imputed to the King of *Pergamus* the Discovery of his most secret Design. *It was by Eumenes*, said he, *that the Republick was informed of the Commotions I raised in Greece, before I went into Italy.* This therefore enraged him against a Prince who was too sagacious, and too faithful a Friend; and he resolved to destroy him. *Perses* was skilful in the Art of Assassinations. He had already destroyed one sovereign Prince by the basest Treachery. And now he hired four Ruffians, which he used to employ in such Enterprizes. One was a *Cretan*, named *Evander*, the Head of the Auxiliaries in his Service; and the three others were *Macedonians*, nameless Persons, and known only by their Crimes. *Perses* knew that the King of *Pergamus* seldom failed of going, at certain times, to *Delphi*, to pay his Duty to the God who was worshiped there; and this was the Place that he chose to stain with the Blood of a great King. He sent the four Assassins thither; and recommended them to a Woman of Condition, named *Praxo*, with whom the King of *Macedon* used to lodge, when he went to *Delphi*. *Praxo* received them upon the Recommendation of their Master; and they made it their whole Business to find out a proper Place to execute their detestable Design; and found one. There was no passing from the Port of *Delphi* called *Cirrha*, to the City and Temple, but through an hollow Way, which was so narrow, that two Men could not walk a-breast in it. Close by the Path were the Ruins of an old House. A piece of a Wall, half tumbled down, overlooked the Way; and within the House, the Rubbish lay sloping up almost as high as the Wall. There the Assassins took their Stand, and furnished themselves with great Stones,



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXI.  
P. ACILIUS  
LIGUS, C.  
POPILIUS  
LENAS, Con-  
suls.

Stones, which they were to roll down upon the Head of the King, as soon as he should be got into the hollow Way. *Eumenes's* Guard which attended him passed through this Place without any Obstruction; and then came the King, with *Pantaleon*, one of the *Ætolian* Princes, with whom *Eumenes* was talking. As they were walking slowly on, two Stones fell down all on a sudden, one on the Head of the King, which stunned him, and knocked him down; and the other on one of his Shoulders, which was bruised by it. When the Guard saw the King lying dead on the Ground, they dispersed themselves. *Pantaleon* only continued with him. And whilst he was endeavouring to assist him, the Assassins who thought him dead, fled. They took a great Compass, and came at last to the Top of Mount <sup>29</sup> *Parnassus*. One of their Companions had a great deal of Difficulty to follow them; and the rest therefore killed him. They were afraid lest he should be taken by the *Pergamenses*, and bear Witness against *Perses*.

WHEN their first Fright was over, the Guards and Friends of the King gathered round him; and by a little Palpitation of his Heart, and a little Heat which they felt in his Stomach, concluded him not to be dead. Nevertheless, they despaired of his Life. However, whilst the Assassins were pursued in vain, the King came to himself. Upon which he was immediately put on board his Galley, and carried to *Corinth*, and from thence to <sup>30</sup> *Ægina*, where he was cured. But no Body was suffered to come near him; and the Cure being kept a Secret, this made it believed that *Eumenes* was dead. *Attalus* himself, that faithful Brother, that zealous Subject, that Pattern of brotherly Love and Concord, was a little too ready to give into the common Report; and at the Instigation of the Queen his Sister-in-Law, he immediately took upon him the Office and Title of King. He loved the Queen, and she him; and they resolved to marry. So that Love rather than Ambition hurried the Brother, who was affectionately beloved by the King, into Measures, which were not for his Honour. *Eumenes*, after his Recovery, was informed of the Engagements, which *Attalus* and the Queen had entered into; and so great was his Moderation, that his Resentment went no farther than to a Jest. When he was returned to *Pergamus*, he only whispered in his Brother's Ear; *Don't think any more of my Wife; At least, whilst I am alive.* After which *Attalus* sacrificed his Passion to his Duty, and the Queen confined her Affection to the King only.

J. B. 42.  
17.

§. XX. THE Rumour of the Death of *Eumenes* was spread in *Rome*, when *Valerius*, who had been sent to *Greece* to watch *Perses*, returned to the Senate; and his Report confirmed them in the ill Opinion which the King of *Pergamus* had given them of the *Macedonian*. Nay, he gave them still worse Notions of this wicked Prince, by the new Proofs he brought of two perfidious Acts which he had committed. 1. In the first Place, *Valerius* had brought from *Delphi* with him, that *Praxo*, who, upon *Perses's* Letters, had entertained those who were Accomplices in the intended Assassination of *Eumenes*. And 2dly, The same Ambassador produced also another Witness, who was sufficient to make *Perses* the Curse of all Mankind. One *Rammius* was one of the richest and most powerful Citizens in *Brundisium*. The greatest Officers in the *Roman* Army, all the foreign Princes, and all the Ambassadors from the Kings of the *Levant*, generally lodged at his House, as they went from *Rome* to *Greece*, or *vice versa*. Persons of Distinction always met with an hospitable Entertainment, and kind Reception with him; and by this means *Rammius's* Name was well known in *Italy*, and in all the Eastern Courts. *Perses* heard of him, and thought to have prevailed on him to gratify his Passion in the most detestable Manner. By repeated Letters, and Promises of a great Fortune, he pressed *Rammius* to make a Voyage into *Macedon*; and never was private Person received with more Distinction. He was caressed, and great Presents were made him. And at length the King ventured to communicate his Secrets to him, which filled him with Horror. *I will heap Riches and Honours upon you, without Measure,* said *Perses* to him, *if you will grant*

<sup>29</sup> *Parnassus* is that Mountain in *Phocis*, where the Poets fixed the Abode of *Apollo*, and the *Muses*. This Mountain is pretty long, and is broken into several Hills, to which the Ancients give different Names. At the Foot of *Parnassus* was the Fountain of *Castalus*, whose Water was said to inspire

those who drank it, with Poetick Fury. The Moderns give this Mountain the Name of *Parnesio*.  
<sup>30</sup> We have already spoken of the Island *Ægina*, in *The Saronic Gulph*, towards the Coast of *Africa*. It still retains the same Name, according to *Sophian*.



my Desires. All the Generals that Rome sends to the Levant to command her Armies there, generally lodge at your House; and nothing would be easier than for you to dispatch such for me, as I shall direct. I am sensible it is no easy Task to manage such things as these so prudently as to prevent Suspicion. It would be dangerous to kill my Enemies with the Sword. But Poison, when well prepared, is a sure Way of dispatching a Man whom you want to get rid of, without Discovery; and I will furnish you with some, which leaves no Mark behind it. You may freely make use of it without fearing the Punishment of Men. And you will thereby always lay me under the highest Obligations to Gratitude. Rammius was terrified at these Words; but dissembled his Astonishment. He was afraid of being forced to take the fatal Drink himself, if he refused to give it others. And he therefore accepted of every thing; promised every thing; and embarked again, as it were, to return to Brundisium. But he would not go back to Italy, till he had declared to the Ambassador Valerius, the detestable Commission which Perses had given him. Valerius advised him to go directly to Rome, and give Information of this to the Senate; and the Ambassador soon followed him, and introduced Rammius and Praxo to the Fathers.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXI.  
P. ACILIUS  
LIGUS, C.  
POPILIUS  
LENAS, Con-  
suls.

THE Proof of such horrid Plots left no room for Hesitation. The Senate of Rome unanimously agreed, that it was absolutely necessary to declare War with a perfidious Enemy, who was capable of making use of such Arms, as the Law of Nations did not allow of. But they were not in haste to send one of the present Consuls into Macedon, to begin the War there. Neither Acilius Ligus, nor Popilius Lenas, was considerable enough to be charged with a Commission to execute the Vengeance of the Romans, on so formidable an Enemy as Perses. The Conscript Fathers therefore chose to stay, to send one of the next Year's Consuls into the Levant. Nevertheless, they thought it necessary to take the first Step towards the Macedonian Expedition immediately. The Prætor, Cn. Sicinius, whose Office was confined to the Cognizance of Causes between the Citizens of Rome, was appointed to go first into the East; and Power was given him to raise Troops, and equip a Fleet to transport them to the Coast next to Macedon. By which Step Rome openly declared herself an Enemy to Perses. As the Republick had, for a long time past, had no Armies in the Levant, but had supported her Dominion there, only by the Terror of her Name, and the many Ambassadors she was continually sending thither; a Prætor's landing with an Army would be a plain Proof that the War would soon break out there. And indeed, the Prætor's Orders were, to seize the maritime Cities near Macedon, that the Consul, to whom that Province should fall, might be able to land there conveniently, without Opposition. And it is probable, that it was resolved to send, with the Prætorian Fleet, Ambassadors to the King of Pergamus, to congratulate him upon his Recovery.

§. XXI. WHILST Sicinius was preparing for his Departure, several Embassies arrived at Rome from the Eastern Countries. The most considerable, and most important was that of <sup>31</sup> Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, the fifth of that Name. This Monarch had sent to the Romans, the only Son whom he acknowledged to be of his Blood, and whom he intended for his Successor. To trust, and send him to them, was securing him the Protection of the prevailing Republick, and procuring him a perpetual Resource against his supposititious, malecontent, and rejected, Brothers. The Prince, who was yet a Child, was received at Rome with the greatest Demonstrations of Friendship. Sicinius, who was not yet set out for Macedon, was ordered to supply the Cappadocian with all Necessaries; and as foreign Affairs were the Prætor's Province, he furnished him with Lodgings at the Expence of the Publick.

AFTER the Cappadocian Ambassadors, those of Thrace were admitted into the Senate. They demanded the Friendship of the Romans; and it is easy to judge, with what Joy the Republick entered into an Alliance with a Nation which bordered upon Macedon, and upon which Perses chiefly built his Hopes. To draw off Thrace from the Macedonian, was in a manner to conquer him.

<sup>31</sup> See what we have said above of King Ariarathes in several Parts of this Volume.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXI.

P. ACILIUS  
LIGUS, C.  
POPILIUS  
LENAS, CON-  
suls.

AND then *Perses* himself made his last Effort to suspend the Hostilities of the Roman People. Whether it was that he was ashamed of the Infamy, which the Violence offered *Eumenes* had brought upon him; or whether he had yet some Negotiations to finish; whatever was his Motive, *Perses* sent two Persons, in whom he could confide, to the Senate, before he began the War. Their Names were *Solon* and *Hippias*. But they had no Success with the *Conscript Fathers*. They in vain endeavoured to colour over their Master's Crimes, or lessen the Odium of them. The Deposition of *Praxo* left no room for doubt. It was certain, that she had received the four Assassins, at the Recommendation of *Perses*. She produced his own Letters. Three of the Villains had disappeared; and the Body of the fourth had been found on the Top of *Parnassus*. These were such Proofs as would not admit of a Reply; so that the Excuses of *Perses* only created a greater Indignation against him. As soon as the Orators had done speaking, they, and all the *Macedonians*, which had lately arrived at *Rome*, were commanded by the Senate to leave *Rome* immediately; and *Italy*, in thirty Days. And the *Consuls* were ordered to see this Decree put in execution.

§. XXII. NEITHER *Acilius* nor his Collegue were yet gone from *Rome*, though the Season was far advanced. Other Generals did not use to delay taking the Field so long. And in the mean time, the *Ligures*, against whom they were both designed to act, opened their Arms to receive them. The many unfortunate *Statiellates*, who had been reduced to Slavery the last Year by the merciless *Popilius*, implored the Assistance of the two *Consuls*; and they were authorized, by a Decree of the Senate, to restore these unfortunate Men, whose Fate was to be lamented, their Liberty. But the two *Consuls* were both unaffected with their great Misfortunes. One regarded no Body but his Brother, against whom the Decree was chiefly levelled; and the other did what his Collegue desired him. So that their Obstinacy became insupportable to the Senate; and upon a new Incident, they were forced to obey the Decree, in spite of themselves. The same *Popilius*, who having been *Consul* the last Year, was yet commanding the Roman Army in *Liguria*, till his Successors arrived, had lately carried his Inhumanity to the highest Pitch. He had again turned his Arms against the Remains of the *Statiellates*, and had killed sixteen thousand of them. This barbarous Execution had forced the most peaceable *Ligures* to rebel; and all was in a Flame, in a Province, which it was of Importance to appease, now that the War beyond Sea was just breaking out. Nay, the imprudent *Popilius* had even writ to the Senate, and boasted of his new Expedition, as an Act of Valour. And then the *Conscript Fathers* could no longer bear the repeated Disobedience of a General, who had nothing of the Roman, but his Birth, and Name. They shewed their Resentment against the *Consuls*, who had too long obstinately refused to obey their Orders; and reprimanded them in a full House, with their Dilatoriness in setting out for their Province. Nor was this all. Two *Tribunes of the People*, one named *Marcus Sermo*, and the other *Marcus Scylla*, threatened them with a Fine, if they continued in the City; and read in full Senate, the Minute of a Petition already drawn up concerning the Affair of the *Statiellates*. The Purport of it was, that if any of the *Statiellates* were not restored to their Liberty before the first of *August*, the Senate, after being sworn again, should appoint a Magistrate to inform against him, by whose Means they were kept in Slavery. The Petition was read, and confirmed in the *Comitia*; and by vertue of this *Plebiscitum*, the *Prætor Licinius* was nominated to pronounce Sentence against the Authors of the Sale of the *Statiellates*, and against those who obstructed their recovering their Liberty. After which the *Consuls* were forced to go, and put themselves at the Head of their Armies in *Liguria*; and the *Consul* for the last Year delivered up his Troops to them.

So that *M. Popilius Lenas* was now reduced to the Condition of a private Man. And then he was sensible of the Injustice of his Proceedings, and durst not appear before the Senate, whose Power he had defied, when he was in Office. Both the People and Senate were against him. Besides, the *Prætor Licinius* had received a Commission to judge him; and his Judgment was agreeable to the Decisions of the Senate. *Popilius* was cited to appear; and was then guilty of a fresh Act of Disobedience. The *Prætor* was therefore forced to get a second Decree of the People,



ple, to oblige him to come before him. *Licinius* had Orders to condemn him for Contumacy, if he did not return to *Rome* before *The Ides of November*. And this last Step at length compelled him to appear. Then, what Reproaches had he to suffer from the *Conscript Fathers*! They insulted this proud *Consul*, who was now become a private Person, and subject to be tried at the Tribunals which he had despised; and at length a Decree was past, restoring Liberty to all the *Ligures*, who had not taken up Arms since the *Consulate* of *Q. Fulvius*, and *L. Manlius*. The *Consul*, who was Brother to the cruel *Popilius*, received Orders to undo what his Brother had done, restore the *Statiellates* their Liberty, and assign them Lands to cultivate on the other side of the *Po*. And as for the guilty *Popilius*, the *Prætor* his Judge made him undergo two Examinations. But out of Regard to his Brother, and the Intercessions of the *Popilian* Family, he delayed pronouncing Sentence till after *The Ides of March*. By that means he avoided condemning a Man of Distinction, who was not without Merit. The Office of the *Prætor*, and his Commission with it, expired before the time, which he granted the Accused to make his Defence. Thus ended an Affair, which served only to embroil *Popilius*, the People, the Senate, the two *Consuls*, and the *Ligures*, with one another. However *Rome*, by these Demonstrations of Clemency, and Appearances of Severity, pacified *Liguria*; at a time when all the Forces of the Republick were going to be employed against *Macedon*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXI.  
P. ACILIUS  
LIGUS, C.  
POPILLIUS  
LÆNAS, Con-  
suls.

§. XXIII. THE Senate likewise treated the *Africans* with the same Regard. It was dangerous to exasperate them, lest *Perses* should take Advantage of the Discontents of these Allies of *Rome*. And therefore the *Conscript Fathers* artfully extricated themselves by Delays, out of an Affair, which was brought before their Tribunal. The *Carthaginians* brought Complaints against King *Masiniſſa* their Neighbour. They affirmed, That this ambitious Prince, finding himself supported by the *Romans*, had taken from their Republick above seventy Towns and Castles, in the Space of two Years; and declared, That they had not put themselves upon the defensive, for fear of being accused of violating their Faith, in relation to their last Treaty with *Rome*. They were forbidden by that Treaty to take up Arms against the Allies of *Rome*, without the Consent of the *Roman* Republick. And *Carthage* desired that one of these three things might be granted her; either That the Senate would judge impartially between her and *Masiniſſa*; or That they would give her Leave to take up Arms against the Usurper; or That they would determine how much of her Territory they would suffer the King her Neighbour to invade hereafter, with Impunity. *We had rather*, said they, *give him up what you allot him of our Lands, than come to open Force. To live in Slavery to Rome, is a less Evil, than to be continually exposed to the Robberies of a petty King of Numidia*. And this said, the Ambassadors of *Carthage* fell prostrate. These sorts of Submissions cost the *Carthaginians* nothing; and they were not always sure Proofs of their real Sentiments. On the contrary, *Rome* had Reason to suspect that mutual Embassies had been sent from *Macedon* to *Carthage*, and from the *Carthaginians* to *Macedon*; and therefore in the present State of Affairs it was dangerous to sour them.

*Gulussa*, the Son of *Masiniſſa*, happened accidentally to be at *Rome* at that time; and the Senate sent for him, and examined him, concerning the Injuries for which *Carthage* demanded Satisfaction. But the young Prince was not prepared to answer these Reproaches. He was come to *Rome* on very different Affairs; and *Carthage* had made a great Secret of her Deputation. He therefore could only entreat *The Conscript Fathers*, not to be too hasty in giving Judgment against a faithful Ally, whose Neighbours were continually calumniating him. The Senate were very glad to have room to suspend a Decree, which perhaps *Carthage* had demanded, with no other View but to complain of the want of it, and break the Alliance; and *Gulussa* was therefore sent away, and desired to press his Father to send Ambassadors to *Rome*, prepared to answer the Accusations of the *Carthaginians*. To which the Senate added, that they were very ready to gratify the King of *Numidia* in all other Cases; but that Favour should never prevail over Justice in *Rome*. Then Presents were made to the Prince, and to the *Carthaginians*; they were sent back to *Africa*; and *Gulussa* there reported the Answers of the Senate, which were perhaps as much founded in Policy, as a Love of Equity.

§. XXIV. AND



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXI.  
P. ACILIUS  
LIGUS, C.  
POPILIUS  
LENAS, Con-  
suls.

§. XXIV. AND now the War with *Perfes*, which had hitherto only been resolved on, was at length declared. *Rome* had sent a Deputation to *Macedon* for the last time. The Order of the Deputies had been again to demand of the King, to restore what he kept from the *Romans*, or openly renounce their Friendship. And this Step was ill taken. The Report of the Ambassadors, or rather *Feciales* to the Senate, after their Return, was this. *When we came to Macedon, we saw nothing in all the Cities but Preparations for War. When we came to the Court, we were made to wait so long, that we at last despaired of obtaining an Audience. Nay, we were returning to Rome, and were called back. When we were brought into Perfes's Presence, we represented to him, that by the Treaty made with his Father, and renewed by himself, he was obliged to keep within his Limits, and not make War on the Allies of Rome. After which we shewed him wherein he had broken this Treaty. We insisted particularly on that Assembly which was held in Samothracia, between his Envoys, and the Deputies of the Greek Cities in Asia. And we concluded with again demanding the Restitution of every thing that he had usurped from our Allies, and Satisfaction for all the Injuries he had done us. Then notwithstanding our Moderation, the King flew out into a great Rage, and did not spare Reproaches. He called Rome a proud Republick, which usurped a Dominion over crowned Heads; and pretended to rule the World by her imperious Embassies, and govern Sovereigns, as her Senate shall think fit. Then he reproached us with an insatiable Avarice, that made us bring into this Capital all the Riches of the East. The King's Gestures, and Tone of Voice, shewed the Excess of his Passion. And at length being tired with crying out, and inveighing against Rome, he put us off to another Audience for our Answer. He said he intended to give it us in writing; and the next Day, when we were admitted into his Presence, we found him more calm, and more proud. This you will judge of, by the Writing he gave us, which was this.—I have nothing to do with the Treaty Rome formerly made with Philip. I revived it in the beginning of my Reign, only because the State of my Affairs was such as obliged me to do it. If Rome would now have a Peace, let her enter into a fresh Treaty with me. We will settle the Conditions of it according to the Interests of the two Nations; and an arbitrary Power shall not dictate them. This was the Substance of what Perfes gave us in writing; and as soon as he had given it us, he instantly turned his Back upon us, and disappeared. Then we were dismissed the Court, and told, That the King renounced the Friendship of the Romans. Indeed we were informed, that Perfes hesitated for some time, before he pronounced these last Words. But at length he did so; and then we were ordered to leave Macedon in three Days. In short, we were neither received graciously, nor hospitably. A Report and Answer, agreeable to this, was expected by the Senate, who had taken all proper Steps towards a Rupture with Macedon.*

AND then *Rome* made a Discovery. She had hitherto known nothing of the new Enemy *Perfes* had raised up against her, which was *Gentius* King of *Illyricum*. But now some Deputies from the Island of <sup>32</sup> *Issa*, gave the Senate Information; That the *Illyricans* were entered into the Measures of the *Macedonians*; That they communicated their Designs to each other; and That they by Consent, took their secret Measures together, to maintain the War. To prove this the *Issians* brought these two Arguments. 1. That King *Gentius* had twice entered into their Island, contrary to the Faith of Treaties. And 2<sup>dly</sup>, That he maintained some Spies of his own Country at *Rome*, under the Title of Ambassadors, and all this through the Intrigues of *Perfes*. These were important Advices. The pretended Ambassadors from *Gentius*, who had never been heard of before, were brought into the Senate; and when they were examined, they contradicted themselves. In short, they could not give a good Account of their having continued so long in *Rome*, without assuming the Character of Ambassadors, or demanding an Audience of the Senate; and this looked very suspicious. Nevertheless, the *Consul* and *Script Fathers* were not precipitate in their Resolutions. They sent three Ambassadors to *Illyricum*, to carry their Complaints to King *Gentius*, especially

<sup>32</sup> See what we have said of the Island of *Issa*, Vol. 3. It lies in the Sea of *Dalmatia*, and is now called *Lissa*. *Marcian of Heraclea* pretends, that this Island, which was before a Desert, was peopled by a Colony of the Inhabitants of *Syracuse*,

who removed thither. We must take care not to confound it with another *Issa*, which, *Strabo* says had been a City in the Island of *Lesbos*; to which he adds, that this latter Island had also been called by that Name, in the most ancient Times.



in relation to his Enterprises against the *Iffans*, who were Allies to the *Romans*. Year of  
But this Precaution did not remedy the Evil. It came too late. The *Illyricans* R O M E  
had entered into too strict Engagements with *Macedon*, to be able to recede. DLXXXI.

BUT the Deputies which *Rome* had on the Coasts of *Asia* reported, That that  
great Continent was not at all infected with the Poison which *Perfes* had endeavoured  
to spread there. *The Macedonian*, said they, *has in vain solicited King Ptolomy*  
*in Egypt, and King Antiochus in Asia, to renounce our Alliance. And as for Eu-*  
*menes, he has not so much as made an Attempt upon him. All these Princes have*  
*promised us Succours. The Rhodians only appear a little wavering. Perfes has*  
*instilled some of his Maxims into them.* But the Senate was in no Pain about the  
Fidelity of the *Rhodians*. They had Ambassadors at *Rome*, who offered to clear  
their Country from the ill Reports that were spread of it. The chief Difficulty  
of the Senate at present, was to know, how to appease the Gods, or calm the  
Superstitions of the People. During these first Steps towards a new War, the  
most common Events were turned into fatal Presages, by weak Imaginations. In  
the Night, a Storm had blown down the *Columna Rostrata*, in the *Capitol*, which  
had been erected in honour to the *Consul Duilius*, after the first *Punic War*; And  
this was told the *Conscript Fathers* as an Accident, that might have ill Conse-  
quences. Nay, the Affair was brought before the *Aruspices*; the *Sybilline Books*  
were consulted; Victims were slain in the City, and the Province; Games were  
celebrated in honour to the Gods, and especially *Jupiter*; and at length the Di-  
vines pronounced, that the Prodigy foretold the Success of the *Romans*. *This*  
*Fall*, said they, *shews that the Republick will extend her Limits, and bring back*  
*as many Spoils from Macedon, as Duilius did from Carthage.* And lastly, expiatory  
Sacrifices, and Supplications were offered up, to avert the ill Effects of several  
other Prognosticks, which the *Romans* prayed the Gods to turn against the Enemy.

§. XXV. HOWEVER, these Exercises of Religion did not interrupt the Prepa-  
rations for War. The *Prætor Sicinius*, who was to go into the East before a  
*Consul*, with a Fleet and Land Forces, had Orders to hasten his Departure. All the  
*Quinqueremes*, which were to be found in the Ports of *Italy*, were already refitted. The  
fifty other Ships which were ordered to attend him, were ready to sail. The Senate  
had brought to *Brundisium* from *Sicily*, all the Boats that were fit for Use; and  
the Crews of the new Fleet were made up partly of *Freed-men*, and partly of  
Allies. The *Legion* which was best furnished with Veterans of any of those that  
were lately come from the Service in *Liguria*, was already upon the March to-  
wards *Brundisium*. Above four thousand auxiliary Foot, and two hundred Horse,  
were arrived at the *Rendezvous*; and when all were embarked, the *Prætor Sicinius*,  
who was to command this great Armament, immediately weighed Anchor, and  
sailed for *Macedon*. *Apollonia* was to be the general *Rendezvous* of the *Roman*  
Troops. And at length *Sicinius*, after an happy Passage, landed at the Port, and  
began to commit some Hostilities in *Illyricum*. In one of the little Battels which  
he fought, one of the Sons of *Fulvius Flaccus* lost his Life, and his Brother fell  
dangerous ill. Their Father, who was lately *Censor*, and then *Pontifex*, was so  
struck with this News, that he hanged himself for Grief. He was found hanging  
in his Chamber. And though the Cause of his Death was obvious, yet it was  
ascribed to *Jupiter*, who was said to have thus revenged himself on the Prophaner  
of his Temple.

*ROME* had now no Enemies but in *Macedon* and *Illyricum*. *Spain* was in  
Tranquillity; *Liguria* pacified; and the Rebels of *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, lately sub-  
dued by the *Prætor Cicereius*. When therefore this brave General was returned to  
*Rome*, he demanded a Triumph. His Exploits had deserved one; but the War he  
had engaged in, was not considered as a foreign War. So that a Triumph was re-  
fused him; without doubt, because he had only brought revolted Subjects to their  
Duty. However, this did not hinder him from triumphing on *The Hill of Alba*. He  
made his Procession there, on the first Day of *October*; and his Triumph there is re-  
corded in the *Fasti Capitolini*. Whereas, the *Consuls* made their *Consulate* remark-  
able for nothing, but an unheard of Obstinacy.

*C. Popilius* had Orders immediately to return to *Rome*, to preside in the Electi-  
ons; which it was resolved to bring on some Days sooner than usual, to give the  
*Consuls* elect the more time to prepare for the War in *Macedon*. But *Popilius* was  
VOL. IV. 5 C not



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXI.

P. ACILIUS  
LIGUS, C.  
POPILIUS  
LÆNAS, Con-  
suls.

not in haste. Both he and his Brother were capricious Men, and were never cured of their Stubbornness. So that the Senate gave the *Consul* but an ill Reception, when he returned to the City. They made him give an Account of his Exploits in *Liguria*. They seized him with Interrogations; and as he had nothing to say which was much for his Glory, they jested upon him, and hissed him. Above all, he was severely reproached for his Delay in restoring the unfortunate *Statiellates* their Liberty: And after all this he presided in the *Comitia* in the *Campus Martius*. But contrary to all the Desires of the Publick, he did not assemble them till the usual time, that is, twelve Days before *The Calends of March*. Then *P. Licinius* <sup>33</sup> *Crassus*, and *C. Cassius Longinus* were choten *Consuls*. The next Day six *Prætors* were chosen; two of which continued in *Rome*, to judge the Causes of *Citizens*, and *Foreigners*; one was ordered, for *Spain*; another, for *Sicily*; a fifth, for *Sardinia*; and the last was commanded to be in a Readiness to be sent, wherever he should appear to be most wanted.

So that nothing now remained for the *Romans*, but to engage their Gods to prosper their Arms in the important War they were going to begin. Superstition was always at the Head of their Enterprises. The Senate therefore issued out two Ordinances. The first, That *Popilius* should promise *Jupiter*, to celebrate *Games* to his Honour, for ten Days, if the Republick continued prosperous for ten Years. The *Pontifex Maximus* drew up the Vow, and the *Consul* pronounced it after him in due Form. By that means, the People and Senate of *Rome* engaged themselves to celebrate those Shows at the Expence of the Publick. And the second Ordinance was, That as soon as the *Consuls* elect entered upon their Office, they should offer up to the Gods a great Number of Victims of the first Sort, to obtain the Blessings of Heaven on the Arms of the Republick.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXII.

P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, C.  
CASSIUS LONGI-  
NUS, Con-  
suls.

*Livy*, B. 42.  
c. 30.

§. XXVI. THEN the Day soon came, when the new *Consuls* were to begin their *Consulate*, and all the Altars swam with the Blood of the Victims. After the *Auspices* had consulted the Entrails, they answered, *That it was necessary to begin the War with all Speed; and That the Gods promised the Republick to increase her Dominions*. And when the *Consuls* had made a Report of these Prognosticks, and these Answers to the Senate, *The Fathers* immediately pronounced a Decree, which put the last Hand to the Declaration of War with *Perses*. It was drawn up in these Words. *May the Design we are forming turn to the Welfare and Advantage of the Roman People! It shall be declared to the Comitia assembled, That Perses has broken the Treaty, which was made with his Father, and which he renewed himself; That he has taken up Arms against our Allies, seized their Cities, and laid their Fields waste; That he has long secretly formed a Design to make War with us; That he has made Preparations for it, stored his Magazines with Arms and Provisions, and equipped a Fleet; and lastly, That he has solicited our Allies to revolt; and That for these Reasons we desire the People to order a War to be carried on in Macedon*. The new *Consuls* were appointed to pronounce this Decree in the *Comitia*, and make the Motion; and the assembled People consented to the War, and ordered it to be begun, in case *Perses* refused to give the *Romans* just Satisfaction. But these two Decrees served only to make the Declaration of War legal in Point of Form. It had been before resolved on. Preparations were made for it; and a *Prætor* was going to begin Hostilities.

THERE was nothing wanting for the new Enterprize, but a General; and by Right, one of the new *Consuls* ought to have *Macedon* for his Province. It was a very fine one, in which there was much Glory to be acquired; and therefore both the Collegues were ambitious of it. However, there was a regular Way of ending their Dispute, which was by Lot. But *Cassius* thought to have gotten this Advantage from *Licinius*, without leaving it to depend upon Chance. He made use of this Chicanery with his Collegue. *Licinius* had formerly, when he was *Prætor*, excused himself from going into his Province, under Pretence that he had Sacrifices to offer in the City, at which he must necessarily be present; and had likewise sworn, in a publick Assembly, that this was not a feigned Excuse, but real Truth. And *Cassius* now contended, that it was as unlawful for *Licinius* to go out of *Italy* in his *Consulship*, as it had been in his *Prætorship*. The Contest grew warm, and it wa

<sup>33</sup> *Justin* is mistaken, when in his 33<sup>d</sup> Book he makes one *Sulpicius* to have been *Cassius Longinus's* Collegue. Such Mistakes are not uncommon with this Historian.



brought before the Senate; who determined, that since *Licinius* had been raised to the *Consular* Dignity by the Suffrages of the People, he could not upon any Account be deprived of any of the Privileges of his Office. So that at last Lots were cast for the *Consular* Provinces; and *Licinius* was the happy Man. *Macedon* fell to him; and *Italy*, to *Cassius*. The former had the Command of the only Army that was to fight *Battels*. The Troops of the latter were only to keep the *Ligures* in Awe. One went to make War with *Perses*; the other had no Enemy to fight with.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXII.  
P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, C.  
CASSIUS LONGI-  
NUS, Con-  
sul.

And therefore there was a great deal of Difference made by the Senate in the Division of the Troops between the two *Consuls*. Indeed they at first ordered four new *Legions* to be raised, two for each *Consul*; which was the usual Allotment. No *Consular* Army consisted of less than two *Legions*, as every *Prætorian* Army contained at least one. But in all other Circumstances, *Licinius* had the Advantage. Each of *Cassius's* *Legions* consisted of only five thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse; but those of his Collegue consisted each of six thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse. The *Consul*, who was to act in *Macedon*, had also sixteen thousand auxiliary Foot, and eight hundred Horse added to his *Legions*; besides the *Prætorian* Army, with which *Licinius* was already gone to the *Levant*. Whereas, the *Consul* who was to continue in *Italy*, was allowed only twelve thousand auxiliary Foot, and six hundred Horse. *Licinius* had likewise Leave given him, to choose out as many as he pleased of the best of the Veterans, which were not yet fifty Years old. And lastly, the People waved their Right of nominating a certain Number of *Legionary Tribunes*, and left the Choice of them to the Generals. A Commission was given to the sixth *Prætor*, who had no fixed Province, to equip a Fleet at *Brundisium*, review the Seamen there, and recruit them. He also had Orders to raise two thirds of the Rowers among the *Freedmen* of *Rome*, and one third only among the Allies. *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Corfica*, furnished Provisions for the Army designed for *Macedon*; and to that end the *Sicilians* and *Sardinians* were obliged to pay two tenths to the Republick.

§. XXVII. BUT these Dispositions were not made without some Opposition. When the *Consul Licinius* made his Levies, there were two things that seemed new in them. First, no *Citizen*, that was past forty five Years of Age, had ever yet been forced to serve; whereas, now such as were fifty were pressed into the Service. And secondly, The *Consuls* were now suffered to choose their own Subalterns themselves; and they overlooked the old *Centurions*, whose Youth had been spent in Arms. Three and twenty of these old Officers were offended at this. They thought themselves injured, and had recourse to the *Tribunes of the People*. Two of that College declared for the *Consuls*; and the other eight for the Malecontents. The Affair was brought before the *Comitia*; and *Popilius*, the eldest *Tribune*, who had been *Consul* two Years before, made a seditious Harangue. This incendiary represented to the People; That the old Warriors who brought their Complaints before their Tribunal, had spent the best Parts of their Lives in the Fatigues of War; That they had served the Republick as long as the Laws required; That they were still ready to enter into the Service again; and That it was but just therefore, to put them upon the same Foot on which they had been, under former Generals. The *Consul Licinius* said in his Defence, That the Senate had given him leave to choose as many Veterans as he pleased, not exempting the Soldiers who were fifty from the Service; to dispose of his Troops as he pleased, as to Rank and Pre-eminence; and to nominate the Officers for his *Legions*; and concluded his Speech, with entreating the People not to obstruct the Levies that were making for so important a War; and with protesting, That he had no Regard to any thing but the publick Good, in the Choice he had made of his *Centurions*.

WHEN *Licinius* had done speaking, one of the twenty three Malecontents desired Leave of the *Consul*, and *Tribunes*, to speak in his Turn; and he spake thus. My Name is *Ligustinus*, and I am of the *Crustumian* Tribe. All the Inheritance my Father left me, was a little Land, and the Hut in which I was born. The Wife I married brought me no Portion, but an honest and unspotted Chastity, and by the Blessing of the Gods a numerous Offspring. She has brought me eight Children, six Boys and two Girls. The latter are provided for. Four of my Sons are grown up to be Men, and fit to serve in the Troops. This is the State of my Family; and my Services are these. I made my two first Campaigns in *Macedon*, in the Consulship of *Sulpicius*



Year of R O M E DLXXXIII. P. LICINIUS CRASSUS, C. CASSIUS LONGINUS, Consuls. Liv. B. 42. c. 34.

Sulpicius and Aurelius; and was then only a private Centinel. Two Years after, Flamininus made me a Centurion, in the tenth <sup>34</sup> Order of the Hastati. Philip was overcome. I returned to Rome, and was disbanded. Then that I might not continue idle, I followed Cato into Spain: And that severe Judge of Men and Manners made me first Captain of the Hastati. After this, I went as a Volunteer in the Army which went into Greece, to make War with Antiochus, and the Ætolians. Then the Consul Acilius made me first a Centurion of the Principes. We subdued the King of Syria, and the Ætolians his Allies. And after this I served twice more in Spain. I returned from thence to Rome with Fulvius Flaccus, to assist at his Triumph; and then immediately went back at the Desire of Sempronius Gracchus to the same Province; where I was made first Centurion of the Triarii. I have gained above thirty Prizes of Valour, and among the rest six Civic Crowns, which all speak in my Favour. And in one Word, I have served twenty two, though the Laws only require a Citizen to serve twenty Years <sup>35</sup>, and am past fifty. What Right then has any Man to make me light again? Besides, are not my four Sons able to supply my Place in the Roman Armies?

Livy ibid.

THIS Discourse of Ligustinus evidently proved the Justice of his Cause; and the People were ready to dismiss him with Honour. But he proceeded to add, what proved him to have as much Probity as Valour. But after all, said he, though no Man can, with any Reason, force me into the Service, yet I don't refuse to dedicate the Remains of my Life to my Country; and I leave it to my Governors to place me in what Station they please. All my Business ought to be, to take care not to appear unworthy of the Post in which they put me. And as for you, dear fellow-Soldiers, though you are injured, and your Appeal is just, yet follow my Example. Continue to shew the same Deference to our Generals, which you have done from your Childhood? What does it signify, after all, in what Rank they place us? To defend Rome, and maintain her Interest by Arms, without any Regard to selfish Views, is true Roman Virtue. These Words made an Impression on all the Appellants. The Consul highly commended Ligustinus in the Assembly, and immediately carried him to the Senate. The Conscrip Fathers not only approved of his Conduct, but thanked him. All Discontents ceased, and the Levies were carried on without any Disturbance.

Livy, B. 42. c. 36.

BESIDES the Consular Armies, four Legions were raised in the Cities to be kept by way of Reserve in Rome, to be sent wherever there should be Occasion. Licinius also desired new Reinforcements for Macedon; and he was promised two thousand Ligures, as many Cretan Archers as could be raised in the Island, a Body of Numidian Horse, and some Elephants. To this end, Deputations were sent to Crete, Carthage, and King Masinissa. The Prætors of Sicily and Sardinia had Orders to furnish the Army in Macedon, with Corn. And lastly, the Ferie Latinæ were held in the Temple of Jupiter Latialis, and the Consuls received their Investitures on the first Day of June. All things were preparing at Brundisium, for embarking Licinius, and his Troops, when new Ambassadors came from King Perses. But they were not suffered to enter the City. They had been declared Enemies to Rome by the People and Senate; and were therefore brought to an Audience without the Walls, in the Temple of Bellona. There the Macedonians represented that it was needless to send an Army into Macedon. Perses, said they, is ready to give the Republick all the Satisfaction that she requires. But the Senate perceived, That the Design of the Embassy was to gain time; and therefore only asked the Ambassadors whether it was not true, That their Master had seized Perræbia; That he had taken some Cities in Thessaly; and That he had made Preparations for War? To this the Ambassadors gave a confused Answer. The Infraction of the Treaties was notorious; and this was enough. The Deputies were sent back with this Answer. That a Consul would soon be sent into Macedon; and That Perses might treat with him, if he was sincerely inclined to give the Romans Satisfaction. Then the Macedonians had Notice given them not to appear again in Rome, and to leave Italy in eleven Days. Sp. Carvilius was ordered to watch them, and keep them always in Sight till they were gone; and nothing was talked of in Rome but the War with Perses. It was thought very necessary for her to maintain herself in the Possession of a sovereign Authority over all the East.

34 By the tenth Order of the Hastati, Livy here means the tenth Manipulus. We have observed in the second Volume, that the Latin Word Ordo, which answers to the Greek Term τάγμα, signified any sort of little Battalion, because the Legions were actually

divided into Manipuli. See what we have there of the Soldiery of the ancient Romans.

35 See what we have said in the preceding Volume of the Years which the military Laws required of the Roman Citizen to serve in the Army, particularly



# T H E

# Roman History.

## B O O K XLIV.

§. I. **T**HE Eyes of all the World were now fixed on the new War which the *Romans* were going to make in *Macedon*. The Sovereigns, Republicks, and free Cities of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, were all interested in it. On this depended the Weight of the Yoke which the imperious Republick imposed upon the Potentates, more than on their Subjects; or their Deliverance from it. And every one wished well to one or the other Party, as his Interest led him. The East was divided. *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus* was a personal and avowed Enemy to the *Macedonian*. He hated him as his Assassin. *Antiochus Epiphanes*, King of *Syria*, was yet full of the Grandeur and Majesty of the *Romans*; and as he had been brought up by the Republick, depended on her Protection. He expected, by Help of their Patronage, to preserve the Kingdom of *Syria*; and to invade that of *Egypt*, as Guardian to the young Princes his Nephews. *Cælo-Syria* and *Judæa* were already subject to him. Among the People of God, *Epiphanes* changed the High-Priests at Pleasure, and sold the Priesthood and Regal Power together, to the Ambitious. And all these Usurpations could not be preserved, but under Shelter of the *Romans*. So that the King of *Syria* was one of the most zealous Advocates they had among all the Sovereigns in *Asia*. Whilst on the other hand, *Ptolomy Philometor* had no stronger Barrier against the Inundation of the *Syrians* into *Egypt*, than the Authority of *Rome*. He therefore cultivated her Friendship with Care, and trembled at every Order of the *Roman* Senate and People. *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*, had entered into too strict Engagements with the Republick, and with *Eumenes*, to be able to break them. He was Father-in-law to the King of *Pergamus*; and had just committed to the *Romans* the Care of the Education of his Son, the only Hopes of his Throne. This was a Pledge of his Affection, and a Security for his Fidelity. *Prusias* of *Bitbynia* was the only King of *Asia*, who observed a perfect Neutrality. He respected the *Romans*; but had married the Sister of *Perfes*. And the politick *Bythinian* delayed chusing his Party, till he saw what Turn Things would take; being always sure to be able to reconcile himself with *Macedon*, thro' the Interposition of his Wife; and to get the *Romans* to excuse him from taking up Arms against his Brother-in-law *Perfes*. So that of all the chief Monarchs in *Asia*, *Rome* had not one against her; and the greatest Part of them had promised her Succours of Men and Ammunition.

ON the Side of *Africa*, *Masinissa* declared openly for the *Romans*; and *Carthage* durst neither take up Arms against them, nor even refuse assisting her Conquerors. *Masinissa*, in Gratitude to the Republick his Benefactress, was preparing to send *Misagenes*, his natural Son, into *Macedon*, with Provisions, Troops, and Elephants, for the War with *Perfes*. But after all, his principal Aim was to profit by the Comotions in *Europe*. If *Rome* should be conquered, he could make himself Master of all those Dominions of *Carthage*, which the *Romans*, out of Policy, would not suffer him to invade. If *Rome* should be victorious, he would have the Merit of having assisted her, in her Designs. So that whatever the Condition of *Rome* should be after the War, the *Numidian* King had nothing to lose, and a great deal to hope for.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXII.  
P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, C.  
CASSIUS LONGINUS, Con-  
suls.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXII.  
P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, C.  
CASSIUS LONGI-  
NUS, Con-  
suls.

As for *Perfes*, he was almost reduced to his Kingdom of *Macedon* only. Scarce any Body declared openly for him, but *Cotys* the King of the *Odryfians* in *Thrace*, a People of whom the Ancients have left us very uncertain Accounts. Indeed *Gentius* King of *Illyricum*, had given some plain Proofs of a settled Correspondence with the *Macedonian*. But could the latter depend on an inconstant, capricious Prince, who was wholly governed by Humour? A sudden Start of Passion, or Turn of Thought, was sufficient to draw him off from a Confederacy to which he had bound himself by the strictest Ties. As for the Republicks, and free Cities of *Greece*, in *Europe* and *Asia*, the Hearts of the People were more inclined towards the *Macedonian*, than the *Romans*; but their Governours seemed divided among themselves. Those who espoused the Interests of *Rome*, did it with too much Warmth. Their Zeal made them suspected; and they thereby injured the Cause which they embraced. Besides, their Views were too selfish. Few of them acted purely upon a Motive of supporting the Equity of the *Roman* Cause. The greatest Part aimed only at aggrandizing themselves. And among the *Greeks* which favoured *Perfes*, there were some who, being determined to follow any Measures that were for their Interest, had been surprized into the King's Party, not so much by his Bounties, as his Promises. Others followed the Example of the People, and conformed themselves to their Inclinations, in order to obtain their Suffrages in the Diets. And lastly, others were over-run with Debts, and desired a Revolution, only in order to recover their Credit. Whilst the wisest Part were neither for the Ruin of the *Romans*, or the entire Destruction of *Perfes*; but for such an Equality between the two Powers, as would secure the Tranquillity of *Greece*, and leave it independent. These sensible Men, who were but few in Number, were only Spectators of the Divisions in the Diets and Assemblies of the Cities. In one Word, the *Greeks* scarce concerned themselves at all in the new War, more than in Words. They acted very little in it.

§. II. Whilst the World was thus kept in Suspence between the two most warlike Nations in the Universe, *Sicinius* arrived in *Epirus*, to pave the Way for the Expedition of the Consul *Licinius*. The *Prætor* pitched his first Camp near *Nymphæum*<sup>1</sup>, in the Territory of *Apollonia*. His little Army consisted of only five thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse. That is, he had only transported one entire *Legion*, with the Auxiliaries that the Allies were obliged to add to it. At the Solicitation of the Inhabitants themselves, he sent two thousand Men to seize some Castles, and other Ports, in the Country of the *Dassaretæ*; to hinder the Communication between *Illyricum* and *Macedon*, and to facilitate the Passage of the *Consular* Army when it should arrive. At the same time, landed at *Corcyra* five Commissioners from *Rome*, with a thousand Soldiers, which they were to divide among them, to guard them, as they went to visit the Cities of *Greece*. *Publius* and *Servius Lentulus*, were to go from *Cephalonia* into *Peloponnesus*. *Q. Marcius* and *A. Attilius*, went thro' *Epirus*, *Ætolia*, *Thessaly*, *Eubœa*, and *Bœotia*, where they were to join the *Lentuli*. And *Decimius's* Orders were, to go into *Illyricum*, to sound King *Gentius*, and to make the last Attempt to bring him to the *Roman* Party. These Deputies were no sooner come to *Corcyra*, but an Envoy from *Perfes* brought them a Letter thither. The King of *Macedon* demanded to know of them, with what Design they were come into *Greece*; and why they began to put Garrisons into free Cities? But the five *Romans* would not vouchsafe to write to the King. They only gave the Envoy this verbal Answer, That their only Design was to secure the Places which belonged to their Friends and Allies. Then the Commissioners separated, to go to the Places assigned them. The Negotiations of the two *Lentuli* in *Peloponnesus*, did not meet with an universal Approbation. The *Achæans* complained of the little Regard that had been shewn them. *We have at all times*, said they, *and especially in the two Wars with Philip, and Antiochus the Great, been inviolably attached to the Romans. Nevertheless, the Commissioners, in their Speeches, are as liberal of their Praises on the Messenians and Ætolians, as on us. Tho' these formerly took up Arms against their Republick,*

<sup>1</sup> There were two Promontories called *Nymphæum*; one of which was in *Macedon*, near Mount *Athos*, in the South Part of this Kingdom. The *Italians* now call it *Capo Nymphæo*. The other,

which is here spoken of, was near the River *Amphacus* in the *Ionian* Sea. It is now *Capo Pali*. *Pliny* says, that from the latter Fires sometimes burst out, but did no Damage in the Neighbourhood.



and have been but very lately received into the Achæan League. But these Re- Year of  
proaches were of no Consequence; they only shewed how delicate the *Greeks* were; R O M E  
and taught the Deputies to be more guarded in their Expressions. DLXXXII.

*MARCIUS* and *Attilius* were more successful in their Negotiations. They P. LICINIUS  
went into *Epirus*, assembled the National Diet at *Gitane*<sup>2</sup>, and were favourably CRASSUS, C.  
heard. The *Epirots* lent them a Body of four hundred Men, whom they sent to CASSIUS LONG-  
the Assistance of <sup>3</sup> *Orestis*, a *Macedonian* Province which had revolted from *Per- fulc.*  
*ses*. From thence they came to *Ætolia*; where they did not tarry long. The  
whole Country was well disposed towards *Rome*; and *Lyciscus* the chief of the  
*Ætolians* was devoted to her Interest. Then the Commissioners fell down into  
*Thessaly*; where they met the Deputies of *Acarmania*, and *Bæotia*. The two *Ro-*  
*mans* represented to the former, That Heaven offered them a favourable Opportu-  
nity to repair their past Faults. *Signalize yourselves as much now*, said they, *by*  
*your constant Fidelity for Rome, as you formerly did by your inveterate Hatred to her.*  
And *Marcus* and *Attilius* reproached the *Bæotians* with the new Engagements they  
had entered into with *Perses*. But they threw the Blame on *Ismenias*, their *Præ-*  
*tor*, and a few Cities which it was easy to distinguish from the faithful ones. To  
which the *Romans* answered, That Care would be taken of that Matter. In short,  
the *Roman* Deputies assembled the *Bæotian* Diet. And lastly, as for the *Thessali-*  
*ans*, they were told how great a Satisfaction it was to the *Romans* to have seen  
their sincere Attachment to *Rome* in the Wars with *Philip* and *Antiochus*. But af-  
ter all, *Greece* was still wavering; and *Rome* could not absolutely depend on so  
many free Cities, and so many Men, which were naturally full of Levity, and  
given to Faction.

BUT whilst *Quintus Marcus* was residing in *Thessaly*, *Perses* conceived Hopes of  
being able to reconcile himself to him, and employ him usefully in a Mediation  
with his Republick. *Marcus* was of a Family which had long been in Friendship  
with the Kings of *Macedon*. They and the *Marcii* had been united by the mutual  
Ties of Hospitality; and this very *Marcus* had given himself the Surname of *Phi-*  
*lip*, out of Respect to the late King, the Father of *Perses*. Besides, this Commis-  
sioner had Interest and Weight at *Rome*. He had been promoted to the *Consulate*  
fifteen Years ago; and had still Interest enough among the People to obtain that  
Honour a second time. *Perses* therefore thought, that thro' the Assistance of an  
old Friend of his Father's, he might appease the Anger of the *Romans*, and avert  
the Storm that threatened him: and immediately dispatched away Envoys to *Thes-*  
*saly*, where *Marcus* and *Attilius* were then residing. The Deputies chose to address  
themselves first to *Marcus*, whose Heart must have been better disposed towards their  
Master; and he received them graciously. The first Compliments turned on the old  
Hospitality settled between King *Philip* and the *Marcian* Family; and then the *Mace-*  
*donian* Deputies desired that *Perses* might have a Conference with the *Roman* En-  
voys in *Thessaly*. *Marcus* answered, That he remembered with Pleasure, the  
Friendship his Father had had for *Philip*; and That he would not decline the In-  
terview. *Let Perses*, said he, *come to the Banks of the Peneus, at the Time that*  
*we shall appoint; and we will meet him, at the Foot of Mount Omolus*<sup>4</sup>, *in the*  
*Road to Dium*<sup>5</sup>. This News kindled some Sparks of Hope in the King's Breast.  
He rejoiced greatly at the favourable Reception which *Marcus* had given his Am-  
bassadors; and then prepared to appear at the Place appointed, in all the State that  
became the Majesty of a King. He took a good Number of Courtiers with him;  
and ordered all his Guards to attend him. And the two *Roman* Commissioners were  
not attended with a less splendid Retinue. They set out from *Larissa*, with the  
Deputies of all the Nations of *Greece*. The latter were very desirous of being  
present at the Conference, that they might inform their respective Diets of the Re-

<sup>2</sup> *Gitane*, or rather *Ginate*, was a City that be-  
longed to *Chaonia* in *Epirus*, at a little Distance  
from *Oricum*.

<sup>3</sup> *Orestis*, a Canton of old *Epirus*, bordered up-  
on the Country of the *Molossi*, and *Macedon*. We  
have already spoken of the People of this Country;  
and of *Argi* their capital City, which was surnamed  
*Orestium*, because founded by *Orestes* the Son of  
*Agamemnon*.

<sup>4</sup> The *Omolus* is a Mountain in *Thessaly*, which  
is a Part of the *Pelion*. It commanded the City of  
*Thebes* in *Phthiotis*. *Ptolomy* speaks of a City of  
the same Name which belonged to *Magnesia*.

<sup>5</sup> We have several times spoken of *Dium*, a ma-  
ritime City of *Pieria*, a Province of *Macedon*. It  
stood between the Mouths of the Rivers *Haliacmon*  
and *Pharibus*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXII.  
P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, C.  
CASSIUS LONGINUS, Con-  
suls.

sult of it. Besides, an Interview between the greatest King in *Europe*, and the Deputies of the most powerful Republick in the World, must be a fine Sight, and more worthy of the Curiosity of the *Greeks*, than the *Olympick*, or *Isthmian Games*.

§. III. IN a few Days all was ready; and the King on one Part, and the Roman Commissioners on the other, came to the Place appointed. The River *Peneus* divided the Deputies of *Rome* from the *Macedonian*; and when they saw one another on the opposite Banks, the Ceremonial raised a Sort of Dispute. The *Romans* pretended, That the King ought to pass the River, and come to them. *Perses*, said they, *desired the Interview; and it is beneath the Dignity of the Romans to stoop to a King*. On the other hand, *Perses* insisted on his Right of Sovereignty. In order to terminate this Dispute, many Deputies on both Sides crossed the River, backwards and forwards; and at last *Marcus* put an End to it by a Jest, which had a better Effect than the most solid Reasons. *My Surname*, said he, *is Philip, the Name of the Father of Perses. Is it not then regular that the Son should make the first Advances towards his Father? Besides, let him consider my Age!* This Turn did not displease the King; neither did the King value passing the River, as soon as he had a Pretence to save his Honour. All the Dispute was now concerning the Number of the *Macedonians* which should cross the River with the King. The Commissioners insisted, that there should only three Persons come with him; or that he should give Hostages, if he brought all his Guards. There was Reason to fear Violence from a Prince who had but an ill Character, with Regard to Fidelity; and *Perses* was not so difficult on this Head as the former. He gave for Hostages, *Hippias* and *Pantauchus*, his dearest Confidants, whom he had sent to *Marcus*, in *Thessaly*. His Resentment at the Affront of being suspected of Treachery was not so great, as his Fondness for the idle Vanity of being attended in a pompous Manner.

*PERSES* therefore appeared on the opposite Bank, with all his Guards; but all, except himself and the Deputies, retired. Three Seats were set for them; and when they were seated, *Marcus* spoke first, in this manner. *I take it for granted*, said he to the King, *that you expect I should give you an Answer to the Letter you wrote to us at Corcyra. We see what Complaints you there make, of our Precipitation in guarding the Greek Cities, and putting Roman Garrisons in them; and if you will give me Leave, I will open to you the true Motives of this prudent Precaution. You have put us under a Necessity of either reducing you by Force of Arms, or bringing you to Reason by salutary Remonstrances: and we, like good Physicians, are desirous of trying once more, what Effect can be wrought upon you by Conferences; because the gentlest Method we can take. As for me, I am thankful to the Gods, that I am not put at the Head of our Armies. I should then be forced, in spite of my self, to punish with the Sword, your Breaches of the Treaty, which you have renewed with Rome. How often have you contravened it? You have driven out of your Dominions Abrupolis, a Friend and Ally of the Roman People. You have given the Assassins of King Artetarus a Retreat in your Dominions; and, to say no more, you seemed to discover a malicious Joy at his Death. Yet Artetarus was the most attached to the Interests of Rome, of any of the little Sovereigns of Illyricum. You have drawn off Bocotia from us, and entered into private Negotiations with her. Two Deputies came to Rome from Thebes to complain of it; and I had rather be informed by you, who it was that assassinated them upon the Road, than impute their Deaths to you. Besides, who can be thought the Cause of the Civil Wars in Aetolia but yourself? You have also made War in Dolopia, and ravaged it in Person; and 'tis with Horror, that I put you in mind of the designed Assassination of King Eumenes. He came to Delphi, to offer a Sacrifice, and had very like to have fallen a Victim there himself. And who is accused of this, you very well know. That Rammius of Brundisium, who used to entertain the foreign Lords, and our Generals at his House, has too openly defamed you at Rome, for you to be ignorant of it. And yet, you ask why we make War in Macedon, and fortify the Cities of Greece? If these Reproaches are tedious to you, the Way to have avoided them, would have been to have carried on the War, without enquiring into the Reasons which oblige us to bring it upon you. But you seemed to desire to know our Motives. I have declared them to you, with the Sincerity of a*

Friend



*And happy are you, if you can give us such Answers as will be allowed to be valid by the Senate.*

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXII.

P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, C.  
CASSIUS LONGI-  
NUS, Con-  
suls.

*Perſes, without ſeeming to be diſconcerted at this Diſcourſe, answered it in theſe Words. My Accuſers are my Judges; but nevertheless, my Cauſe is ſo good, that I neither fear their Accuſation, nor their Judgments. I can with Honour avow ſome of the Articles that are made Crimes in me, and glory in part of theſe pretended Grievances; and I can answer others, in one Word, ſince they are only Reproaches, without Proof. It is pretended, that I ordered Eumenes to be aſſaſinated, and perſuaded Rammius to poiſon your Generals. Has then a Prince, who is ſo much hated by his Neighbours as the King of Pergamus, no Enemy but me? Should I have choſen no Body to execute the Treachery imputed to me, but a wretched Inhabitant of Brundisium, who was unknown to me? Or would even a private Citizen have been condemned on uncertain Preſumptions, in any Court of Juſtice in the World, but at Rome? It is alſo ſaid, that I cauſed the Theban Ambaſſadors to be murdered in their return from Rome. But don't you know, that they were drowned at Sea? Indeed the Aſſaſſins of King Artetarus did take Refuge in my Dominions. But are we reſponſible for all the Malefactors that ſeek Refuge in our Territories? Is the Republick chargeable with the Crimes of all the Exiles, which have fled for Safety into Italy? This is as much the Caſe of all other Nations in the World as mine. Nay, I actually did more againſt thoſe Wretches, than could have been demanded of me. As ſoon as I heard from Rome that they were retired to Macedon, I drove them from thence. Theſe are the things that are laid to my charge, conſidered in my private Character; and the Steps that I am reproached with, as King of Macedon, are as follow. It is ſaid, that I have broken the Treaty made, and renewed with Rome. But what does that Treaty mean? Does it oblige me to ſit ſtill when I am attacked, and tamely ſuffer my Frontiers to be ravaged, without Oppoſition? No ſurely. It only obliges me to keep within my Limits. Abrupolis was an unjuſt Aggreſſor; and he has ſuffered the Punishment due to his Raſhneſs. The Law of Nations empowered me to ſtand upon the deſenſive. Where then is my Crime? The War I made was juſt; I conquered; and my Enemy periſhed. Do you then reproach me with what is truly my Glory? And I had yet juſter Motives to make War on the Dolopes. Their Province was a Part of my Dominions. Rome herſelf ſubjected it to the Authority of my Father. Nevertheless, theſe Rebels had pretended to be independent. They had barbarouſly murdered the Governors I had ſent to them; and this drew upon them the Punishment I inflicted on this untractable People. Shall it alſo be charged upon me as a Crime, that I took a Journey to Delphi, to a Temple highly revered throughout all Greece? But it is objected, that I carried an Army with me. Indeed I had accidentally brought it to my Frontiers, and it ſerved to guard me through Greece. But did it commit any Devaſtations, or take any Cities? And as to my Alliance with Boeotia, why ſhould this be taken ill? I both notified and excuſed it to the Senate of Rome; where I had ſome Oppoſers, who were not ſo able, or ſo favourable Judges, as Marcius. And laſtly, Eumenes is, it ſeems, come to give your Conſcript Fathers ill Impreſſions of me; and he is poſitive, that the Liberty you have granted Greece will never be ſafe, as long as Macedon ſhall be governed by Kings. I ſhall therefore retort the ſame Accuſation upon himſelf, and affirm, that Antiochus, whom you drove beyond Mount Taurus, never created ſo many Troubles in Aſia, as the barbarous Eumenes. Tranquillity is never to be hoped for, as long as he continues upon the Throne. Whereas, all the Reproaches that are thrown upon me, are wholly founded in Prejudice and Fancy. My Deſigns are explained, and my innocent Actions, are ſaid to proceed from bad Motives. Whereas, my own Conſcience is the only proper Judge of them; and to that I can ſafely appeal. Beſides, do inward Deſigns deſerve to be revenged with open War? What will become of that great Regard for Equity, for which your Republick is ſo famous; if ſhe allows ſinifter Conſtructions and Interpretations of Things, to be a ſufficient Foundation for Ruin and Slaughter?*

Livy, B. 43.  
c. 42.

*THIS Answer appeared to the two Commiſſioners to be more artful than true; nevertheless Marcius pretended to be convinced by it: and he adjured the King, by the ancient Hoſpitality that had united his Family to that of the Kings of Macedon, to ſend an Embaſſy to Rome, to explain his Reaſons to the Senate, and convince*



Year of R O M E DLXXXII. P. LICINIUS CRASSUS, C. CASSIUS LONGINUS, Consuls.

vince them of their Force. The artful *Roman* had his Views in it. On the side of *Rome*, every thing was not yet ready for the War; neither was the *Consul Licinius* yet arrived. It was therefore necessary to gain time, and suspend the Operations of the Campaign. If *Perses* had immediately entered upon Action, he might have seized the Passes, and made it more difficult for his Enemies to enter his Dominions. The *Roman* therefore was for amusing him with false Hopes; and the King fell into the Snare. He desired a Truce till the Ambassadors returned. And *Marcus*, though very willing to do it, feigned Difficulties, and made it Matter of great Favour to grant the *Macedonian* what was only to his own Prejudice. But at length *Perses* sent away the Embassy; an end was put to the Conference; and the Commissioners came into *Bæotia*.

§. IV. THAT Province was all in a Flame, as soon as it was known that the two *Roman* Deputies came to find out the Cities that had joined with *Perses*, and those which still adhered to the Republick. The Envoys of *Cheronæa* and *Thebes* came first before the Commissioners; and they protested, that they were not present at the Assembly, which had entered into Engagements with *Macedon*. Nevertheless *Attilius* and *Marcus* gave no other Answer to this Vindication of their Conduct; but only ordered them to follow them to *Chalcis*. After this the two *Romans* continued their Rout, and when they came to the City of *Thebes*, they found it divided.

IN the last Diet of *Bæotia*, the Heads, and chief Officers of the State had been created. But there was a Party which did not approve of the Election, and these Malecontents had assembled at *Thebes*, where they had made a Decree, forbidding any to recognize the Authority of the new Magistrates. The latter had at first voluntarily banished themselves, and retired to <sup>6</sup> *Thespiæ*. But they had soon after been recalled, and then they passed Sentence of Death on the Authors of the first Decree. The new *Prætor Ismenias*, had been the chief Author of this cruel Judgment; and then the Persons condemned had recourse to the Justice of the *Roman* Commissioners, and charged *Ismenias* with having been the Agent employed in the Alliance which *Bæotia* had made with *Perses*. Hence the mutual Accusations that the Condemned on one side, and *Ismenias* on the other, brought against one another before *Attilius* and *Marcus*: and the *Romans* brought both Parties to, what was with them, the capital Point; that is, to renounce the Alliance with *Perses*, and prefer that with *Rome*; but with some Difference. *Ismenias* was for *Bæotia's* embracing the Cause of *Rome* in a national Body; but the Condemned were for every particular City's declaring for the *Roman* Republick. And this last Expedient was most agreeable to the Commissioners. They would thereby more easily discover the real Sentiments of all the *Bæotians*. So that the Deputies of particular Cities were more favourably received by the *Roman* Commissioners, than the General Officers of the Nation; and this brought *Ismenias* into Disgrace. Some of the Condemned even formed a Plot against his Life; and if he had not fled to the Tribunal of the two Commissioners for Refuge, he had been stoned to Death. And while these things were transacting at *Chalcis*, the Inhabitants of <sup>7</sup> *Coronæa*, and <sup>8</sup> *Haliartus* came to *Thebes*, to maintain the Interests of *Perses*. Their Design was to keep this Capital of *Bæotia* steady to the Alliance made with *Macedon*. But the Heads of *Thebes* remonstrated, That as far as they could judge by the Wars of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, the *Romans* would certainly prove strongest in the Dispute. So that *Ismenias*, *Nicon*, and *Hippias*, the Authors of the Treaty made with *Perses*, were sacrificed to the *Romans*. The two former were imprisoned, the third fled into *Macedon* for Refuge; and one *Dicetas*, another Advocate for *Perses*, was sent to the two Commissioners to make them Satisfaction. *Attilius* and *Marcus* received the Deputation of the *Thebans* with Pleasure; but insisted likewise, that the rest of the *Bæotian* Cities, should each

<sup>6</sup> *Thespiæ* was a City of *Bæotia*. It bordered on Mount *Helicon*; and from thence the *Muses*, to whom the Poets had consecrated this Mountain, were called *Thespiades*. *Pausanias* affirms, that the Inhabitants of this City, gloried in not understanding any Art, but that of Agriculture.

<sup>7</sup> *Coronæa*, which is to this Day called *Coronca*, belongs to old *Bæotia*. It is near Mount *Helicon*.

We have spoken of this City in the preceding Volumes.

<sup>8</sup> *Haliartus* also belonged to *Bæotia*. It stood near the Lake *Copias*, and the River *Permessus*. See what we have said of it in the third Volume and above, in this. The Ancients also speak of another City of this Name, which belonged to *Atsenia*, a Province in *Peloponnesus*.

(separately)



separately make solemn Protestations of their sincere Attachment to the *Roman* Year of  
 Republick. And at length the Condemned were settled again with Honour in their *R O M E*  
 native City, and the Friends of the *Macedonian* banished. After which the *Bæotian* DLXXXII.  
 League was destroyed; and most of the Cities lived independently of each other, P. LICINIUS  
 without any other Relation, but that of being Members of the same general Body, CRASSUS, C.  
 and living under the Protection of *Rome*. *Ismenias* and *Dicetas*, who were shut CASSIUS LON-  
 up in Prisons, laid violent Hands on themselves. And thus *Rome* again gained the GINUS, Con-  
 Superiority in *Bæotia*. suls.

FROM thence the two Commissioners went to *Peloponnesus*, and there found the People of *Achaia* better disposed towards them, than those of *Bæotia* had been. *Attilius* and *Marcus* demanded of the 9 *Archon*, that is, the chief Magistrate of the Country, some Troops to guard, and defend *Chalcis*; and the *Archon* immediately sent away a thousand Men to garrison it, till the *Roman* Troops arrived. Thus the two Commissioners destroyed, in a few Days, by their Negotiations, the Plots which *Perses* had began in *Greece*, many Years ago. The Truce which the *Macedonian* had demanded, gave the *Romans* time to destroy his Alliances, and unravel his Intrigues. His Dependence upon *Marcus*, and the Desire the latter affected to shew of Peace, ensnared him. Nevertheless, all the Cities of *Bæotia* did not desert the *Macedonian*. *Coronea* and *Haliartus* persisted in the Alliance they had made with him; and demanded Reinforcements of him, to enable them to hold out against the *Thebans*, the declared Friends of *Rome*. But *Perses* durst not march any Troops into *Bæotia*, for fear of breaking the Truce. Nevertheless we shall soon see, that he was a brave Warrior, though not a very refined Politician.

§. V. WHILEST it was yet uncertain, whether Peace or War would be the Fate of *Macedon*, three new Commissioners were sent to the Coasts of *Asia* to have a particular Eye on the Appearance, Motions, and Inclinations, of the *Rhodians*. *Rome* had suspected them for some time. *Rhodes* had thought her self injured by the *Romans*, and had given some plain Proofs of an Affection for *Perses*; and the *Roman* Senate thought that Republick was not to be neglected. In the War with *Philip* and *Antiochus*, she had sent great Supplies to the *Roman* Armies. She actually had at this time a Fleet of forty Sail in her Ports. These Ships were equip-

*Livy, B. 42.  
 45.*

9 The *Achaans*, and especially the *Athenians*, gave their chief Magistrates the Name of *Archons*. It is well known, that they had the supreme Authority in *Athens*. This City had been first governed by Kings, till the time of *Codrus*, who was the seventeenth, and last. He generously devoted himself to Death to save his Country, in a War it had to maintain with the *Dorians*. After his Death, the Citizens of *Athens*, believing that they could not find such another King as *Codrus*, altered the Government from a Monarchy, and put it into the Hands of *Archons*, to be elected by the People: and these Magistrates were of three sorts. At first their Power was perpetual, or for Life. Then it was limited to ten Years. And afterwards it was confined to one only; so that from being *Decennial*, the *Archons* became *Annual*.

There are reckoned up thirteen *Perpetual Archons*. They governed the State successively, for the Space of near three hundred Years, from *Melampus* the Son of *Codrus*, to *Alcmeon*, who was the last. But the Historians mention only seven *Decennial Archons*, who succeeded one another, without Interruption. *Charops* was the first to whom the *Athenians* committed the Administration for ten Years; and *Eryxias* the last. After him, the *Archons* became *Annual*, in the Time that *Numa* reigned at *Rome*; and the *Athenian* Republick was governed by these Magistrates for above six hundred Years; and even after the *Romans* had brought all *Greece* under their Dominion. But then the *Archons* governed only in Subjection to those Masters of the World.

Nine of these Magistrates were chosen every Year, and the sovereign Authority was lodged in

them all together. But the first only had the Name of *Archon*. He was as it were the Head of all the rest, by his Pre-eminence. The second was called *King*; the third *Polemarchos*; and the six others *Thesmothetæi*. The Jurisdiction of the first extended to all Matters of Justice and civil Policy. The publick Acts were dated by the Year of his Election; and were signed by him only, of the nine. The care of the *Sacrifices*, and what related to Religion, belonged to the *King*. It was his Province, to see that Order and Decency were preserved in the Celebration of the Festivals, and to take Cognizance of all Acts of Impiety, Sacrilege, or Prophaneness, that were committed throughout the whole *Athenian* Republick. The Command of the Troops, and the Superintendency of War, were the Province of the *Polemarchos*. And the six *Thesmothetæi* were to take care that the Laws were carefully preserved and obeyed. It was their Business to prevent, and reform, Abuses. Before *Solon's* time, these nine Magistrates were elected by a Majority of Voices. But this Lawgiver thought it would be better to have them chosen by Lot. After they were chosen, they were obliged to appear before the Senate, to undergo a severe Examination, and to be as it were invested in their Dignity. And the Approbation of the Senate was deemed null, unless confirmed by a general Assembly of the People. When they were out of their Office, they gave an Account of their Administration; and if their Administration was judged blameless, they always had Seats given them in the *Areopagus*. The most famous of the *Athenian Archons* were *Solon*, *Miltiades*, *Aristides*, *Themistocles*, *Alcibiades*, &c.



Year of  
ROM E  
DLXXXII.

P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, C.  
CASSIUS LON-  
GUS, Con-  
suls.  
Polyb. in Le-  
gat. N. 64.

ping with all Diligence; and it was not known for what Expedition they were designed. During these Transactions the *Roman* Deputies arrived; and they found the *Rhodians* better disposed than they had expected. *Hegesilochus*, who was entirely for the *Romans*, was then <sup>10</sup> *Prutanes*; which was the Title the *Rhodians* gave the chief Magistrate in their Republick; and as soon as he had discovered that *Rome* would carry the War into *Macedon*, he had assembled the People, and addressed himself to them, in this manner. *The Roman Forces are coming once more to exert themselves in the East. What then can we do better than join with Rome? We are become rich and powerful, by having assisted her in her former Expeditions. What then do we not owe her in point of Gratitude? Besides, our common Safety depends upon not dividing our Interests from hers. Let us not then be both ungrateful and imprudent! And if it be necessary for us to declare for Rome, let us not delay to the last Minute, the Succours which she has a Right to demand of us. Our Gallies lay unemployed in our Ports; let us equip them: and by our Diligence anticipate the Expectations of the Republick, our Benefactress. It is a troublesome thing to prepare an Armament with Hurry and Precipitation. Let Rome then find us prepared to serve her!* This Proposal of the *Prutanes* had been approved; and forty Gallies had been immediately equipped. So that upon the Arrival of the *Roman* Deputies, *Hegesilochus* gloried in his Foresight. He very respectfully shewed them his Armament, heard their Praises with Pleasure, and they went away well satisfied with the Zeal of the *Rhodians*.

BUT the *Roman* Envoys were scarce re-embarked, before Ambassadors arrived at *Rhodes* from *Perses*. They brought from the King a circular Letter, drawn up in the same manner, as those which he had written to several *Greek* Nations. He boasted of having brought *Marcus* and his Colleague to Reason; and added, *I expect from Rome Answers of Peace; and I, at all Events, depend on your Affection.* The Senate of *Rhodes* assembled to give Audience to the *Macedonian* Ambassadors; and the sole Aim of their Harangue, was to persuade the *Rhodians* to stand neuter, till War was openly declared. *By that means*, said they, *Rhodes will become the Arbitress of the Peace. By that means she will provide for her own Safety, and the Liberty of all Greece. Afterwards, if Rome shall obstinately persist in troubling the Repose of the East; it will then be your Business to take up Arms to defend yourself from Tyranny, and to guard against Surprizes.* This Discourse was heard with Attention; but the Senators were already prepossessed in favour of the *Romans*. So that the Reception given to the Deputies of *Macedon* went no farther than Civilities; and the Answer they received was not agreeable to the King. The *Prytanes* gave it in these Words. *We entreat Perses to ask nothing of us, which may be prejudicial to the Interests of Rome.* After this the Ambassadors withdrew, and carried nothing from *Rhodes* but Compliments. Thus ended the several Negotiations of the *Romans* and *Perses*, during the Truce. The *Romans* left almost all the Nations wherever they came strongly inclined to favour them; and *Lucius Decimus* alone, was unsuccessful in his Negotiation with *Gentius*. But he returned to *Rome*, loaded with a Suspicion, which was much to his Dishonour. It was pretended, that he had taken Money of the King of *Illyricum*.

Lucy. B. 42.  
C. 47.

§. VI. AND now, *Marcus* and *Attilius*, the Deputies sent to *Greece* were, by this time, returned to *Rome*; where they came into the Senate, and gave an Account of their Negotiations. They were well satisfied with what they had done; and particularly valued themselves upon the Truce, which they had brought *Perses* to desire, and demand with Earnestness. *We flattered him*, said they, *with vain Hopes of Peace, and thereby put him off his Guard. He has not stopped up the*

<sup>10</sup> The *Rhodians* had probably borrowed the Term *Prutanes* from the *Athenians*. The latter chose annually by Lot five hundred Senators to govern their State, that is, fifty in each of the ten Tribes, of which the Republick consisted; as each Tribe had its Turn of Precedency. The fifty Senators in Office were called *Prutaneis*; from thence the Place where they used to assemble was called *Prutaneon*; and the Term *Prutaneia* was used to signify the thirty five or thirty six Days, that they continued in Office. During this Space of time, ten of the

fifty *Prutanes* presided alternately by the Week under the Title of *Proedroi*. Each had his Day and he to whom the Presidentship fell was still *Epistates*. Nevertheless, the Senators of the other Tribes had a Right of Voting according to that Rank that was fallen to them by Lot. But it belonged to the *Prutaneis* to call the Assembly; the *Proedroi* to state the Subjects of their Debate and to the *Epistates* to collect the Votes, and pronounce according to the Majority.



*Passes against our Armies. The Consuls will find them open.* And on this Occasion the old Senators displayed their Virtue in the fullest Lustre. They thought the Proceedings of *Marcus* and *Attilius* blame-worthy. They said; *Should you have put a Cheat upon a King, though an Enemy? Are these Artifices agreeable to Roman Probity? Was it thus that our Ancestors conquered the Nations, and brought them into Subjection to their Dominion? They declared War, before they made it.* Nay, they often named the very Place, where the Disputes should be determined by Battels. They gave *Pyrrhus* an Account of the Physician, who offered to poison him. They sent back to the *Falisci* the young Nobility, whom a Traitor had brought to their Camp. It was by the Sword, and not by Tricks, that they got the Superiority over their Enemies. Let us then leave all Craft and Dissimulation to the Greeks and Carthaginians. An open Frankness, and true Valour, are the only Means a Roman ought to use, in order to conquer. But the young Senators were not so very scrupulous. They had learnt other Maxims, in their Commerce with the Eastern Nations. Artful Fetches to deceive an Enemy did not appear to them so odious, as they had formerly been. Chicanery began to be thought Prudence at Rome; and Deceit, Wisdom. The Conduct of the two Deputies was approved by the Majority of the House; and the *Macedonian* was laughed at for his Credulity. *Marcus* was sent to *Macedon* a second time, on board the Fleet, with *Attilius*, to seize *Larissa*. *Sicinius* had Orders to send two thousand Men on this Expedition; and to give *Lentulus* three hundred more, to keep *Bæotia* in Awe.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXII.  
P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, C.  
CASSIUS LON-  
GINUS, Con-  
suls.

THUS the War with *Perses* was too far advanced to be prevented; nevertheless Rome was willing, for Form's sake, to hear the last Ambassadors of this Prince. This was amusing herself at the Expence of the *Macedonian*. His Deputies laboured to justify their Master, as to the Assassination of *Eumenes*. To clear him of this, was to efface the greatest Reproach of his Life. But notwithstanding the Pains they took to colour over this black Action, they could not destroy that Conviction, which was founded in plain Proofs of the Crime. However, they endeavoured to move the Senate by Supplications. But the latter were too much exasperated, to be softened: and the Issue was, that the *Macedonians* were ordered to leave Rome instantly; and *Italy*, in thirty Days.

NOTHING now remained but to send away the Consular Army. The *Prætor*, *C. Lucretius*, who was to be Admiral of the Fleet, had only forty *Quinqueremes* under his Command. The Republick would not strip her Ports of all her Gallies. Another *Lucretius*, the Brother of the *Prætor*, set sail first, with a Squadron of some *Triremes*, which were furnished by the maritime Cities on the Coast of *Italy*, came and landed at *Dyrrachium*. There he found a Fleet of little Ships, consisting of ten Barks, belonging to that Port, twelve Brigantines of the Island of *Issa*, and fifty five light Boats, built in that part of *Illyricum*, which was subject to King *Gentius*. *Lucretius* supposed, that this Armament had been got ready only to serve the Romans; and he made it follow him to *Corcyra*, and from thence to the Island of *Cephalonia*, where he waited for the Admiral his Brother. Accordingly, *C. Lucretius* sailed from *Naples* with the Roman Fleet, and after five Days, entered the Port of *Cephalonia*; where his Fleet lay at Anchor for some Days, to land the Troops, and wait for the Transports.

So that nothing was now wanting in *Macedon* to put the Troops in Motion, but the Arrival of the Consul *Licinius*. And at length, this General put on the military Habit at Rome, went to pay his Homage to *Jupiter* at the Capitol, and left the City. The Ceremony of the Consuls setting out for their Provinces, though fine, was now grown so old, that it was of late but little regarded by the People. Nevertheless, the Romans of all Conditions came now in Crowds, to be Witnesses of the Solemnity of the Sacrifice, at which *Licinius* assisted, and to conduct him without the Gates. The Importance of the War the Consul was going to begin, and the Reputation of the Enemy he was to fight, affected them. And this made the Romans so solicitous to see the Man, who was entrusted with the Care of the Glory and Safety of the publick, and to attend him with their Vows and Prayers. The Spectators were full of Reflections at this Sight, and said, *We now see this Consul setting out with Pomp; but who knows whether Heaven will send him back victorious? Will he appear again on this Capitol as a triumphant Victor; or will he follow the Chariot of Perses? The Macedonians have made them-*



Year of *selves famous by vast Conquests. Philip, our last Enemy, was very brave, though*  
*not successful: And perhaps the Son may repair the Losses of the Father.*  
 ROM E DLXXXII. *O Rome! What will become of thy Splendor, if the Macedonian should pre-*  
 P. LICINIUS *vail! Thus the Love of their Country divided their Hearts between Hope and*  
 CRASSUS, C. *Fear.*  
 CASSIUS LONGINUS, Con-

suls.

NEVERTHELESS, it must be owned, that *Rome* neglected nothing to secure *Licinius* Success in his Expedition. She gave him for his Assistants and Counsellors, two Men of Distinction, who had been honoured with the *Consulate*; and three *Patricians* of great Families attended him, to learn the Art of War. One was *Cornelius Lentulus*, and the two others were Descendants of the *Manlian* Family. Thus attended, the *Consul* arrived at *Brundisium*, there embarked with his Troops, landed at the Port of *Apollonia*, and came to the Camp at *Nymphæum*, which the *Prætor Sicinius* had seized some Months since. All the Passes into *Thessaly* and *Macedon* were open. The Hopes of Peace had deceived *Perseus*, and thrown him into a kind of Lethargy. But at length the Arrival of the *Consul*, and the Ambassadors he had sent to *Rome*, awoke him. He found, that the *Roman* Senate would neither admit of his Justifications, or hearken to his Entreaties; and he knew that *Licinius*, at the Head of a great Army, seconded by a Fleet, was going to enter upon Action. So that there was now no receding. The War he had endeavoured to avoid was become necessary, for the sake of his own Glory, and the Defence of his Dominions. But nevertheless, he thought it proper to call a Council, before he ran the Hazards of it.

S. VII. THE Court of *Perseus* consisted partly of wise, but timorous Counsellors; and partly of bold Warriors, who were very greedy of Glory, but Men of no great Foresight and Penetration. The former thought it more adviseable to become tributary to the *Romans*, or to give them up a part of *Macedon*, if they required it, than to make the Fate of a great Kingdom entirely to depend on the Hazards of Battels. *As long as the Crown continues on the King's Head, said they, there will be room to hope that some unexpected Revolutions, or happy Circumstances or other, may put it in our Power to recover what we voluntarily give up. But if on the contrary, we lose all, and are reduced to the State of a Province, we must renounce even the very Hopes of Liberty.* But the military Gentlemen had the Ascendant in the Council, and they voted for repelling the Attacks of the proud Republick, by force of Arms. *The more we give Way, said they, the more she will demand. She aspires at no less than an absolute Sovereignty over us. What want is Rome in, of Lands, or Money! Her Aim is only to extend her Dominion, and exercise it in Repose. Though she subdued Carthage, she did not seize her Territories. Her Policy was to settle Masinissa, a powerful King, in the Neighbourhood of the Conquered, to keep them continually in Awe. The Romans also banished King Antiochus beyond Mount Taurus; and his Successors are forced to regulate their Proceedings, by the Orders of a foreign Senate. There is only one Monarch left near enough to Italy, to make her tremble, and powerful enough to take Advantage of the least Decay of the Roman Power; which is your self, my Lord. And hence proceeds the Uneasiness of the Romans, and their Earnestness to humble you. Will you then suffer them to banish you to the farthest part of Samothracia, or confine you to some Island, there to spend the rest of your Days, deprived of your regal Power? No surely; Perseus ought to support the Dignity of his Throne by his Arms, and either free the World from the Oppression of those Tyrants, or bear whatever Misfortunes the War brings with it, as becomes a brave Man. You will perhaps gain your Point, and drive the Romans out of Greece, as they drove Hannibal out of Italy. You have already gained the Crown from a Brother who was your Rival; can you not then preserve it against Usurpers? By the War we shall at least gain an honourable Peace. Whereas, to purchase one by shameful Submissions, were infamous.*

THE Council was held at *Pella*, in the old Palace of the Kings of *Macedon* and the Remembrance of the Exploits of his Predecessors, affected *Perseus* as much as the Discourses of his brave Officers, and made him choose the most dangerous Part. *War*, cried he; *Let us make War, since the Fates decree it* and immediately dispatched away Orders to his Troops, to repair to *Ci-*



*tium* <sup>11</sup>, which he appointed to be their general *Rendezvous*. Then he implored the Assistance of *Minerva*, the Protectress of the Descendants of *Hercules*; and came himself to *Citium* with all his Court. His Army was already encamped without the City, and waiting for him there. *Hippias* commanded it in the Absence of the King; and it was reckoned to contain in all forty thousand *Macedonian* Troops. The one half of which were *Phalangites*, that is, taught to fight after the manner of the *Phalanx*; and the rest consisted of two Bodies, which were armed with little Bucklers, and were also called *Legions* by the *Macedonians*. These were the choicest Troops in all the Army; and they were commanded by two Generals, *Leonatus*, and *Thrasippus*. Three thousand other Soldiers were also armed with the same Bucklers, as the chosen Troops, and were commanded by *Antiphilus*. The rest of the forty thousand Men consisted of <sup>12</sup> *Pæonian*, <sup>13</sup> *Patorean*, <sup>14</sup> *Parstrymonian*, and <sup>15</sup> *Agrian* Forces, which were raised on the Confines of *Macedon* towards *Thrace*, and were commanded by that *Didas*, whom *Perfes* had employed to make away with Prince *Demetrius*. And to all these Troops we ought here to add two thousand *Gauls*, which *Asclepiodorus* commanded; three thousand native *Thracians*, under their own General; as many *Cretans*, under different Commanders; five hundred *Greeks* of different Countries, commanded by *Leonidas* the *Macedonian*, who was said to be descended from the Kings of *Macedon*; (He was banished from his own Country, for having kept up a Correspondence, by Letter, with *Perfes*; and had fled into *Macedon* for Refuge.) And lastly, a Company of about five hundred Men, partly *Bæotians*, and partly *Ætolians*, who were commanded by an *Achæan*, named *Lyco*. All these were Infantry. Besides which, *Perfes* had also three thousand *Macedonian* Horse, and a thousand others, which *Cotys*, King of a Canton in *Thrace*, had brought him. But there were yet no *Illyricans* in all this Number. *Gentius*, doubtless, waited to declare for *Rome*. But be that as it will, *Perfes*'s Army was the largest that had been seen in *Macedon*, since the time of *Alexander the Great*. This Kingdom was grown exceeding populous during the Peace, and had not yet unlearned the Arts of War. *Philip*, and *Perfes* himself had exercised his Subjects in several Battels, sometimes with the *Greeks*, and sometimes with the *Thracians*.

THE King marched all these Troops into the Plain, not to take an exact review of them, but purely to have a Sight of all those Men that were assembled together under his Standards. A Throne was erected for him in the midst of the Plain, and he sat upon it; and from thence harangued his Army in these Words. *It is now twenty six Years since my Father Philip made a Treaty of Peace with Rome. And how many Insolences did he afterwards suffer from a Republick, which usurps Authority, only to humble crowned Heads! But Death has taken from us this powerful Monarch, when he was thinking of breaking off the Chains, which kept him in Slavery, even on a Throne. And as to me, I have with my Blood received from Philip a Love of that Independence, which is the best Flower in a Crown; and upon the first Marks that I shewed of bearing the Yoke with Impatience, Rome became outrageous. She immediately sent her Ambassadors to insult me in my own Palace, and her Soldiers to seize the Cities in my Neighbourhood. Then they amused me with a fallacious Truce, and thereby gained time to prepare for an unjust War. However, these Preparations are the less formidable, because not unexpected. I have, by my Precautions, prevented the Designs of Rome, and my Forces are superior to hers. The choicest part of the most warlike Nations in the World, are here united in one Body. I here see Thracians, Gauls, Macedonians, and Greeks. Their Arms are uniform, and taken out of my Magazines. Alexander did not lead a larger*

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXII.  
P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, C.  
CASSIUS LONGINUS, Con-  
suls.

<sup>11</sup> The City of *Citium*, according to the Conjectures of modern Geographers, stood above *Thesalonica*, between two Rivers of *Macedon*, one of which was called *Echedorus*, and the other *Chamius*. The first is now called *Veratafer*, according to *Castaldus*; and the latter *Gilabro*, according to *Moler*.

<sup>12</sup> The *Pæonians*, a People originally *Thracians*, were dispersed in several Cantons of *Macedon*, to which they gave the Name of *Pæonia*. We have already spoken of this Nation.

<sup>13</sup> The *Patoreans* were Neighbours to the *Thracians*, and possessed the North-part of *Macedon*. Their Country was surrounded with Mountains, as the Name implies.

<sup>14</sup> The *Parstrymonians* were probably so called, because they inhabited that part of *Macedon*, which lay next to the River *Strymon*.

<sup>15</sup> The People formerly called *Agrianes*, spread themselves in the Neighbourhood of a River of the same Name, in the East-part of *Thrace*.



Year of ROM E DLXXXII. P. LICINIUS CRASSUS, C. CASSIUS LONGINUS, Consuls.

*Army to the Conquest of Asia. But the Swords that glitter in so many Hands are not so much my Dependence, as the martial Ardour of those that carry them. Your Fathers, by their Conquests, opened themselves a Way to the Banks of the Indus, and the Ganges; and did not put an end to their Conquests, till they found themselves stopped by The Red Sea. You have not degenerated from them, and your Enemies are not so formidable, as all the East was to them. Can a Consul, attended by two Legions, without any Auxiliaries, but some Lydians, Phrygians, and a few Numidians, strike Terror into you? Remember, that the present Business is not, as formerly, to extend your Limits; but to defend your Estates, Lives, and Liberty. The Romans have not now crossed the Sea, under the specious Pretence of setting Macedon at Liberty, but to reduce her to the State of a Province. They make it no Secret at present. They are uneasy to have a King so near them; and want to disarm those brave Men, whose Courage has been felt to the Ends of the World. Rome will never be satisfied, till she has made you subject to her Laws. You must deliver up your Arms, King, and Kingdom together, if you will not fight to defend them.*

*Livy, B. 42.  
c. 52.*

*Livy. ibid.*

§. VIII. AT these Words there was so great a Shout made, that the King was forced to break off; and this Clamour was raised to express the different Sentiments of their Hearts. By some, it was designed as a Mark of Applause to the Orator; by others, as an Expression of their Rage against the *Romans*. And in the greatest part, it was given as a Proof of their Ardour to go and fight the Enemy. This therefore the King thought a favourable Omen; and he left the Plain, to go and give Audience to the Deputies of the Cities under his Dominion. Some offered to contribute Sums of Money towards the War; others, to furnish the Army with Provisions. But *Perses* only thanked his faithful Subjects for their great Readiness to serve him, and desired nothing of them, except Carriages for his Machines of War, and the Baggage of his Army. Then the King immediately marched for *Theffaly*, a Country which had been the Seat of the War, which *Philip* his Father had made with the *Romans*. So that he came from the Heart of his Dominions to *Eordea*<sup>16</sup>, and encamped on the Banks of a Lake, called<sup>17</sup> *Begonites*. From thence he advanced towards<sup>18</sup> *Elymea*, to the Banks of the River<sup>19</sup> *Haliacmon*. Then, after he had gone through the Defile of the Mountains, which divided *Macedonia Propria* from *Pelagonia*, he came to a little Province called *Tripolis*, from the three Cities of *Azorum*, *Pythium*, and *Delyche*, which were in its District. Indeed, these Cities at first made some Difficulty of receiving the *Macedonian* Army; but at length they submitted. *Perses* expected that the *Perræbi* would receive him with great Readiness; and their Capital did so, without Hesitation. But *Cyrretia*, a City of *Pelasgiotis*, sustained a Siege, and the first Day drove the Enemy from her Gates. The next Day therefore *Perses* attacked it with all his Army, and made himself Master of it before Night. *Mylæ*<sup>20</sup> however, which was not far from *Cyrretia*, made a longer Resistance. It was well fortified, and well guarded. It ventured even to insult the *Macedonian*; and being besieged, defended itself for three Days with Courage. But at length the Besieged were fatigued, with the Multitude of Attacks that were continued upon them Day and Night, without Intermision; their Walls were scaled, and their Gates battered with *Rams*, at the same time; and then they left their Ramparts, to attempt a Sally. But they were repulsed by the Numbers of the Besiegers, and retired, and left an Entrance open to the Enemy. So that at last *Mylæ* was taken, sacked, and dismantled; and its Inhabitants were sold to the best Bidders. After this *Perses* drew near the famous *Valley of Tempe*, and came

<sup>16</sup> *Eordea* was a City of *Mygdonia*, a Province of *Macedon*. We must take care not to confound it with a Country of this Name, which lay more to the South.

<sup>17</sup> The Name of the Lake *Begonites* seems to have been unknown to the ancient Geographers; nor are the Moderns better acquainted with its Situation.

<sup>18</sup> *Elymea* was a City which stood near West *Macedon*. It gave its Name to the Canton of the

*Elymiotæ*, who lived on the Borders of *Pelagonia Tripolitæ*.

<sup>19</sup> The River *Haliacmon* divided *Macedon* from *Theffaly*. After it has ran through the Frontiers of these two Countries, it falls into The *Thracian Gulph*. *Sophian* calls it *Pelagas*; but *Mercator* *Platamona*.

<sup>20</sup> *Mylæ* was a City of *Pelasgiotis* in *Theffaly*, between the *Peneus*, and the *Pamissus*.



<sup>21</sup> *Phalanna*; and from thence to <sup>22</sup> *Gyrton*, on the Conflux of the *Peneus*, and <sup>23</sup> *Titaresus*. This was an important Post; but *Titus Minuctus Rufus*, and *Hippias* who commanded in *Thessaly*, one for the *Romans*, and the other for the *Thessalians*, had seized it. So that the *Macedonian* did not attempt to lay Siege to it. He fell down on *Gonni* and *Elatea*, two Cities which he surprized; and which opened him an Entrance into the charming *Valley of Tempe*. Then he fortified these two Places, left good Garrisons in them, and pursued his March to *Sycurium* <sup>24</sup>, at the Foot of Mount *Ossa*, on the South Side. And the fine Air of the Place, the great Quantity of good Water with which the Country abounded, and the large Fields of *Thessaly*, which were sufficient to supply his Men with Provisions, and his Horses with Forrage, tempted him to fix here, and wait for the Enemy.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXII.  
P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, C.  
CASSIUS LONGINUS, Con-  
suls.

§. IX. IN the mean time, the *Consul Licinius*, at the Head of the *Roman* Army, had left the Camp at *Nymphæum*, and after he had crossed a Part of *Epirus*, was entered into *Athamania*. There he found the Roads rough, and almost impassable; especially the Pass of the *Pindus*, which led into *Thessaly*. The *Roman* Officers themselves confessed, that if *Perses* had guarded these Defiles, their Army of fresh Soldiers, who were not inured to Fatigue, must have perished there. However, the *Consul* at length led it to <sup>25</sup> *Gomphi*, much pleased with having surmounted so many Dangers, without any Battel, or Accident. And as his Troops, especially his Cavalry, were extremely harrassed, he halted some time at *Gomphi*, to refresh them. All the Discourses of the Soldiers turned upon the Ignorance of the *Macedonian* General, who might easily have made *Thessaly* impenetrable; and the *Consul* returned the Gods Thanks for it by Sacrifices, distributed Provisions among his Men, and marched on towards *Larissa*. From thence he came to a little Country in *Thessaly*, called also *Tripolis*, and encamped on the left Bank of the *Peneus*. There *Licinius* saw, with much Concern, the finest Fields in *Thessaly* exposed as a Prey to the *Macedonian*; and made it his whole Business to get all the Auxiliaries he expected, to his Camp; in order to march from thence to the Enemy. *Eumenes*, attended by his two Brothers, *Attalus* and *Athenæus*, was then actually arrived at *Chalcis*; having left his Dominions in the Hands of *Philetus* his third Brother. But the Reinforcement the King of *Pergamus* was bringing to the Camp was but five thousand Men; part Infantry, and part Cavalry; for of the seven thousand which he had brought from his own Country, he had left two thousand at *Chalcis*, under the Command of *Athenæus*, as a Garrison for the Capital of *Eubæa*. Some few inconsiderable Bodies of Men also came to the *Roman* Camp from the Allies in *Greece*. The *Apolloniates* sent the *Consul* three hundred Horse, and one hundred Foot. The *Ætolians* lent him all their Cavalry; and the *Thessalians* theirs, which made a separate Corps by itself. The *Achæans* furnished him with a thousand Foot, armed after the *Cretan* manner, with Bows and Arrows. This auxiliary Cavalry was very acceptable to the *Consul*, who had brought only three hundred Horse with him from *Italy*; but upon the whole, his Army was not so numerous as that of the King.

As for the *Roman* Fleet commanded by the *Prætor Marcus Lucretius*, it sailed for *The Gulph of Corinth*, to prevent the Motions of the *Bæotians*, some of whose Cities had joined with the *Macedonian*. *Haliartus*, a City devoted to the King, was already besieged by *Lentulus*, at the Head of the *Bæotian* Infantry that assisted the *Romans*. But the *Prætor Lucretius* sent Orders to *Lentulus* to raise the Siege; and he besieged it himself, with the Forces he had landed, which were ten thousand Men; and were assisted by the two thousand *Pergamians* which Prince *Athenæus* commanded in *Chalcis*. During this Siege, some Reinforcements of Ships came to the *Romans* in the Ports of *Eubæa*, from several of the Cities of the Allies. Among

<sup>21</sup> *Phalanna* stood in the same Province. The *Peneus* lay to the North of it, and Mount *Pierius* to the South.

<sup>22</sup> Some modern Geographers mention a City of *Gyrton*, which belonged to *Symphalia*, a Region of *Macedon*. *Pausanias* seems to mean this Place, by the Name of *Andreis*. *Nardus* says it is now called *Tachi-Policati*. But the City here spoken of stood in East *Thessaly*, at a little Distance from *Gonni* and *Phalanna*.

<sup>23</sup> The River called *Titaresus*, now *Titareso*, rises in Mount *Titarus*, according to *Strabo*, and runs into the *Peneus*.

<sup>24</sup> It appears by *Livy's* Account, that the City of *Sycurium* was not far from *Gonni*. It belonged to *Magnesia*, a maritime Province of *Thessaly*.

<sup>25</sup> *Gomphi*, which the modern Geographers call *Gonfi*, stood in *Thessaly*, near the Confines of *Epirus*, between the Rivers *Ion* and *Pamissus*; which both ran into the *Peneus*.



Year of  
ROM E  
DLXXXII.  
P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, C.  
CASSIUS LON-  
GINUS, Con-  
suls.

the rest, there were two *Carthaginian Quinqueremes*; two *Triremes* from <sup>26</sup> *Hera-  
clea*, a City of *Pontus*, in *Asia*; four Ships from *Chalcedon*; four more from *Sa-  
mos*; and five *Rhodian Quadriremes*. But the *Prætor* thanked those Allies for their  
Zeal; and sent them back to their own Ports. He wanted no Sea-Forces; because  
*Perfes* had no Fleet at Sea. In the mean time *Marcus*, after he had taken *Alope*,  
on the Shore of the *Euripus*, and insulted <sup>27</sup> *Larissa* surnamed *Cremaste*, on *The  
Maliac Gulph*, came and landed at *Chalcis*. The several Motions of the *Romans*  
had yet produced no great Effects. All their Hopes were on the *Consular Army*.

§. X. *PERSES* still continued in his Camp at *Sycurium*, from whence he sent  
and ravaged the Fields of the *Pheræans*, and laid Ambushes for the *Romans*, in  
case they should ramble ever so little from their Entrenchments. Hence the In-  
action of the *Consul*, and the Murmurs of the *Theſſalians*, whom he suffered to be  
plundered, without sending them any Succours. The King took Advantage of it,  
and regaled his Troops very liberally, at the Expence of *Theſſaly*. In the mean  
time, *Licinius* held Councils, to know where he should enter upon Action; and  
he was in a Consultation with *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, when News was brought  
him, that a great Body of the Enemy was advancing towards him. This News  
surprized the *Consul*, and drew him out of his Lethargy. He immediately sounded  
an Alarm, put all his Men under Arms, and marched out of his Camp an hundred  
of *Eumenes's* Horse, and a little larger Number of Foot, armed with Darts. It  
was about ten in the Morning; and when *Perfes* was a little more than a Mile from  
the *Roman Camp*, he ordered his Army to halt, and marched on himself, with his  
Cavalry and light-armed Troops. *Cotys* and the Generals of the other Auxiliaries  
marched before him. When he came within five hundred Paces of the Enemy's  
Camp, he saw their Horse advancing towards him, which consisted of two Brigades  
of *Roman Cavalry*, which were almost all *Gauls*, probably *Galatians*, and commanded  
by *Castignates*; and with them were some Infantry, to the Number of an hundred  
and fifty Men, which were partly *Myſſians*, and partly *Cretans*. Then *Perfes* halted  
a little, not knowing the Number of the Enemy; and sent forward two Troops of  
*Thracian*, and two of *Macedonian* Horse, with four Companies of Foot, two *Thra-  
cian* and two *Cretan*. Upon this, a kind of Skirmish ensued, of which the King  
and *Consul* were only Spectators; and the Advantages of this first Battel were well  
nigh equal on both Sides. *Castignates* and thirty of his *Gauls*, were killed upon  
the Spot; and the *Macedonian* lost as many Men. The rest of the *Romans* retired  
to their Trenches, and *Perfes* returned to his Camp at *Sycurium*.

THE next Day *Perfes* appeared again in the same Place, at the same Hour. But  
he had the Precaution to order some Water-Carts to be brought after his Army,  
to quench the Thirst of his Soldiers in a dry and dusty Country. Whilst the *Ro-  
mans* kept close in their Camp, and even drew their advanced Guards into it. So  
that the *Macedonian* fatigued his Troops in vain. But he increased their Confidence,  
by offering a Challenge which the *Roman* would not accept; and constantly perse-  
vered in repeating the same Defiance every Day. He thought he should at least  
draw the *Romans* after him, and fight them with Advantage, at a great Distance  
from their Camp. The *Macedonian* knew himself to be superior in Cavalry, and  
light-armed Infantry; and this, no doubt, was the Reason that the *Romans* conti-  
nued immovable, till they had received a new Reinforcement. *Perfes* therefore,  
tired at last with these fruitless Attempts, drew near to the *Roman Camp*, and  
pitched his own within five Miles of it. By this means, he spared his Troops the  
Fatigue of coming so far every Morning, to insult the inactive *Consul*; and his be-  
ing so near, induced *Perfes* to come more early than usual, to offer Battel near  
the *Roman Camp*. The Sun was scarce risen, when the Troops in the *Consular*  
Camp judged by the Cloud of Dust which they saw from their Trenches, that the  
Enemy was approaching; and *Licinius* could scarce believe the Account that was  
brought him. *Perfes* had never yet appeared round his Camp before Ten in the  
Morning; and the Alarm was general in the *Roman Army*. Both Officers and

<sup>26</sup> The City of *Heraclæa* in *Pontus*, bordered up-  
on *Bithynia*. It was built by *Hercules*, according  
to *Mela*, on the Coast of the *Euxine Sea*, an hun-  
dred and twenty Miles East of *The Thracian Bos-  
phorus*, and forty Miles from the Mouth of

the River *Sangarius*. It is now but a very small  
Place, called *Penderachi*, according to *Niger* and  
*Castaldus*.

<sup>27</sup> See what we have said above, of the Name  
and Situation of *Larissa Cremaste*.



Soldiers ran to Arms; and this Tumult, and their Impatience to fly to the Battel, prevailed on the *Consul* to grant their Desires.

The *Macedonian* Army was then but five hundred Paces from the *Roman* Camp, drawn up in good Order, near an Eminence called *Callicinum*. King *Cotys* commanded the *Thracian* Auxiliaries, which he had brought to the King of *Macedon*, in the left Wing. This Cavalry was divided into several Parts, and Bodies of light-armed Infantry posted between them. In the right Wing, were posted the *Macedonian* Cavalry, and the *Cretan* Archers filled up the Spaces between them. Two Generals, one of which was named *Milo*, a Native of *Berea*, and the other *Meno*, a Native of *Antigonia*, commanded in this Wing. The King's Life Guards, and some choice Horse of the Auxiliaries of several Nations flanked the two Wings. *Patrocles* commanded on one Side, and *Didas* on the other. *Perses* himself was in the Center, with the choicest of the light-armed Infantry, and a Body of the bravest Troopers surrounding him; and before him, were the Slingers, and Bowmen, commanded by *Ion* and *Timanor*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXII.

P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, C.  
CASSIUS LONGINUS, Con-  
suls.

Livy, B. 42.  
c. 58.

As for the *Consul*, he drew up within his Camp the Detachment of Foot he designed to send out; but did not form his Cavalry till they came into the Plain. *C. Licinius*, the *Consul's* Brother, was ordered to command the right Wing, which opposed King *Cotys* and his *Thracians*; and he had under his Command the *Latin* Cavalry, and the *Italian* light-armed Infantry. To *M. Lævinus* was given the Command of the left Wing, consisting of the auxiliary Cavalry of the *Greeks*, and some light-armed Troops; and to *Q. Marcius*, that of the Center, which consisted of the extraordinary Cavalry of the *Gallic Brigades*, and three hundred *Asiatick* Horse of the *Cyrtian*<sup>28</sup> Nation. *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, with the *Pagamian* Cavalry, made a *Corps-de-reserve*, which was posted between the Camp, and the Army. So that it is easy to see this was not a general Action; only the Cavalry and light-armed Infantry of the two Armies engaged. Neither the *Phalanx* on one Side, nor the *Legions* on the other, appeared in the Plain. But it is surprizing that *Licinius* himself did not appear in the Action. Probably it was a Custom at *Rome*, for the *Consul* not to fight, unless at the Head of the *Legionaries*. Or perhaps, it will be thought more probable, that *Licinius* did not approve of fighting at this time; but was forced to comply with the Importunities of his Soldiers, and therefore would not perform the Part of a General.

THE Attack was begun by the Slingers and Dartmen. Then the *Thracians* moved first, with an Impetuosity like that of wild Beasts, which have long been closely confined. They fell on the *Latin* Cavalry in the right with a frightful Out-cry; and broke into these intrepid Men, who had long been used to Battels. The *Thracian* Infantry wounded the Horses of the *Latins* in the Legs with their Darts, or ham-strung them, and wounded them in the Flank with their Swords. And then *Perses* himself made a Motion. He fell on the *Greeks* which were posted in the left Wing of the *Roman* Army; and immediately made them retire. Indeed the *Theffalian* Cavalry was of great Service to them. As they were brave, and had been posted pretty near these fugitive *Greeks*, they came and took their Place, covered them in their Flight, and gave them time to retire towards the *Corps-de-reserve*, which *Eumenes* commanded. Nevertheless, when these Fugitives came to join this *Corps-de-reserve*, they put it into some Disorder; and therefore it was, that the King of *Pergamus* durst not march against the Enemy, who still kept their Ranks. During these Transactions, *Leonatus* and *Hippias* marched the *Phalanx* precipitately out of the *Macedonian* Camp, and led it to the Field of Battel: and then if the *Consul* had been obliged to march out his *Legions* too, the Action would have become general. But *Perses* knew not how to improve so favourable a Beginning of Victory. If he had made a Charge with his *Phalanx*, he would probably have first put the *Roman* Cavalry into Disorder, and then gained a compleat Victory. Whereas he on the contrary paid too much Deference to the Advice of his Confidant *Evander* the *Cretan*, whom he had employed to assassinate *Eumenes*. Be content, my Lord, said he, with the Success of this glorious Day. It were Rashness to hazard all in one single Action. This Essay will enable you to obtain an advantageous Peace of the Romans, or at least draw off many of their Allies from them. *Perses*

Livy, B. 42.  
c. 59.

<sup>28</sup> Livy is the only Author who mentions the *Cyrtians*, and he does not tell us what Country they inhabited.



Year of was at that time wavering between Hope and Fear; and *Evander's* Discourse determined him. He marched back his *Phalanx* to his Camp, and founded a Retreat. *ROM E* DLXXXII. The *Romans*, if we may credit the Historian who most diminishes the Losses of *Rome*, left at least two thousand of their light-armed Infantry, and two hundred Horsemen, dead upon the Spot; and almost two hundred more were taken Prisoners. Whereas the *Macedonian* lost but twenty Horsemen, and forty Foot.

P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, C.  
CASSIUS LONGINUS, Consuls.

§. XI. WHEN returned from the Field of Battel, the *Macedonians* made great Rejoicings in their Camp. The *Thracians* entered it, as it were in Triumph, carrying the Heads of the *Romans* which had been killed in the Battle on the Tops of their Lances. Indeed the Victory was wholly owing to them. The *Consul's* Camp was full of Consternation. The Shame of having been overcome, was the greatest Calamity that could afflict brave Men. And they were under Apprehensions of being besieged in their Camp the next Day, and having their Lines forced. *Eumenes* himself was not free from these Fears; and he advised *Licinius* to decamp, and get the River *Peneus* between the Enemy and him. This Proposal was shocking at first to the *Consul*; who could not persuade himself to shew any Marks of Weakness, and retire before the Enemy. But at length, Reason got the better of a Point of Honour; and in the Dead of the Night the *Roman* General passed the River with his Army, entrenched himself on the further Bank of it, and was then no longer afraid of the Attacks of the *Macedonian*. The next Day *Perseus* appeared round the *Roman* Camp, but found it deserted. And then he was sensible of the Fault he had committed the Day before. He had too readily followed the timorous Advice of *Evander*, had given up the Victory when it was ready to have crowned him, and to complete his Imprudence, had not carefully enough watched the Steps of the *Consul*. He had suffered him to decamp, and pass the *Peneus* without any Opposition; when a Handful of his light-armed Men would have been sufficient to have stopped the *Romans*, in the Tumult of a precipitate March. The *Romans*, on the other hand, valued themselves upon their good Luck, and were now safe. But the *Consul* was inconsolable at having lost the Honour of the Day; and in the Council of War the Blame of it was thrown on the *Ætolians*. Five of their Commanders had been seen to fly first; and that staggered the rest of the *Greek* Troops, which came from the Allies of the *Romans*. It must be owned, that none of the *Roman* Troops were invincible but the *Legionaries*. Nevertheless, the *Thessalian* Cavalry had signalized themselves in the Battel; they received the Praises they had deserved; and the Rewards of Valour were distributed among the bravest of them.

IN the *Macedonian* Camp, the King received the Spoils that had been taken from the *Romans*. He was Master of the Field of Battel, and the abandoned Camp; and from thence were brought to him a great Number of Coats of Mail, Cuirasses, Swords, Helmets, and a greater Quantity of Darts and Arrows; all which he distributed among his Soldiers. He likewise gave to some, Horses; to others, fine Furniture for Horses; and to several, Bucklers, and Captives; of whom above fifteen hundred had been taken from the *Romans*. After this, the King assembled his Troops, and addressed himself to them after this manner. *Your last Victory is a Pledge of complete Success in the War. The Roman Knights, which were so formidable a Body, have already sunk under your Valour. Yet this is the Body out of which Rome chooses her Senators, Officers of the Infantry, Consuls, and Generals of Armies. You have just divided their Spoils. The Infantry likewise of the Enemy, even their terrible Legions, trembled with Fear. Their Dread dispersed some; and in the Hurry of passing the Peneus, a great Number of them were drowned. Whereas it will be easy for us to pass the River without Danger, and go to the new Camp of the Enemy which we will attack to Day, and should have seized Yesterday, if the Romans had not saved themselves by Flight. So great was their Terror, after the Battel between the Cavalry only! And if they resolve to stand another Battel with the Infantry, you may well expect the same Success when your Phalanx comes to cope with their Legions.*

Livy, B. 42.  
c. 61.

THIS Discourse was full of Misrepresentations; but the Soldiers, who examine into nothing, fancied that they had actually put the *Roman Knights* to Flight, and defeated the *Consular Legions*. They with great Pride marched solemnly along, dressed in the Spoils of many illustrious *Romans*; this raised the Emulation of the *Phalangite*.



*langites*, who were very earnest to signalize themselves in their Turns; and *Perfes* resolved to take Advantage of their Ardour. He made them pass the River, and led them to <sup>29</sup> *Mopsium*, between *Larissa* and *Tempe*. Whilst the *Romans*, tho' not terrified, were cautious. They still kept on the same Bank of the *Peneus*, where they had at first encamped; but removed to a stronger and more inaccessible Place. And then the *Consul* received a considerable Reinforcement. The young Prince *Misagenes*, *Masinissa's* Bastard, brought him a thousand Foot, a thousand Horse, and twenty two Elephants. This repaired *Licinius's* Loss in the first Battel; and he afterwards made the *Macedonian* feel the Effects of the *Roman* Pride, which these new Forces had increased. In the mean time, *Perfes* held a Council of War. Time had a little abated the Audaciousness which his first Victory had given him. And his true Friends advised him to make use of the Advantage he had gained, in order to procure, by slight Submissions, a Peace; which would preserve him from many Dangers. *This Serenity*, said they, *may be followed by a Storm; and it is safer to seek for Refuge whilst the fair Weather lasts, than when the Lightning is ready to fall.* Philip your Father delayed treating with *Flamininus* a little too long. Let us then seize this prosperous Moment. You will now be able to bring Rome to grant you more favourable Conditions. Or if not, you will at least have the Reputation of having known how to temper the Presumption that Victory usually gives; and the People will think themselves obliged to you for the Blood which you would have spared. This was prudent Advice; and *Perfes* being inclined to follow it, He sent an Embassy to the *Roman* Camp. The *Consul* assembled a great Number of Officers to hear the Ambassadors of the Enemy's General; and they said, *We are come to desire a Peace.* *Perfes* offers to maintain inviolably the Treaty you made with the King his Father, and which he renewed. He will pay you the same Tribute as Philip did; and restore your Allies all the Places which his Predecessor had given up to them. A Proposal which required Consideration; and it was discussed. But the Pride and Constancy of the *Romans* prevailed. So that the Answer the *Consul* made the Deputies was this. *There is no Peace for Perfes, till he surrenders up himself and his Dominions to the Romans, at Discretion.* The Ambassadors, who knew not how far the *Romans* carried their Steddiess of Mind, and their Courage, were struck with this Determination, which they did not expect; and upon their Report to the King, the Courtiers said, That nothing more should be mentioned of Peace, and That the *Roman* Pride should be humbled. But *Perfes* was not of that Opinion. From the *Consul's* Answer, he concluded, that *Rome* would not have shewn so much Pride, if she had not known herself to be superior; and he made fresh Application to *Licinius*, offering him a more considerable Tribute than *Philip* had paid. But the *Consul* would abate nothing of his first Pretensions. It was therefore necessary to resolve to continue the War; and the King returned to his first Camp at *Sycurium*, and prepared to renew Hostilities.

§. XII. In the mean time, a Report was spread all over *Greece*, that *Perfes* had gained an Advantage over the *Romans*. And this News was received with Joy, not only by the Enemies of *Rome*, but by the Nations and Cities that were most attached to her. Some triumphed to see her humbled. In others, their Joy was mere Caprice, or the Effect of those unreasonable Antipathies, which sometimes lead us to favour one of the Competitors in publick Sports more than another, tho' we can give no Reason for it. *Bæotia* especially, rejoiced more than any other Province, and thought herself already delivered from the *Roman* Yoke.

THE *Prætor Caius Lucretius*, was still carrying on the Siege of *Haliartus*, with the Troops he had landed. The Place could hope for no Relief, and had received no Succours, but some Infantry from *Coronæa*, another City of the *Macedonian* Party. Nevertheless, the Resistance of the Besieged was not the less vigorous. They often made Sallies against the Besiegers, and often broke the Blows of the Rams with Masses of Lead which they let down from the Tops of the Ramparts, and drew up again, with Sweeps, or Counterpoises. A Breach was no sooner made, but they repaired it; or built a new Wall with the Rubbish and Materials of the Breach itself. However, the *Prætor* at length ordered a general Assault, on the only Side of the City

<sup>29</sup> *Strabo*, and after him *Stephen of Byzantium*, mentions a City called *Mopsium*; and both place it in *Thessaly*. It gave its Name to a Hill which the

Ancients call *Mopsius*, or *Mopselus*; and which lay between *Larissa* and *The Valley of Tempe*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXII.  
P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, C.  
CASSIUS LONGINUS, CON-  
suls.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXII.  
P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, C.  
CASSIUS LON-  
GINUS, Con-  
suls.

where it was accessible. A Part of its Wall was surrounded with a Marsh; so that the City could not be attacked on that Side. *Lucretius* therefore made his principal Attack against a *Courtine* which was flanked with two Towers. A Breach had been made in this *Courtine*, and the *Prætor* himself first mounted it, designing to draw all the Garrison upon him. The *Romans* were all ready with their Ladders to follow him; but he found more Resistance on the Side of the Breach than he expected. The Besieged had stopped it up with Fascines; the *Romans* saw them standing behind it, armed with burning Flambeaux, and ready to set Fire to this dry Wood, in order to burn all those who should be so bold as to advance up to it. And whilst the latter were deliberating about passing thro' the Fire with which they were threatened, the former were building a new Wall to stop them. A Stratagem which had certainly succeeded, had it not been for an unforeseen Accident! So great a Quantity of Rain fell in the Interim, as wetted the Wood so much, that there was no fear of its taking Fire; and then the Besiegers undertook to mount the Breach. All the Garrison ran to defend it, and left the Ramparts unguarded. Upon this, the *Romans* scaled them, made themselves Masters of them, and from thence marched into the City. They at first killed old Men, Women, and Children, without Distinction. The Warriors, to the Number of two thousand five hundred, retired to the Citadel; and the next Day surrendered at Discretion. But it was necessary to make an Example of these unfaithful *Bæotians*, and punish them severely. *Haliartus* was therefore razed, and the Remainder of its Inhabitants sold to the best Bidder; after the City had first been plundered, and the *Prætor* had carried on board his Fleet the Statues and Pictures with which it was adorned, and all the rich Furniture of the Temples or private Houses. From thence the *Prætorian* Army marched to *Thebes*; which opened her Gates, and received it without Opposition. The *Prætor* re-instated some Persons there, who had been banished for their Adherence to the *Romans*, and reduced to Slavery those Families which had declared for *Macedon*; and then he returned on board his Fleet, after having filled *Bæotia* with Terror.

§. XIII. AND now the Allies of *Perses* were become less audacious in their Expressions, and *Greece* kept her Affection for him a little more concealed. Whilst the King himself, who was obliged to maintain a War, contrary to his Inclination, sought for an Opportunity to destroy the *Romans* rather by Artifice than Force. He was informed, at his Camp at *Sycurium*, that the *Consular* Army had just carried to their Camp a vast Quantity of Bundles of Corn, which they had mowed in the Fields. All the Streets in the Camp were full of Straw, and every Soldier had Heaps of it before his Tent. What then so easy as to set it on Fire! To this End, *Perses* got ready some Tow dipped in Bitumen and Pitch, and then marched to attack the Camp at Midnight. The Advanced-Guards were surprized at the unexpected Arrival of the *Macedonian*; and they returned to the Camp, and gave the Alarm there. The *Legionaries* awoke, ran to Arms, and were in an Instant at the Gates, and upon the Ramparts. The King saw that he had missed his Aim, and immediately ordered his Army to march back. And being very apprehensive that the *Romans* would attack his Rear, he covered it himself with his Cavalry and light-armed Infantry. Accordingly, the *Roman* Troops did pursue the *Macedonians* in their Retreat, for some time. But they escaped with only a slight Skirmish between their Rear-Guard and the Advance-Guard of the *Romans*, and returned to *Sycurium*.

ALL the Forrage in the Fields round the *Roman* Camp was now gathered; and the *Consul* therefore left the Banks of the *Peneus*, came to those of the <sup>30</sup> *Enipeus*, and encamped at <sup>31</sup> *Crannon*, in a Country which the Troops had spared. He thought himself safe there. His Camp was at a great Distance from the Enemy, and in order to come at him, they must pass thro' a dry Country, where there was little or no Water. Nevertheless, *Perses* did so, and came and braved the *Romans*, without any Effect. Then he drew near to them, and encamped towards *Mopsium*. The *Romans* also changed their Post, and fortified themselves near *Pha-*

<sup>30</sup> The *Enipeus* rises in *Phthiotis*; and after it has watered the Plains of *Pharsalia*, falls into the *Epidaurus*. There is also a River of this Name in *Peloponnesus*, which runs into the River *Alpheus*.

<sup>31</sup> *Crannon* was a City of *Phthiotis*, between the *Epidaurus*, and the *Enipeus*. We have spoken of it already.



*lanna*; where they made the best Use of the Plenty of the Country, and dispersed themselves in the Fields in small Bodies, to reap the Corn. The King was informed of this, by a Defenter; and he immediately set out himself, with a thousand Horse, and two thousand Foot, partly *Thracian*, and partly *Cretan*, and fell suddenly on the Reapers. He surrounded the Men and Carts, made six hundred *Romans* Prisoners of War, and took a thousand Carts ready loaded. Nor was this enough for an indefatigable Warrior, whose Despair made him attempt every thing. He assembled together his Troop, and led it to attack the Body of *Romans* which covered the Reapers. A *Legionary Tribune*, named *L. Pompeius*, commanded it; and this brave Man, knowing his Troops to be inferior in Number and Strength to the Enemy, gained an Eminence, and drew them up there, in a Circle, that being formed in very close Order, and covered with their Bucklers, they might face every way, and ward off all the Darts. The King, on the other hand, divided his *Macedonians* into two Bodies. One had Orders to march up to the Top of the Hill, and fight the Enemy there, on even Ground. The other was ordered to be continually throwing up Darts at the Enemy, to keep them in Play, and fatigue them. Nothing incommoded the *Romans* more than a Sort of Darts which were shorter than ordinary, and were thrown with Slings. Besides, they could not without Danger leave their Ranks, to make Head against the *Macedonians* who were with Difficulty climbing up to the Top of the Hill. If the *Romans* had disunited themselves ever so little, they would have been wounded with numberless Darts. *Perses* often pressed them to surrender. But they were too constant to comply with his Sollicitations; tho' they were but eight hundred, to about three thousand; and tho' the Danger was certain, and Death seemed inevitable. And at length, the *Consul* delivered them. Having received timely Notice, by some Reapers who had escaped out of the first Battel, that *Pompeius* was very hard pressed; he instantly marched out of his Camp, with his Squadrons, some light-armed Infantry, and a certain Number of Elephants. Then after he had ordered his *Legions* to form themselves in the Plain, and follow him; he marched on before them, and made all possible Haste to the Hill. By his Side marched the King of *Pergamus*, with his Brother *Attalus*, and *Misagenes* the young *Numidian* Prince; and almost the whole *Roman* Army was put in Motion.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXII.  
P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, C.  
CASSIUS LONGINUS, Con-  
suls.

It is easy to judge of the Joy *Pompeius* felt at the Sight of the powerful Succours which the *Consul* was bringing him in Person. And as for *Perses*, he saw that they were too strong for him. If he had not been so rash, he would have contented himself with having taken the Carts and Reapers. But instead of that, he was so audacious as to insult *Pompeius*, almost at the Gates of the *Roman* Camp. Nay, he carried his Rashness yet farther. After he had given Orders for his *Phalanx* and the rest of his Army to be brought to him in all Haste, he faced the *Consular Legion*, and chose rather to hazard all, than retreat fighting. It must be owned indeed, that the *Macedonians* still retained some of the ancient Bravery of their Fathers; but they wanted an *Alexander* to lead them. *Perses* also gave Proofs of great Valour; but he wanted Conduct. He sustained the Efforts of all the *Roman* Troops for some time; and at length, when over-powered with Numbers, after he had lost three hundred Foot, and the best Part of that invincible Cavalry his Guards, he had Thoughts of retreating. But it was then too late. His *Phalanx* had already left his Camp in Haste, and was coming to join him. And he ought to have foreseen what Difficulties they must meet with in their March. The Company of Reapers, and the long Train of Carts that his Men were conducting to the *Macedonian* Camp, met the *Phalanx* in a narrow Road; and created inexpressible Disorders. The *Phalangites* pressed forwards in haste; and the Carts could not draw back. The armed Soldiers were forced to make their Way over the Carters, Horses, and Carriages; and they killed some, and beat down others. The Horses being terrified put the *Phalanx* in Disorder, and that retarded its March. Nor was this the only Inconvenience. In the same narrow Way, the *Macedonian* Cavalry, and at length all the Troops that the King commanded, who were warmly pressed by the *Romans*, came likewise, and fell upon the *Phalanx*. The Voice of the Officers, who commanded the *Phalangites* to turn back, were scarce heard, and there was a terrible Confusion. Insomuch, that if the *Romans* had ventured to have penetrated into this Pass, they must have cut the Enemy's whole



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXII.

P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, C.  
CASSIUS LON-  
GINUS, Con-  
suls.

whole Army in Pieces. And accordingly, some Historians pretend, That a furious Battel was fought there; That *Perfes* lost eight thousand Men upon the Spot, and among them two of his Generals; That two thousand eight hundred of his Men were made Prisoners, and twenty seven of his Standards taken; and lastly, That the *Romans* lost four thousand three hundred Men, and four Colours. But it is more safe to say, That the *Consul* contented himself with delivering *Pompeius* and his Men out of their Danger, and with having routed *Perfes* and his Detachment; and then returned to his Camp. At least, it's certain the Action was a memorable one, and ended much to the Glory of the *Consul*. *Perfes* was in such a Consternation at it, that he did not continue in his Camp at *Mopsium*, any longer than was necessary to bury his Dead. After he had put a strong Garrison in *Gonni*, and left *Timotheus* with a Body of Troops at <sup>32</sup> *Phila*, he returned to *Macedon*, to spend the Winter there.

§. XIV. As soon as he arrived at *Pella*, he was surprized with a Piece of News which afflicted him. He was now forced to see *Cotys* and his *Thracians*, who had been the strongest Part of his Army, during the Campaign, and to whom he was indebted for his first Victory, set out for his own Country, and leave him. King *Eumenes* had sent into the Country of the *Odrysians*, one of his Generals, named *Corragus*; and he had raised up against *Cotys*, *Atlesbis*, one of the petty Sovereigns of *Thrace*. So that *Cotys's* Dominions were exposed to the Ravages of the Enemy; and he was forced to go and defend them. The King of *Macedon*, at parting, made the King of the *Odrysians* Presents; but he gave his Cavalry only two hundred *Talents*, which was six Month's Pay, tho' he promised them a whole Year's. Avarice was *Perfes's* Vice.

As to *Licinius*, who was now sole Master of the Field, he made an Attempt on the City of *Gonni*. It stood on the Neck of *The Valley of Tempe*, and was a convenient Pass from *Thessaly* to *Macedon*. But the Design was impracticable. Then the *Roman* General turned towards *Perræbia*, took *Malea* and *Tripolis*, as soon as he arrived there, and reduced the rest of the Province. From thence he drew near to *Larissa*. *Eumenes* and *Attalus* were then returned into their own Country; so that the *Consul* had only *Misagenes* and his *Numidians* with him; and he placed them in good Quarters in *Thessaly*, and preserved that Country. Then he sent *Q. Mucius*, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, to seize *Ambracia*, and after he had dismissed all his *Grecian* Allies, except the *Acheans*, he entered *Achaia Phthiotis*. There he entirely razed <sup>33</sup> *Pteleum*, and got full Possession of <sup>34</sup> *Antrona*. At length, he returned again to *Larissa*; and found the City abandoned by the *Macedonians*, and the Citizens retired into the Citadel. But he, without any Difficulty, forced them to surrender at Discretion. After which, he deliberated whether he should go and lay Siege to *Demetrias*, or enter *Bæotia*, and go to *Thebes*, where he was much wanted. This faithful City was indeed hard pressed by the Troops of *Coronæa*. Nevertheless, *Licinius* chose to spend the Winter in *Bæotia*. This was a more fruitful Country, and consequently, more convenient for Winter-Quarters than *Magnesia*.

In the mean time, the King of *Illyricum* began to move, in favour of *Perfes*. The Irresolution of *Gentius* ended at last in choosing the worst Part. His Caprice got the better of his Reason. *Minucius* foresaw it, and took from him by Force two of the most wealthy Places in his Dominions; but did not give them up to be plundered by the *Romans*. He thought to have gained the Affections of the Inhabitants of *Carnus*, by these Acts of Clemency. This was then a City of Importance; but only one Historian mentions the Situation of it. *Mucius* therefore first

32 *Phila*, a City of *Pieria*, a Province of *Macedon*, was on the Borders of *Mignesia*, a Country of *Thessaly*. It stood on the Banks of the *Peneus*. *Stephen of Byzantium* makes it to have been founded by *Demetrius*, the Son of *Antigonus*. *Nardus* gives it the Name of *Fello*.

33 *Pteleum* was formerly a City of *Phthiotis* in *Thessaly*. It was watered by the River *Sperchius*. What remains of it is now called *Fiteo*.

*Livy* speaks also of a City of this Name in *Ionia*, a Province of *Asia Minor*.

34 *Stephen of Byzantium*, and *Suidas*, derive the Name of the City of *Antrona*, from the *Demi* and

Caves about it. It belonged to *Thessaly*. Some Authors mention another City of *Antrona*, in *Messenia*, a Country of *Peloponnesus*.

35 We know of no other City of *Carnus*, but that in *Upper Pannonia*. It was not unknown to *Ptolomy*. It is now only a Village in *Lower Austria*, on the Banks of the *Danube*. It is called *Sainte Pertronille*. But *Pliny* mentions a City of *Carnus*, in the Country of the *Sabeans*, a People of *Arabia*. That which *Livy* here speaks of, stood in *Illyricum*. And the Silence of the Geographers, as to this last City, will not suffer us to say any thing of its ancient Situation.



made Use of Menaces, and Sollicitations, to gain it over to the *Romans*; and at length endeavoured to reduce it by Force. But *Carnus* was exceeding strong; and was several times attacked in vain. And then *Mucius* vented his Rage on the two Cities which he had at first spared only out of Policy. He now suffered the Soldiers to pillage them, and take the Booty themselves.

§. XV. THE Expeditions in *Theffaly*, and those which were yet to be undertaken in *Macedon*, raised an Emulation between *Cassius*, one of the *Consuls* of the Year, and his Collegue *Licinius*. A Province had fallen to the former, where he could reap but little Glory. As soon as he was nominated *Consul*, he had shewn a very great Desire to procure a Commission for *Macedon*, without drawing Lots; and afterwards to get it by Lot. But his Hopes were frustrated. He was appointed to continue in *Italy*, at the Head of an Army, without any other Business, than that of keeping the *Ligures* and *Gauls*, to their Duty. And now, whether out of jealousy to a Collegue, who was more fortunate than himself, or out of an ardent Desire to do his Country some important Service, he took a very rash Resolution. Without any Orders from the People, or the Consent of the Senate, he marched towards *Aquileia*, came to the Eastern Borders of the *Alpes*, and was ready to carry his Troops through *Illyricum*, into *Macedon*. This was an Outrage upon the publick Authority; and Deputies came from *Aquileia* to the Senate, to complain of the Inconveniencies they suffered from a *Consul*, who, without Order, harrassed their Province, by marching Troops through it. The Affair was discussed in the Senate, and the Boldness of the *Consul* was universally condemned. It was found to be not only an Act of Disobedience, but a very imprudent Step. To lead an Army from Italy into *Macedon* by Land, said the Fathers, is shewing our Enemies the Way to come from *Macedon* into Italy. *Sulpicius* therefore, who then governed the City as *Prætor*, was ordered to send three Expresses to *Cassius*, to command him to return back immediately, and to forbid him to attack any Enemies, but those whom he was ordered to have an Eye upon, by his Commission. But *Rome* postponed making those Nations amends, whom *Cassius* had pillaged in his March, till after his *Consulate*. The *Prætors*, and other Officers of the Publick, were now frequently guilty of Rapines, in all the *Roman Provinces*.

DEPUTIES were very lately arrived from *Spain*, to complain of the Oppressions the People there suffered from the *Roman* Magistrates. When they were brought into the Senate, these *Spaniards* entreated the *Conscript Fathers*, not to continue to treat the Nations that submitted to them, with the same Rigour as the rebellious Countries. The Pride of your Commanders, said they, is become insupportable, and their Avarice boundless: And the humble Posture of these Deputies, raised the Compassion of The Fathers. Besides, it was but too evident, that for some time past, these People had been harrassed with cruel Depredations. *Canuleius*, who was nominated *Prætor* in *Spain*, was not yet gone to his Province. Two *Prætors* had formerly been sent thither, one for *Hither Spain*, and the other for *Farther*. But *Lucius Canuleius* was now to govern this great Continent alone, without a Collegue; and the Republick ordered him to hear the Complaints of the *Spaniards*, and appoint them *Prætors* and Judges. They desired to have four Commissioners chosen out of the Senators. *Cato*, who was formerly so rigid a *Censor*, was the first; and *P. Scipio*, *Paulus Æmilius*, and *C. Sulpicius* were joined with him. These Judges, who had all commanded in *Spain* with Success, were now instructed in the Affairs of that Province; and they began with prosecuting *M. Titinius*. He had been *Prætor* in *Spain* six Years before, in the *Consulship* of *M. Junius*, and *Aulus Manlius*. But after he had been accused twice, the Charge did not appear sufficiently supported to condemn him. So that he was set aside, till further Information could be had; but at last, when he was called up to Judgment, he was acquitted. And this first Accusation much lessened the Prejudices of the People, concerning the bad Administration of many *Prætors*.

But the *Spaniards* carried on their Prosecutions against two others of their old Governors, with more Justice. These were *P. Furius Philus*, and *M. Matienus*. The latter had commanded in *Spain*, two Years; and the former, three. Judgment against them was at first suspended. But afterwards, as the Charges upon them

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXII.  
P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, C.  
CASSIUS LONGINUS, Con-  
suls.



Year of them grew heavier, they did Justice on themselves. They banished themselves. *R O M E* One retired to \* *Tibur*, and the other to *Præneſte*, and thereby evaded the Punishment intended for them, and the making Restitution to *Spain*. The *Romans* were of Opinion, that no Punishment could <sup>36</sup> equal that of being banished *Rome*. A dangerous Maxim! with which a *Roman* Satyrift has severely reproached his Nation! A Villain often enjoyed the Fruits of his Rapines in Eaſe, in an agreeable Banishment, whiſt the Province, which he had pillaged, and which had got him condemned, had no other Satisfaction, but that of ſeeing him removed from *Rome*.

*P. LICINIUS CRASSUS, C. CASSIUS LONGINUS, Conſuls.*  
\* *Tiboli.*  
*Exul ab æſtate Marius libit & fruſtur Diſ. Tatis & tuſſerit Pro-India ſores. Juvenal.*

THE *Spaniards* were ready to have accused many more of their old *Prætors*. But the Judges themſelves were tired with ſeeing ſo many of the firſt of the Nobility proſecuted for Extortions. Even *Canuleius* himſelf, the Protector of the *Spaniſh* Nation, endeavoured to ſcreen many illuſtrious Men from the Judgment of the Commiſſioners. He made his Levies as ſoon as poſſible, and ſet out for his Province; and all Enquiries concerning the oppreſſive Magiſtrates ceaſed, after his Departure. But if the Senate forgave what was paſt, they at leaſt put a Stop to the Vexations the *Provinces* ſuffered, for the future. It was decreed, 1. That the *Roman* Magiſtrates ſhould not, for the future, ſet the Price upon the Corn that was to be ſold. 2. That the *Spaniards* ſhould not be obliged to deliver their Corn to the *Prætors*, upon ſuch Terms as the latter thought fit, but at the current Price. And 3dly, That they ſhould appoint no more Deputies in the Cities, to collect the publick Money. Theſe Regulations comforted the *Spaniards*, and gave them Hopes that their Government would be more tolerable for the future.

SOME other Envoys from *Spain* preſented alſo a Petition to the Senate; but of a quite different kind. They repreſented, That the *Roman* Officers and Soldiers had had Children by *Spaniſh* Women. They reckoned up no leſs than four thouſand of them. And the Marriages of theſe Women being null in Law, ſince no *Roman Citizen* could marry a Foreigner, unleſs in the privileged Nations, it was uncertain what the State of theſe Children was. Were they free? or were they to be adjudged Slaves, becauſe born of Mothers that were ſo? The Envoys therefore deſired, That they might all have the Right of *Citizenship* in one *Spaniſh* City, and live there in full Liberty; and the Senate had Regard to their Petition. The *Fathers* pronounced, That all thoſe who ſhould be judged to be the Children of *Romans*, ſhould go and get their Names enrolled by the *Prætor Canuleius*, after his Arrival in *Spain*; That he ſhould enfranchiſe as many of them as he pleaſed; That all thoſe whom he enfranchiſed ſhould go and People the City of *Carteia*, on the Ocean; That they ſhould there have the Right of *Citizenship*, and poſſeſs Lands of their own; and laſtly, That the City itſelf ſhould be made *A Roman Colony*. Thus the Republick cultivated the Friendſhip of the *Spaniards*, by her Favours to them; whiſt ſhe was buſy in purſuing an important War in *Macedon*.

§. XVI. *R O M E* alſo took ſome Measures to prevent exaſperating the *Carthaginians*. Their Capital had very well recovered her Loſſes, ſince *Scipio Africanus* had humbled her. Trade had put her in a flouriſhing Condition; and by means of the People, this City was become exceeding populous. There were now no Traces left of that Miſery, to which an unfortunate War had reduced her. Nor had *Carthage* entirely unlearned the Art of War, during her Tranquillity. Beſides that ſhe had from time to time furniſhed the *Roman* Armies with Ships, and Auxiliaries; her Quarrels with *Maſiniſſa* had kept the Valour of the *Carthaginians* employed. Indeed, the Senate of *Rome* generally, out of Policy, took upon themſelves the Cognizance of the Diſputes that aroſe, between *Carthage*, and the King of *Numidia*. But they had always begun with pitching Camps, and committing Hoſtilities on both ſides. We have already obſerved, That there had ariſen Diſputes the laſt Year, about the Limits of the two States of *Carthage*, and *Numidia*.

<sup>36</sup> Ever ſince the Promulgation of the *Porcian* Law, it was not lawful for either the Magiſtrates, or the People, to inflict Death on a *Roman Citizen*, though guilty of the greateſt Crimes. Only *Paricides* indeed were excepted, as *Cicero* plainly ſhews, In his ſixth Oration againſt *Verres*.

<sup>37</sup> We have already ſpoken of *Carteia*, which moſt Geographers take for *Tariffa*, a maritime City of *Andaluſia*, near *The Streights of Gibraltar*. *Morales* thinks it was *Algezira*, a City, of which we have now no Footſteps remaining.



That thereby a Foundation was laid for a War between *Masinissa*, and his Neighbours; That *Rome*, who had assumed a Right to judge of the Affair, had suspended it, and not brought it to an Issue; and That *Gulussa* had been sent to the King his Father, for new Instructions concerning it. And now this Prince was returned to *Rome*, and a new Embassy from *Carthage* soon followed him. The Inclinations of the *Romans* were for *Masinissa*; but the time would not suffer them to declare openly against *Carthage*. The Senate could not avoid hearing both Parties; nor could they in Prudence have left two Nations to the Fate of Arms, which they were proud to see have recourse to their Tribunal. The *Numidians* and *Carthaginians* therefore were introduced into the Senate; and *Gulussa* spake first. *Carthage*, said he, *is preparing to vent all the Rage and Malice against my Father, that Jealousy can inspire. She has seen his Dominions increase through your Favour, and cannot bear our Prosperity. She knows that Numidia is devoted to you; and that Masinissa regulates his Interest only by yours. But as pacifick as he is, he cannot bear to see others encroach upon his Rights, and claim a Territory which he claims, only to apply it to your Use. All the Profits of it will be applied to Rome only. Of this you have fresh Proofs, in the Provisions and Troops which Misagenes has carried to the Army in Macedon. Will you then suffer a part of a District to be taken from you, which formerly belonged to our Ancestors, and which Rome granted us when she settled our Limits? Carthage would take it from us by force of Arms. Whilst you were engaged in the Wars in Celtiberia, and the Spaniards also threatened Numidia, the Carthaginians sent Carthalo against us. This General entered our Frontiers, fell suddenly on Masinissa's Camp, committed some Slaughter there, and made some Prisoners. In short, he drew the Peasants of the Country into a Revolt, and has not ceased to molest us to this Day. The Carthaginians are common Enemies to you, and us. Do you then want Power or Authority to put a Stop to their Insults? You ought in point of Policy to keep them under. Their Strength increases daily with their Riches. And perhaps they are only first trying their Strength against Numidia, in order to turn their Arms afterwards against the Romans, their Conquerors.*

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXII.  
P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, C.  
CASSIUS LONGINUS, Con-  
suls.

ALL the Senate inclined to *Masinissa*, but the State of Affairs at this Juncture suspended their shewing their Good-will to him for the present. The *Carthaginian* Ambassadors were brought into the House; but added nothing to their Accusations the last Year. They only inveighed as before against the Ambition of *Masinissa*, complained of his Usurpations, fell prostrate, and entreated the House to do them Justice, without any Partiality. The Senate promised them, that Commissioners should immediately be sent into *Africa*, to determine these Differences on the Spot; and forbad both Parties to continue their Hostilities. But these *Roman* Envoys were charged with something more than putting an end to the Process. They had Orders to consider the State of the *African* Republick; which had never been more suspected than now. Her Wealth might induce her to become once more a Rival to *Rome*. The *Roman* Deputies were even terrified at the vast Prosperity and Plenty which they found in *Carthage*; and nothing comforted them but the Divisions they found among the Citizens. The least numerous Party of the *Carthaginian* Lords were for the *Romans*, and they were headed by *Hasmo*. Others declared themselves for *Masinissa*, and *Hannibal*, surnamed *Psar*, was the Head of this Faction. The rest were for the Commons, who were under the Management of *Hamilcar*, surnamed *Samis*, and *Carthalo*. Upon their Arrival, the *Romans* discovered all these Intrigues; and then acted rather as Arbitrators, than Judges in the Cause. As *Masinissa* was then in Possession of the Land in dispute, they did not deprive him of it; but pronounced, that he should not be dispossessed, till a definitive Sentence was given against him: and by these Delays the Republick seemed to protect the *Numidian* King, without Prejudice to the Rights of *Carthage*.

App. in Punic.  
c. 37.

§. XVII. As soon as the Ambassadors nominated to go to *Africa* were embarked, the *Comitia* were held for the great Elections, the Consul *Cassius* presided in them; and the *Consular Fasces* were given, by a Plurality of Voices, to A. <sup>38</sup> *Hostilius*

<sup>38</sup> *Cassiodorus* differs from the *Fast Capitolini*, *ship*, the Birth of *Attius*, a Comic Poet. He was as to the *Praenomina* of the two Consuls for this almost Cotemporary with the Poet *Pacuvius*, the Year 583. He gives them both that of *Caius*. Son of *Ennius's* Sister. We shall have Occasion St. Jerome in his *Chronicon*, places in this Consul- to speak of these two Poets hereafter.

*Mancinus*



Year of *R O M E* DLXXXIII. *A. Hostilius Mancinus, A. Attilius Serranus, Consuls. Fast. Capit.*

*Mancinus*, and *A. Attilius Serranus*. Six *Prætors* were also chosen. But the Historians have preserved only three of their Names. *M. Bæbius* governed *Rome*, and heard the Causes of the *Citizens*. *Q. Menius* took Cognizance of the Causes of Foreigners; and *L. Hortensius* went to command the Fleet on the Coasts of *Greece*. We can only guess at the Names of the *Prætors*, of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Spain*. The *Consuls* drew Lots for their Provinces; and *Macedon* fell to *Hostilius*; and *Liguria*, to *Attilius Serranus*. The old *Consul Licinius* had Orders to continue in the *Levant*, in quality of *Pro-Consul*, till his Successor arrived; and as soon as the latter was installed according to form, and had made his Recruits, he prepared to set out, to continue the War against *Perses*. *Rome* was wholly intent on the *Macedonian* Expedition. The Trial the *Romans* had made of the Valour of the King their Enemy, gave them some Uneasiness concerning the Success of the Enterprize. *Perses* was actually making new Preparations to take the Field, the next Spring. He had gained himself some Reputation the last Year, and kept *Europe* in suspense, between the *Romans* and him. And now it was highly necessary for him to maintain the Glory he had acquired; and he hoped to keep the Success equal, and preserve his Independence. To this end he spent the whole Winter in exercising his Troops, to inure them to Discipline. The *Consular* Army was provided with Elephants, which *Masinissa* had brought from *Numidia*; and *Perses* therefore, in order to preserve his Infantry from the Disorder these frightful Beasts had caused among his Battalions, during the last Campaign, ordered the Helmets of his Foot Soldiers to be stuck thick with Nails. Then the Elephants could not tread upon the Heads of these Soldiers, without hurting their Feet, or turn their Trunks round them. It was also necessary to guard the Horses against the Dread which they naturally have for these Animals; and to this end, the King of *Macedon* ordered moveable wooden Machines to be made, representing Elephants; and by Art made them smell much like real ones. By this means the *Macedonian* Horses were by Degrees accustomed to the Figure and Smell of these Beasts, and were no more afraid of their Approaches.

*Zonar. B. 9. c. 22.*

BUT the first use *Perses* made of the Army he had so carefully exercised, was not against the *Romans*. Before he marched it against *Licinius* in *Thessaly*, he thought himself obliged to go and assist *Cotys*, that Sovereign of a Part of *Thrace*, who had done him such important Services the last Year. We have observed, that *Eumenes* had stirred up against this petty King, a neighbouring Prince, named *Atlesbis*; and sent Troops into *Cotys's* Dominions, under the Command of one of his Generals, named *Corrabus*. And this Diversion had succeeded. *Cotys* was no longer Master of his Territories; his Enemies had seized them. Besides, his Country bordered on *Dardania*; and this Country, which was in the Interest of *Rome*, gave him Terror. In this Extremity therefore *Cotys* had recourse to *Perses*. He had been a faithful Ally to the *Macedonian*, was almost the only one on whom he could depend, and might therefore be assured of his Assistance. Accordingly, *Perses* hastened to him, put the *Pergamians* and *Thracians*, who infested his Territories, to flight; retook the Cities he had lost; and again settled the Province of *Marena*, which was already conquered, under the Dominion of its old Master. Nor was this enough. The King of *Macedon* entered *Dardania*, and there found the People upon the defensive. They had already assembled an Army of ten thousand Men. But *Perses* fell upon them at a time when they least expected it, defeated and routed this tumultuous Army, ravaged the Country, and returned to *Macedon*.

39 The Origin of the *Hostilian* Family is carried up to one *Hostus Hostilius*, who removed from *Medulia*, his native City, to *Rome*, where he obtained the right of *Citizenship*, in the Reign of *Romulus*. This Family reckoned King *Tullus Hostilius* among their Ancestors. The *Mancinus's*, the *Attilius's*, the *Cato's*, and the *Saferna's*, were so many different Branches of this Stock.

40 We don't know enough of the Country of *Marena* in *Thrace*, to determine exactly its Extent and Situation. Nevertheless, it seems to have been part of the Country of the *Odyssians*, who were subject to *Cotys*, one of the petty Kings of *Thrace*.



§. XVIII. DURING these Delays of the King, <sup>41</sup> *Licinius*, who was only *Pro-Con-*  
sul in *Greece*, and the *Pro-Prætor Lucretius*, Admiral of the Fleet under *Lici-*  
*nus*, were guilty of unheard of Oppressions. This Spirit seems now to have pre-  
vailed in all the *Roman* Generals, in their Provinces. The Avarice of these Com-  
manders was become insatiable; and the Superiority of their Arms gave a Sanction  
to their Injustice. Complaints were made of it, in all Places where the *Romans*  
made War; and the *Gauls* beyond the Eastern *Alpes*, did not spare *C. Cassius*, who  
had just laid down the *Consulate*. It may be remembered, that he had, the last  
Year, endeavoured to make himself a Way by Land into *Macedon*, without the  
Order of the Senate. And wherever he came, he left cruel Remembrances of  
him behind him. *Cincibilis*, King of one of the *Gallic* Nations, who inhabited a  
Country near the *Alpes*, on this side *Istria*, sent his Brother to give an Account at  
*Rome*, of the Ravages *Cassius* had made his Troops commit, in the Lands of the  
Allies of the Republick. The *Gauls*, said he, *who are subject to the King my Fa-*  
*ther, have always kept up a faithful Correspondence with Rome. Accordingly,*  
*when the Consul Cassius appeared in our Territories, we opened all the Passes to*  
*him. And when he came, he was indeed peaceable enough; we don't complain of*  
*it. But when your Orders came to recall him to Rome, we felt the Force of his*  
*Resentments. What numberless Pillages, and Murders, and Conflagrations, did he*  
*cause in his Passage! And what have we done, Conscrip Fathers, to deserve such*  
*severe Treatment?* Some Envoys also from the Country of the *Carni*, from *Istria*,  
and from <sup>42</sup> *Japidia*, join'd with the Brother of *Cincibilis* in the Cause; made the  
same Complaints; and the Senate gave them the same Answer. *Cassius* would have  
been instantly called to an Account for his Violences, if he had been at *Rome*.  
But he was gone to *Macedon*, in quality of *Legionary Tribune*, under the *Consul*  
*Hostilius*. And in the mean time, the *Conscrip Fathers* comforted these afflicted  
People, with favourable Answers, Presents, and paying them great Respect. *Cin-*  
*cibilis* was told, That the Republick neither had ordered, nor did approve of, the  
Violences of *Cassius*; That as soon as he returned, the Complaints of the King  
should be heard, and examined into; and That the Offender should not escape  
unpunished. And this seemed to be sufficient Satisfaction. But the Senate  
did more. They sent two Ambassadors to *Cincibilis*, to make Excuses; and one  
to each of the three Nations, that had been oppressed. The Expences of the Am-  
bassadors were borne by the Publick, and two thousand *Asses* of Brass were given  
to each. *Rome* also paid *Cincibilis*, and his Brother, distinguishing Honours. She  
made them Presents of two Crowns of Gold, of five Pounds weight; of two  
Horses richly equipped; of two Slaves for Grooms; and of two complete Habits  
for Horsemen, with Cloaks; and all their Attendants were presented with Vests,  
except their Slaves. Thus *Rome*, perhaps not so much out of Equity, as Policy,  
calmed the Minds of the People, who bordered on the Country, where she was  
going to make War. The *Roman* Pride swelled, or abated, according to the  
Times.

§. XIX. At length, the *Consul Hostilius* arrived in *Thessaly*, took the Land Forces  
from under the Command of *Licinius*, and the *Prætor Hortensius* took the Command  
of the Fleet which *Lucretius* put into his Hands. The old *Consul*, and the old Ad-  
miral, set out for *Italy*. *Perses* had already left *Macedon*, and was come down into  
*Thessaly*, where he was preparing to continue the War, with the new Adversary  
*Rome* had sent against him. But by I know not what Fatality; no particular Ac-  
counts of the Exploits of this Campaign have been transmitted down to us. Did  
then the Historians choose to bury in Oblivion a Year, which was so little glori-  
ous to the *Roman* Name? *Hostilius* made two Attempts to enter *Macedon*. All

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIII.

A. HOSTILIUS  
MANCINUS,  
A. ATTILIUS  
SERRANUS,  
Consuls.

Plut in *Æmil.*

<sup>41</sup> The *Roman* Senate and Magistrates often un-  
dertook to revenge the Quarrel of oppressed Nati-  
ons. Those of the Inhabitants of *Coronea*, which  
the covetous *Licinius* had sold to the best Bidder,  
had their Liberty and Effects restored them. And  
the *Tribunes of the People* were no less zealous in  
the Defence of the Cities of the Allies, which  
claimed the Protection of *Rome*, against the Rob-  
beries of *Lucretius*. The Name of this unworthy  
General was become execrable; and the assembled

*Citizens* could not hear the Account which was gi-  
ven of the abominable Excesses he committed where-  
ever he came, without Horror.

<sup>42</sup> *Japidia* was one of the Western Countries of  
*Illyricum*. On one side, it reached from the Springs  
of the *Timavus*, to *Istria*; and on the other, it was  
bounded by the Rivers *Arfia* and *Tedanium*, or the  
*Arfa*, and the *Zermagna*. And lastly, this Canton  
of *Japidia* bordered on the *Alpes*, above *Istria*.



Year of his Aim was to get thither, to live upon free Quarter, at the Enemy's Expence.  
 R O M E He first tried to force the Pass of <sup>43</sup> *Elymea*. But *Perses* hastened thither, fought  
 DLXXXIII. the *Consular* Troops, and put them to flight. Then <sup>44</sup> *Hostilius* thought to have  
 A. HOSTILIUS made himself a Way into *Macedon*, through *Theffaly*. But the intrepid *Perses*  
 MANCINUS, came and posted himself over against the *Consul*, and offered him Battel. And  
 A. ATTILIUS whether out of Cowardice, or an Excess of Precaution, *Hostilius* would not ac-  
 SERRANUS, cept the Challenge. So that all his Campaign was spent in vain Projects, and  
 Consuls. cowardly Distrusts.

Plut. Ibid.  
 Polyb. in Le-  
 gat.

AND as for the *Prætor Hortensius*, and his Fleet, he performed no Exploits, but against the Friends and Allies of the *Romans*. Being actuated by the same Spirit of Avarice as his Predecessor, he distressed the Cities of the *Roman* Party with cruel Oppressions. The Inhabitants of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, as well as those of *Abdera* in *Thrace*, on the Coast of the *Ægean* Sea, had Reason to complain of him, as they had done of *Lucretius*. So that the *Roman* Generals seem- ed to have gone into the *Levant*, only to bring Disgrace on the Republick, and render her odious. *Perses* made his Advantage of the irregular Proceedings of the *Consul* and *Prætor*; took the Cities of the Nations in Alliance with his Enemies; and brought over whole Provinces to him. But after all, the *Macedo- nian* depended little on the Valour and Fidelity of the *Greeks*. He sought for Alliances with more brave, and more faithful Nations. The *Bastarnæ* were deemed Barbarians in *Greece*; but they had given Proofs of their Valour on the Confines of *Macedon*. Though they were at so great a Distance, they knew the Way into the Country to which they were invited; and though they had been ill used upon their first Removal, they were not a People that were easily discouraged. *Perses* therefore made them large Promises, and invited them to come to his Assistance. He had more Views than one in it. It is supposed, that he waited to send these Foreigners into *Italy*, thro' the Country of the *Scordisci*, and that of Eastern *Gauls*, in order to make a powerful Diversion there. Or if not, the Cavalry of the *Bastarnæ* would, at all Adventures, be a good Reinforcement to his Troops, and make his Army more formidable. This was a sensible Scheme. But the King's prevailing Passion, Avarice, rendered fruitless all the Measures he had taken, with so much Prudence.

Liv. B. 43.  
 c. 9.

§. XX. THE *Macedonian* also depended on *Gentius*, the most powerful of the *Illyrican* Kings. This Prince delayed a little declaring against the *Romans*, by open Acts of Hostilities, under various Pretences. Nevertheless, *Rome* was not ignorant of the Engagements he had entered into with *Perses*. The two Kings had mutually given each other Hostages, and their League was become publick. *Gentius* was desired, above all things, to prepare as strong a Sea Armament as he could, because the Fleet of the *Romans*, though not great, was superior to that of the Confederates; and these Preparations on the side of the *Macedonians*, made the *Romans* the more vigilant. The Senate sent from *Brundisium*, a Squadron of eight Ships of War, for the Island of *Iffa*. *C. Furius* one of the Lieutenant Ge- nerals of the *Roman* Armies, was already cruising there with two Ships of those Islanders, and watching the Motions of the *Illyricans*; and when his Squadron should be strengthened, he would be in a better Condition to hinder the *Illyrican* Fleet from sailing out of their Ports. Nor was this all. The *Consul Hostilius* thought it necessary to guard the Allies of *Rome*, against the Irruptions of *Gentius*, and force him to continue in his own Dominions. To this end he detached four thousand Men from his Army, under the Command of one *Appius Claudius*, a Man greedy of Booty, and more rash than brave. This was then the Fault, both of the *Roman* Officers and Soldiers; and *Hostilius*, with all his Care and Pre-

<sup>43</sup> *Elymea*, the Capital of the Canton of the *Elymiotæ*, stood on the Banks of the River *Haliac- mon*, between *Theffaly*, *Pelagonia* *Tripolitæ*, and *Macedon*. In order to go from thence into *Perses's* Kingdom, it was necessary to climb over the *Cam- buntian* Mountains, which surrounded this City on all sides.

<sup>44</sup> A little time before, and in the Year 583, (at least we guess so from what *Plutarch* says) *Perses*

had privately equipped a Fleet, and undertook to command it himself. He sailed with it towards the Island of *Eubœa*, and fell on the *Roman* Fleet which lay at Anchor, in the Road of *Oreos*. The Attack was so well managed, that the *Macedonians* took from the *Romans* twenty Transports, and four *Quinqueremes*; and sunk a great Number of Ships laden with Corn.

Caution



caution to reform his Troops, had not yet been able to settle the ancient Discipline in his Army, in its full Rigour.

As soon as *Claudius* saw himself at the Head of a Body of *Romans*, he thought of nothing but enlarging it. He made Levies among the Allies of *Rome*, armed them as well as he could, and after he had assembled together and equipped about eight thousand Men in great Haste, he entered that part of *Macedon*, which bordered on *Illyricum*, and came and encamped at <sup>45</sup> *Lychnis*. Not far from thence, on the same Lake as *Lychnis*, there was a City called <sup>46</sup> *Uscana*. It was subject to the King of *Macedon*, and was thought one of the Keys to his Dominions. It contained about ten thousand Men, fit to bear Arms, and had a small Garrison of *Cretan* Mercenaries. These *Cretans*, to raise *Claudius's* Avarice, privately sent him Word, that they would deliver up the City to him; gave him Hopes of finding great Riches in it upon taking it by Assault; and *Claudius* fell into the Snare laid for him. His Covetousness blinded him. Without demanding Hostages of the Traitors, who engaged to deliver up the City to him, or even giving them the Oaths usual on such Occasions, he depending on the Faith of a perfidious Nation, left *Lychnis*, and drew near to *Uscana*. He posted himself about twelve Miles from the City, which he pretended to surprize; and about four in the Morning, marched out of his Camp, and left only a thousand Men to guard it. His March was irregular, and pursued without any Precaution. His Men came before the Place in small Companies, and some of them lost their Way, in the Darkness of the Night. However, at length the little Army appeared near *Uscana*; and *Claudius* saw neither any Soldiers on the Ramparts, nor any Preparations for maintaining a Siege; and this Artifice increased his Confidence, insomuch, that he gave no Directions for an Attack, nor indeed any Orders at all. He wholly depended on the Success of his Negotiations with the *Cretans* in the Place. His Troops advanced to the very Foot of the Wall, in Confusion, and the utmost Disorder; and this was the Opportunity for which the *Uscanians* waited. Two Gates were opened on a sudden, and the Walls were lined with a great Number of Women and Slaves, carrying in their Hands Frying-Pans, Basons, and Pots. The Noise they made with striking on the Brass Vessels, together with their Cries, and Shouts, terrified the Troops that were not much inured to War; and this first Fright was soon followed by an entire Rout. The *Cretans* and Warriors of the City made so vigorous a Sally from two Quarters, that there was no Safety for *Claudius's* Army but in flight. When dispersed, they did their utmost to regain their Camp; but they were pursued, and cut in pieces; and of the eleven thousand Men which had appeared before *Uscana*, scarce two reached their Trenches. The rest were slain on the Field of Battel, or made Prisoners by the Enemy; and then the *Roman* immediately quitted this fatal Camp, and returned to *Lychnis*, equally confounded at having been outwitted, and at having suffered himself to be beaten.

§. XXI. So that this unfortunate Campaign gave the *Roman* Senate and People much Uneasiness. The *Consul*, with all the Efforts he could make, could not penetrate into *Macedon*; and all his Exploits amounted to no more, than re-establishing Discipline a little among the Troops. Whilst *Perses* on the other hand had known how to profit by the Advantages he had been suffered to gain. All *Greece* began to move in his Favour. Nay, even *Eumenes* himself, that faithful King of *Pergamus*, and that personal Enemy to the *Macedonian*, was so far inclined to go over to him, that he, as well as the *Rhodians*, had already begun Negotiations with him. This was the Temper of the *Greeks* and *Asiatics*. The first Glare of Prosperity dazzled their Eyes. They were wholly intent on the present, and not regardful enough of the future, or grateful enough for what was past. But after all, *Rome* had not met with very considerable Misfortunes in *Greece*, or had any Losses, which were difficult to be repaired. Indeed, she had not had her usual Success for these two Years last past; and the *Macedonians* had gained some

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIII.  
A. HOSTILIUS  
MANCINUS,  
A. ATTILIUS  
SERRANUS,  
Consuls.

<sup>45</sup> The Name of *Lychnis* was common to a City and Lake in *Macedon*. The City stood on an Hill at a little Distance from the Lake. Both are now called *Ochrida*, as we have elsewhere observed.

<sup>46</sup> The Geographers place the City of *Uscana*,

near the *Cambuvian* Mountains, in the Country of the *Penestæ*. These People possessed the Western part of *Macedon*, to the South of the *Deuriopæ*, and *Dassaretæ*. *Uscana* was the Capital of that Canton.



Year of Advantages. Which was enough to induce those cowardly Politicians, to make some Advances towards their most declared Enemy.

R O M E  
DLXXXIII.

A. HOSTILIUS  
MANCINUS,  
A. ATTILIUS  
SERRANUS,  
Consuls.  
Livy, B. 43.  
c. 11.

ROME was informed of the Conduct of *Hostilius* and *Hortensius* in the *Levant*, and of the Ascendant *Perses* had gained over them; and the Senate instantly sent two Deputies to *Greece*. Their Orders were to inform themselves fully, of the true State of the *Roman* Armies, the Proceedings of the *Consul*, and the present Condition of the *Macedonian*; and to make a Report of what they observed to the Republick. They were likewise charged to intimate to the *Consul*, that it was proper for him to return to *Rome* immediately, to preside at the Elections of the Magistrates, which were to enter upon their Offices the *January* following. By this Step the Senate shewed how much the People at *Rome* were alarmed about the Affairs of *Macedon*. Nay, the Uneasiness was so great, that an Edict was published, requiring all the Senators, who were not employed by the Republick in Offices, to return to the City, and forbidding them to go above a Mile from it. In great Emergencies, *Rome* wanted the Advice of all the Members of the Senate; and these Orders were put in Execution. How glorious then was it for *Perses*, to make the most intrepid Republick in the World dread him, at so great a Distance! Providence seems to have taken Pleasure in raising the most wicked of Princes to a great Height, that his Fall might be the greater. Besides, the Avarice, and ill Faith of the *Roman* Officers in their Provinces, had well deserved a transient Humiliation.

S. XXII. WHILST the *Consul Hostilius* was preparing for his Departure from *Theffaly*, the Senate of *Rome*, now more numerous than ever, gave Audience to the Envoys of several foreign Nations. The first they heard were the *Athenians*. These shewed how far their Zeal for the Service of the *Roman* Republick had carried them the last Year, and said; Athens sent all her Ships to join the Fleet commanded by the *Prætor* *Lucretius*; and left her own Port empty. But the *Prætor* would not accept of the Service of our Gallies. Nay, he made so ill a return for our Zeal to serve you, that he ordered us to furnish him with a hundred thousand Modii \* of Corn; which we sent, though it is well known that *Attica* is a barren Country, and does not produce enough to support its own Inhabitants. We are forced to fetch our Provisions from foreign Countries. And notwithstanding this ill Usage, the *Athenians* will always be ready to obey any future Orders of the Republick. The *Conscript Fathers* heard these Complaints, and Offers of Service, but gave no immediate Answer. Nevertheless, they reserved for *Lucretius* the Punishment he deserved. Then the *Milesians* were introduced after the *Athenian* Deputies; and they only protested, that they were absolutely at the Devotion of the Republick, and ready to pay an entire Submission to her Commands. The Envoys from *Alebanda*, a City of *Caria*, told the *Roman* People, that they had built, and consecrated a Temple TO THE CITY OF ROME, whom they acknowledged to be a Goddess; That they instituted Feasts to her Honour; and That they celebrated them every Year. They also brought a Crown of Gold of fifty Pounds † weight for a Present to *Jupiter* on the *Capitol*; and three hundred Bucklers made after their Fashion, for a Present to the City, to dispose of as she pleased: And all the Favour they asked, was Leave to offer Sacrifices in the *Capitol*. The *Conscript Fathers* received them graciously; desired them to carry their three hundred Bucklers to *Hostilius's* Army, and made them fine Presents in return. After them the Senate gave Audience to the Deputies of *Lampsacus*, a City of *Mysia*. The *Lampsaceni*, formerly subject to *Perses*, had deserted him, since the Arrival of the *Roman* Army in the *Levant*; and they now desired to be admitted into a perpetual Friendship and Alliance with the *Romans*; entreating that if *Rome* ever made Peace with *Macedon*, *Lampsacus* should always be excepted in the Treaty, and never again be subject to the Dominion of the *Macedonians*. The Senate granted their Request, and ordered the *Prætor* *Mænius* to draw up the Act of Confederacy ‡ between *Lampsacus* and *Rome*. To which we must add, that to every one of all these Ambassadors, was given the Sum of two thousand † *Asses*.

\* 25000  
Bushels Engl.  
Arbutnot.

† Worth  
2400 l. Sterl.  
at 4 l. per  
Ounce.

‡ 6 l. 9 s. 2 d.  
Sterl. Arbut.

47 According to *Livy*, the Deputies of *Lampsacus*, tract with the *Roman* People, made the Senate a Present of a Crown of Gold of eighty Pounds † weight as a Pledge of the Friendship they desired to con-



NEXT to the *Asiatick* Envoys, came the *African*. Carthage had sent to offer the Republick a Million of *Modii* of \* Wheat, and † five hundred thousand of Barley: and *Masiniſſa*, on his Part, made the ſame Offer, adding to this Preſent of Corn, twelve hundred Horses, and twelve Elephants. Rome received theſe Offers with Thankfulneſs; and deſired the *Carthaginians*, and the King of *Numidia*, to ſend their Preſents to *Hoſtilius's* Army in *Macedon*. The Submission of all theſe Cities in *Greece*, and *Asia*, and the chief Powers of *Africa*, plainly ſhewed Rome, that her Credit was not quite loſt in the Eaſt and South. But on the other hand, the Complaints and proud Answers of ſome of the Deputies of the *Greeks*, demonſtrated that her Authority there was leſſened. The *Cretans* told the Senate, that they had ſent to the *Roman* General in *Macedon* as many Bow Men as the Republick had demanded; but confeſſed at the ſame time, that they had raiſed a greater Number to ſerve under *Perſes*. This was very diſpleaſing to the *Conſcript Fathers*, and they answered, *If Crete will keep up a good Correſpondence with Rome, let her inſtantly recall from Macedon, the Cretans which fight under the Standards of our Enemies.* But whether the *Cretans* obeyed, is uncertain.

§. XXIII. *CHALCIS* in *Eubœa* had alſo ſent a Deputation to Rome, the Novelty of which made it ſurprizing. The Head of the Embaſſy was an eloquent and bold Orator, named *Miction*; and he was carried into the Preſence of the *Conſcript Fathers* in a Chair; which was a new Sight. The *Romans* imputed this uncommon Boldneſs to nothing leſs than abſolute Neceſſity. However, *Miction* made his Speech to them ſitting, and pretended Lameneſs. *Tho' the Gods*, ſaid he, *have deprived me of my Strength, they have left me the free Uſe of my Tongue; and I will uſe it to lament the Miſfortunes of my Country.* Chalcis has done the Roman Republick important Services. *Perſes* has felt the Effects of them more ſeverely than any one elſe. Nevertheless, with what Barbarity was ſhe treated the laſt Year by *Demetrius*; and what Oppreſſions does ſhe now labour under from the *Prætor Hortenſius*! And yet, all theſe Calamities will never draw us off from the *Romans*, and make us join with *Perſes*. What Satisfaction then have not ſuch faithful Allies reaſon to expect? And what Compassion ſhould their Miſery raiſe in your Hearts? It had been much better for Chalcis to have ſhut her Gates againſt your two Admirals, than to have ſuffered them to enter her Port. What Ravages, what Depredations, what infamous Cruelties, have they ſuffered their Soldiers and Seamen to commit within her Walls! O, how much wiſer then were the Inhabitants of *Emathia*, *Amphipolis*, *Maronea*, and *Ænos*, than the *Chalcidians*! They ſhut their Gates againſt your *Prætors*; and have thereby preſerved their Eſtates, and the Chaſtity of their Wives and Children. But Chalcis has ſeen her Temples robbed and prophaned, the Ornaments of her Gods taken away, her Houſes plundered, and her Daughters diſhonoured. What Riches has *Lucretius* carried away from our Sanctuaries, to adorn his fine Houſe at *Antium*! And the ſame Rapines, the ſame Sacrilege, has been continued under his Succeſſor *Hortenſius*. This merciless Admiral has provided no Lodgings for his Soldiers and Rowers, neither in Winter nor Summer, but our Houſes. And I am aſhamed to ſay what infamous Things have been committed in the Sight of our domeſtick Gods, by means of this Mixture of idle and diſorderly Men, with our Wives and Daughters. *Obscene Diſcourſe* is the leaſt Reproach we have to caſt upon them.

THIS Speech, together with the Obligation Rome then lay under, to cultivate the Friendſhip of her Allies in the *Levant*, made an Impreſſion on the Senate. The *Conſcript Fathers* declared to the Ambaſſadors, by the Mouth of *Quintus Mænius* the *Prætor*, That they gave entire Credit to the Complaints they made againſt the two Admirals, *Lucretius*, and *Lucius Hortenſius*; That Rome was not at all acceſſary to the ill Treatment the *Chalcidians* had received from her Generals; That this might appear by the End ſhe propoſed in pacifying *Greece*; That ſhe neither had, nor did, pretend to any thing more, than to ſet the People in perfect Liberty; and laſtly, That the Senate would order a Letter to be written to *Hortenſius*, requiring him to draw all his Soldiers out of *Chalcis*, and ſuffer only the Officers of his Fleet to lodge in the City. This ſhewed that Rome had abated much of her Pride. Such Acts of Condeſcention on her Part were not common. And even this was not all. They made Preſents to the *Chalcidian* Deputies; a Litter was provided, at the publick Expence, to carry *Miction* as far as *Brundisium*, where he was

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIII.A. HOSTILIUS  
MANCINUS,  
A. ATTILIUS  
SERRANUS,  
Consuls.r 25000  
Eng. Buzels.  
Arbutnot.  
† 125000  
Eng. Buzels.  
Arbutnot.Livy, B. 43.  
c. 7.



Year of to embark; and *Lucretius* suffered the Punishment due to his Oppressions in the  
 R O M E *Levant*. Two *Tribunes of the People* cited him to appear before the assembled  
 DLXXXIII. *Tribes*, to take his Trial. This old *Prætor* had long been returned to *Italy*; but  
 A. HOSTILIUS had not yet appeared at *Rome*. He was wholly taken up with embellishing a fine  
 MANCIUS, Country-House which he had near *Antium*, with his Rapines; and was turning the  
 A. ATTILIUS little River of 48 *Loracina* thro' 49 his Gardens. He was therefore recalled to the  
 SERRANUS, City, and there, in full Senate, received all the Reproaches that his Extortion had  
 Consuls. deserved. Then he was brought before the People, accused a second time by the  
 \* 3229 l. 3 s. two *Tribunes*, and fined \* one Million of *Asses* of Brass. An Example which  
 4 d. *Arbutb.* should have restrained the Avarice of the Generals which the Republick sent into  
 distant Countries.

Florus, B. 2. § XXIV. *SPAIN* also had been pillaged by the *Roman* Officers, for some  
 c. 17. Years last past. But the Republick had remedied this Evil there, by wise Regula-  
 tions. And the News that was now brought from thence to *Rome* was much more  
 agreeable, than that from *Theffaly*. The *Prætor Junius Pennus*, had found every  
 thing in Disorder at his Arrival there. A Fanatick, named *Salondicus*, had put the  
 whole *Celtiberian* Nation, and some others near it, into a Ferment. He had asso-  
 ciated with him another Person of much the same Character as himself; and join-  
 ing together, they pretended to the *Celtiberians* that they were inspired. A mad  
 Multitude, which were already highly exasperated against the *Romans*, were easily  
 seduced. The Prophet carried in his Hand a Silver Lance, which he pretended to  
 have received from Heaven, as the Pledge and Instrument of his Victories; and up-  
 on the Assurances the Seducer gave them, the *Celtiberians* took up Arms. A pro-  
 digious Number of Troops were already assembled, in a Plain where *Salondicus*  
 was giving Orders, which were revered as the Commands of the Gods; and in this  
 critical Juncture of Affairs, *Junius Pennus* came to take Possession of the Govern-  
 ment of *Hither Spain*, and of the Armies which he was to command there. The  
*Prætor* made it his first Business to pacify the *Spanish* Nations not yet infected  
 with the Fanaticism of the *Celtiberians*, and reconcile them to him by Bene-  
 factions; and then he led his *Legions* to the Frontiers of *Celtiberia*, and came  
 and encamped within Reach of the new Enemy, with whom Enthusiasm supplied  
 the Place of Valour.

THE *Celtiberians* had too often experienced the Superiority of the *Romans*, not  
 to be intimidated by their Approaches; but *Salondicus* encouraged his Army. The  
 pretended Prophet practised all Kinds of Delusions, to appease the Fears of his Sol-  
 diers; and, as his last Resource, told them, That he would go into the *Roman*  
 Camp, and kill the *Prætor* with his own Hands. This, he said, would prove in-  
 fallibly true, the Gods having revealed it to him. Accordingly, the new *Scævola*  
 took his Brother Fanatick with him, came into the *Spanish* Battalions in the *Roman*  
 Camp, and retired again without being known. He spake the same Language,  
 wore the same Habit, and used the same Dress, as the *Spanish* Troops that joined  
 with the *Romans*; and all he wanted was to get as easy an Access to the *Prætorium*,  
 as *Mucius Scævola* had had to *Porfenna's* Tent. But the Guard did their Duty with  
 great Care, about *Junius Pennus*. The Enthusiast and his Companion were disco-  
 vered, and stabbed in a thousand Places. Their Heads were cut off, and given to  
 the Captive *Celtiberians*, to be carried to their Camp, and shewn in all the Ranks  
 of their Army; and it is impossible to express the Dejection this Sight caused among  
 the *Celtiberian* Troops. It was then plain that *Salondicus* had imposed on the Cre-  
 dulity of the People. The Promises of the Prophet were vanished with him.  
 What then had they to do, but to abandon the Camp, and retire to their respective  
 Cities? They came, one after another, and delivered themselves up to the Mercy of  
 the *Prætor*, and implored his Clemency. The Artifices, and false Predictions of the  
 Seducer were their Excuse; and some readily offered to submit to the Punishment  
 they had deserved. But *Junius* pardoned all, and settled in Peace this great Coun-  
 try, which nothing less than a false Pretence to Inspiration could draw off from the

48 The little River of *Loracina* waters *Nettuno*,  
 a maritime City of *Campagna di Roma*.

\* 419 l. 15 s. 49 The *Prætor*, says *Livy*, spent \* a hundred and  
 10 s. *Sterling*. thirty thousand *Asses* of Brass, in turning the Course  
*Arbutb.* of this River, in order to bring it through his Gar-

dens. To which he adds, That *Lucretius* saved  
 out of the Spoils of the Cities which he had plun-  
 dered, several Pictures, with which he adorned the  
 Temple of *Æsculapius*.



Interests of *Rome*. Thus ended an Alarm, which brought *Junius* as much Honour, and the Republick more Advantage, than if the *Celtiberians* had been defeated in a pitched Battel <sup>50</sup>.

§. XXV. In *Italy*, the *Ligures* were more peaceable than the *Spaniards* had been. The *Consul Attilius* was commissioned to keep them in their Duty; and he thought the *Consular Army* he was to lead into that Country so needless, that he disbanded the greatest Part of it. At the End of forty Days, he sent back his *Legionaries* to *Rome*, and kept only the Troops of the Allies in the Field. And these he quartered in *Pisa*, and *Luna*, without encamping them. As for himself, attended by a Guard of some of his Cavalry, he visited almost all the Cities in his Province, and settled Tranquillity in them. And it seemed naturally to have been his Right to have presided in the *Comitia* for the Great Elections. But his Collegue was already returned to *Rome*, and he was suffered to preside in *The Field of Mars*. The *Comitia* were held there, in the Month of *August*, the fifth Day before *The Calends of September*; and *Rome* then promoted to the *Consulship* a second time, that *Q. Marcius Philippus*, with whom *Perses* had had a Conference, and who had deceived him with false Hopes of Peace; and with him *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, who had never enjoyed this Dignity before.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIII.

A. HOSTILIUS  
MANCINUS,  
A. ATTILIUS  
SERRANUS,  
Consuls.

AFTER this Election, *Hostilius* was sent back to *Macedon*. At least we shall see him in *Thessaly* again the next Year, commanding the *Roman Army* there for some time, in Quality of *Pro-Consul*. But he gained no more Advantage over *Perses*, during the rest of this dishonourable Campaign, than he had done in the Beginning of it. He indeed still kept up Discipline among the Soldiers; but all his fresh Efforts to penetrate into *Macedon* were fruitless. However, by this good Order which he preserved in his Camp, he paved the Way for the Glory of his Successors. And as the most famous Nations of the East did not despair of seeing *Rome* victorious over *Macedon* at last, their Attachment to the *Romans* was not lessened by one or two Year's Inaction. This appeared by the almost blind Obedience which the King of *Syria* paid to the imperious Commands of the Republick; and of which we shall here give a compleat Account, from its first Source.

§. XXVI. *ANTIOCHUS*, surnamed *Epiphanes*, was now reviving the Project he had formed, of invading *Egypt* by the same Artifices which he had made use of to usurp the Government of *Syria*. At *Antioch*, he had seized and filled the Place of his Nephew, who was detained as an Hostage at *Rome*; and he now again proposed to reign in *Egypt* too; which was divided into Factions, one of which was for *Physcon*, and the other for *Ptolomy Philometor*, the two Sons of *Cleopatra* the Sister of *Antiochus*,

<sup>50</sup> *Livy*, in the Epitome of his 43d Book, gives the Leader of the *Spaniards* the Name of *Olonicus*, or rather *Elonicus*, as we read in most Copies. *Spain*, says he, *had taken up Arms against the Romans; but the Death of Elonicus, who was slain in the Beginning of the new War, restored Peace to the Country.* *Motus qui in Hispania ab Elonico factus ipso interrupto confedit.* So that this Part of the Epitome promised a particular Account of the Origin, Rise, Progress, and Conclusion of these new Commotions in *Spain*. And without doubt, *Livy* performed in the 43d Book, what he promised in the Argument of it. But, to our Misfortune, this Book has had the same Fate as many of the finest Works of the Ancients. We lament the Loss of the most considerable Part of it, without Hopes of recovering it. We have only some Traces of this War, in the Remains of a mutilated Narration, the Thread of which is not carried on. Nevertheless, most Criticks have found a great Resemblance between that, and the Account which *Florus* has given us of the Troubles *Salondicus* raised among the *Celtiberians*; and have therefore supplied the Defects of the one by the other. *Freinsheimius*, by thus uniting them, which was never done before, has in some measure revived the Relation of a Fact, which had been as it were lost, for several Centuries, in the dark Ages of Ignorance. So that the *Elonicus* mentioned in *Livy's* Epitome, and the *Salondicus* of *Florus*, ought for the future to be taken for the same Man.

But *Sigonius* has confounded this *Elonicus* with another Man of the same Name, whose Expeditions are related by *Livy*, in his 40th Book. The latter made an Irruption into *Dardania*, at the Head of thirty thousand *Bastarnæ*; and we have already given an Account of the ill Success of his Enterprize, as related by the Ancients. This modern Commentator sounds his Conjecture only on the Sameness of the Name. And since then this Reason would not be allowed to be of Weight in other Cases, it cannot have any in this. *Livy* speaks of two *Elonicus's*. The first, according to him, was the Head of the *Bastarnæ*, who penetrated into *Dardania*. The second made an Insurrection in *Spain*, against the *Romans*. Whence it is easy to see, that they have no Relation to one another, but in Name. And this positive Declaration is therefore a decisive Proof against the Opinion of *Sigonius*, who has carried the *Spanish Elonicus* from *Spain* into *Dardania*, to make him the same Man with the Head of the *Bastarnæ*. And because the Text of the Epitome so notoriously contradicted his Conjecture, he has therefore, of his own Head, put the Words *in Paonia*, into the Text, instead of *in Hispania*, under Pretence that the Copyist might easily read *Hispania*, for *Paonia*; and so put *Spain* instead of *Paonia*, a Country bordering on that of the *Dardani*. These are some of those arbitrary Corrections, which cannot be too much condemned, and discountenanced, especially where founded only on the Prejudices of the Corrector.

and



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIII.  
A. HOSILIUS  
NIANCINUS,  
A. ATTILIUS  
SERRANUS,  
Consuls.

and consequently his Nephews likewise. This ambitious Prince had already seized *Cælo-Syria*, a Country which had been given to the King of *Egypt*, for *Cleopatra's* Portion; and all *Egypt* was now threatened by this Conqueror, who was the more formidable because he wholly depended on the *Roman* Republick, which had brought him up, and which he thought he had drawn implicitly into his Measures, by immense Presents. The common Danger therefore united the two Brothers, whose Interest got the better of their Animosities; and they jointly sent one Embassy to the King of *Syria*, and another to the *Roman* Senate, their old Protectors. The former was fruitless. The Ambassadors in vain desired to know of the *Syrian*, what were his Designs in coming into a Friend's Country, which was governed by two Princes his Nephews, who could decide their Differences themselves, without the Interposition of Strangers. *Antiochus* received these Deputies at *Rhinocolura*, a maritime City on the Confines of *Palestine*, but so near *Egypt*, as to be divided from it only by a little River called *The River of Egypt*; and there gave them this haughty Answer, That he would not return to *Antioch*, till he had been put in Possession of the Island of *Cyprus*, and of the Province of *Pelusium*, which was by the most Eastern Mouth of the *Nile*. He likewise demanded, That the Dominion of *Cælo-Syria*, which he had seized, should be given up to him for ever. And this was indeed pulling off the Mask. It was plain, that his Design was not to settle his eldest Nephew upon the Throne; but to usurp himself the best Parts of a Kingdom, which he pretended to design to bring into Subjection to its rightful Sovereign. To this End, he prepared to continue his Journey on board his Fleet, and to enter the *Nile*, and march from thence towards *Alexandria*. But nevertheless, he waited for the Answer of his Nephews; and that he might not languish away his Time in Idleness, entered *Arabia*, and committed Hostilities there.

AND whilst *Antiochus* was amusing himself with making Conquests upon the *Arabians*, the *Egyptian* Ambassadors were imploring the Protection of *Rome*. They were brought into the Senate, where they appeared dressed in the deepest Mourning. They carried Olive Branches in their Hands, and after they had fallen prostrate before the House, represented their Misfortunes, and made them greater than they really were. *Egypt*, said they, *which you have protected, and whose Kings have been your Wards, is upon the very Brink of Ruin. Alexandria is besieged; and to compleat our Misfortune, the Enemy that threatens us has found Favour here. That Antiochus of Syria, who was brought up within your City, as an Hostage, is the Scourge that the Gods, and his own Ambition, have brought upon us. If then Egypt has deserved your Compassion, as she has always been faithful to you, avert the Blow that threatens her with Destruction. Nothing is more easy for you, Conscrip Fathers, than to fix on the Heads of our Sovereigns, your Allies, and Friends, a Crown, which an ambitious Uncle would tear from them. Antiochus reveres your Authority, and pays a Deference to your Orders. In short, one single Word from you, will stop this Conqueror, and put an End to our Fears. How glorious then will it be for Rome, for one of her Ambassadors to restore Tranquillity to Egypt, with one Word's speaking! And on the contrary, what a Reflection will it be on your Republick, if Queen Cleopatra and her two Sons should be forced to fly hither for Refuge, against an Invasion which you might with so much Ease have prevented! The Danger is imminent; and Dilatoriness in your Deliberations will make the Disease incurable.*

BOTH Compassion, and Policy, inclined the *Roman* Senate to favour the Suppliants. *Rome* plainly saw that it would be dangerous to suffer *Antiochus* to extend his Empire too far. Besides, it had always been a Maxim with the Republick, to keep up a continual Peace between the States of the *Levant*. And the Senate therefore, without Delay, nominated *Caius Popilius Lænas*, to go on an Embassy to the King of *Syria*, and joined two others with him. This Head of the Embassy was naturally of an imperious Temper; and the Superiority of his Republick over all the States of the World, increased his Pride. His Instructions were, to apply himself first to *Antiochus*, and then to *Ptolomy*; and to declare to both, That they must put an End to the War; and That whoever opposed the Re-

51 *Rhinocolura*, or *Rhinocorura*, as *Ptolomy* and *Josaphus* call it, stood, according to *Niger*, near that Part of the Coast of the *Mediterranean* where *Farmida* now stands, ninety Miles East of *Pelusium*.



blishment of Peace, should be deemed to have forfeited the Friendship and Alliance of the *Romans*. The Ambassadors set out, without Delay, soon arrived in *Egypt*, and found *Antiochus* on his March towards *Alexandria*. He had already landed his Troops at *Pelusium*, subdued the whole Province, and was advancing with a great Army towards the most Western Mouth of the *Nile*, which lay next to *Africa*. The *Roman* Ambassadors came up with him at <sup>52</sup> *Eleusina*, a Village only four Miles distant from *Alexandria*; and *Popillius* there accosted the King with an Air of Gravity proper to gain him Respect. The *Roman* had long known *Antiochus*, and been his most intimate Friend, during his Residence at *Rome*. Therefore when he drew near, the King offered him his Hand; which was an uncommon Mark of Familiarity and Distinction from so great a Monarch. But *Popillius* disdained this kind of Reception, and haughtily told *Antiochus*, that he would not join Hands with him, till he had first read to him the Decree of the Senate, with which he was sent. *I shall judge*, said he, *by your Submission, or Refusal, whether you ought to be treated as a Friend, or an Enemy. If you obey, I shall receive all Marks of your Friendship with Joy.* These Words were very shocking to the Pride of a victorious King. However, the Ambassador read the Decree, which ran thus. *Let Antiochus lead back his Army to Syria, and cease to make War with Ptolomy.* The Order was express; and nothing could be more imperious than the Manner of declaring it. *Antiochus* was struck with it; and his Concern was visible in his Countenance. It was indeed hard for a Conqueror to be stopped in his Career, just as he was going to make a glorious Conquest. Nevertheless, the *Syrian* made only this very moderate Answer. *Give me Time to consider of it, and confer with my Council about it.* But the proud Republican did not think this was ready Obedience enough for the King. With the Rod of a Vine-branch, which he held in his Hand, he made a Circle round him, in the Sand, and said, in a seeming Passion, *You shall not go out of this Circle, till you have either accepted or refused the Proposal I have made to you. I expect you will pay me the Reverence that is due to the Authority of the Roman Senate and People.* This filled the *Syrian* with great Terror; but he recovered his Spirits, and after he had hesitated a Moment, gave this Answer; which would better have become a Slave, than a Great King. *Then I must satisfy you, Popillius. I will do what your Republick expects from me.* Which said, all the three *Roman* Ambassadors offered him their Hands at once; and *Popillius* gloried in his Negotiation, as if he had gained a Victory. Whilst *Antiochus*, confounded and humbled, prepared for leaving *Egypt*, and resolved to vent his Rage on the unfortunate City of *Jerusalem*. He took it, as he returned, pillaged it, filled the Streets with dead Bodies, and the Temple with Profanations. A memorable Event, which the Prophet *Daniel* had foretold several Ages before. And here, the Agreement between the *Roman* Historians and the Prophecy, both does Honour to the Religion we profess, and gives Credit to the History we are writing. Indeed, *Polybius* and *Livy* postpone the Embassy of *Popillius* till after the entire Defeat of *Perses*. They could not believe, that the *Roman* Republick could treat *Antiochus* with so much Haughtiness, whilst she had upon her Hands a War with *Macedon*, which was at least doubtful. But we, by a more certain <sup>53</sup> Calculation of Time than that of the Prophane Writers, have brought the Deliverance of *Egypt*, at least within one Year of the sacking of *Jerusalem*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIII.

A. HOSTILIUS  
MANCINUS,  
A. ATTILIUS  
SERRANUS,  
Consuls.

Dan. xi. 28, 36.

*Polyb. in Legat.*  
c. 92.

THE *Roman* Ambassadors continued in *Egypt*, till after the Departure of *Antiochus*. *Popillius* went to the Island of *Cyprus*, which *Antiochus* had conquered, and whither he had brought his Army; and the *Roman* did not go from thence till the King of *Syria* had re-imbarked his Troops. At length this miserable King, full of Wrath, but forced to dissemble it, weighed Anchor, and went to vent his Rage on *Palestine*. After which, the *Roman* Ambassadors made it their whole Business to reconcile the two Brothers who disputed about *Egypt*. But *Cleopatra* their Mother fomented the Divisions between her Children; and by that means, they

<sup>52</sup> *Eleusina* stood near the most Western Mouth of the *Nile*, at a little Distance from *Canopus*.

<sup>53</sup> In Conformity to the sacred Text, we have placed this second Expedition of *Antiochus Epiphanes* into *Egypt*, in the 143d Year of the *Greek* Empire, which answers to Part of the Year of *Rome* 583.

We were not at Liberty, in this Instance, to follow the Chronology of *Polybius* and *Livy*, who place this Event in the Year 585, after the Defeat of *Perses*, by *Paulus Emilius*. Had we done so, we must have confounded the Order of Time and Facts, as represented by the Sacred Writers.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIII.

A. HOSTILIUS  
MANCINUS,  
A. ATTILIUS  
SERRANUS,  
Consuls.

Livy, B. 43.  
c. 15.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIV.

Q. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
Cn. SERVILI-  
US CÆPIO,  
Consuls.

were too much exasperated against one another, and the Dispute was too perplexed, to be immediately determined, upon the Spot. So that all that the Ambassadors could gain of them was, to remove the Cause to *Rome*, and stand to the Determination of the Senate. Thus the Republick gave Law to the East, whilst the Success of her Dispute with *Perses* was still doubtful. The *Syrians*, who had more Penetration than Bravery, laid little Stress on the slight Advantages the *Macedonian* had gained. And thus *Egypt* was preserved from the Foreigner, and *Alexandria* delivered from the Siege with which it was threatened.

§. XXVI. Whilst the Republick was settling Peace in *Egypt*, she also applied herself with the greatest Diligence to continue the War in *Macedon*, with more Success than in the last Campaign; and disposed of the Governments of all the *Roman Provinces*. Besides the two Consuls, six *Prætors* had been chosen, in *The Field of Mars*. The Administration of the Affairs of the *Citizens* fell by Lot to the *Prætor Sulpicius Gallus*; and those of the Foreigners to *Decimius Gallus*; the Command of the Fleet, to *Marcus Figulus*; *Sicily*, to *Cornelius Lentulus*; *Sardinia*, to *Fonteius Capito*; and *Spain*, to *Claudius Marcellus*. This last Province was peaceable, since the Death of the Fanatick *Salondicus*. Nevertheless, *Rome* did not neglect to recruit the Army in *Spain*. Three thousand *Legionaries* were raised in the City, for that Province, with three hundred Horse; and among the Allies four thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse. Nothing now remained, but to make the Consuls draw Lots for their Provinces. Nevertheless, it was thought necessary to settle what Armies should be maintained there, before the Lots were drawn. *Macedon* and *Italy* were the only two Provinces that could fall to the two Consuls; and before they were appropriated, the Senate, to prevent Jealousies and Complaints, ordered that the Recruits for the Army in *Macedon* should not amount to more than six thousand two hundred and fifty *Legionaries*, of which two hundred and fifty were to be Horse; and six thousand auxiliary Foot, and three hundred Horse. It was also determined, That the Veterans in the *Consular Army* in *Macedon* should be disbanded; and That each *Legion* should consist of no more than six thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse. As to the Army which was to continue in *Italy*, the Recruits for it were not determined. Only it was resolved, That the *Legions* there should consist of only five thousand two hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse. But to make the future General of the Army in *Italy* amends, it was agreed, That he should have Leave to raise ten thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse, among the Allies. And as to the *Legionary Tribunes*, the People reserved to themselves the Choice of them, and did not leave it to the Caprice of the Consuls.

AFTER these Dispositions, the Precautions of the *Romans* went yet farther. The Senate ordered, That four other *Legions* should be raised in the City; and sixteen thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse, among the Allies. These were appointed to be ready to march upon the first Orders, to any Place where they should be most wanted. All these Preparations were occasioned by the Dread with which *Perses*, tho' at so great a Distance, filled the Republick; and particularly, by the sudden Incursions of the *Basternæ* and *Scordisci*, who were dreaded in the farthest Part of *Italy*. The Alliances of the *Macedonian* were formidable. Besides, the Deputies which the Senate had sent into *Theffaly*, had given them an Account of the lamentable Condition of the *Roman Army* under the Consul *Hostilius*. Want had made the Soldiers desert. The Provisions had been squandered away in Bounties to promote ambitious Views. Some cast the Blame of it upon the *Tribunes*; others on the Consul; and to this was imputed the Insurrections of the *Greek Nations*, and their Inclinations to revolt. The People were also divided in Opinion, about the Repulse the *Tribune Claudius* had received before *Uscana*. Some represented it as a Defeat of Consequence, others only as a slight Disadvantage. And upon the whole, it was agreed, that *Hostilius* had made *Rome* lose the Glory of the Campaign, and thereby swelled the Mind of the *Macedonian* with Vanity.

THESE publick Fears were likewise increased by the pretended Prodigies which then struck the *Romans* more than in After-Ages. It was reported, That a shining Meteor had been seen at *Anagnia*; and That a Cow there had spoken some Words articulately. She was kept at the Expence of the City. It was rumoured, That at *Minturnæ* miraculous Flames had been seen burning in the Sky; That it had rained Stones at *Reate*; and That the Statue of *Apollo* at *Cumæ* had wept for three Days,



Days, and three Nights. The Guardians of the two Temples of *Fortune* declared, That they had seen an hairy Snake in one of them; and That in the Court of the other a Palm-Tree, had started up out of the Ground on a sudden. And the Senate seemed to give Credit to these Prodigies. But they rejected two others, which were attested only by private Persons. One *Marcus Figulus* deposed, That a Palm-tree had sprung up in his Court; and an Inhabitant of *Fregellæ*, named *Atreus*, That a Javelin which he had lately bought for his Son, had taken Fire of itself, and had appeared all in a Flame for two Hours, without being consumed. It is surprizing that so wise a Senate as that of *Rome*, should give Credit to so many Fables. But in this great Body, the Superstition of some, and the Policy of others, made them give a Sanction to false Reports, which the People had rashly believed. It had often proved dangerous to resist the Tide of popular Credulity. The *Decemviri* were therefore ordered to consult the *Sybilline* Books, concerning the Means of giving a good Issue to these divine Admonitions; and they agreed, That the *Consuls* should offer on the Altars forty Victims of the largest Size; That all the Temples should be opened; That the People should visit them wearing Crowns; and That every Magistrate should offer up one Victim.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIV.  
Q. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
CN. SERVILI-  
US CÆPIO,  
Consuls.

§. XXVIII. THE *Consuls* had not yet drawn Lots for their Provinces; nevertheless, it was necessary to hasten the Recruits for the Army in *Macedon*. And the *Roman* Youth who were obliged to serve the Republick, by some unaccountable Obstinacy, would not hearken to the *Consuls*, who invited them to enlist themselves. There were so few at the Assemblies for the Levies, that the two Collegues were obliged to complain of it to the Senate. But the Accusation of the *Consuls* recoiled on themselves. Two *Prætors*, one named *C. Sulpicius*, to whom the *Prætorship* of the City had fallen; and the other, named *M. Claudius*, who was to go and command in *Spain*, rose up, and spoke thus. *If the Youth are so backward to obey the Orders of the Consuls, they may thank themselves. Being ambitious, they are courting the People; and for fear of incurring the Displeasure of the Multitude, they dare not threaten the refractory, and force them to take the Military Oaths. A strange Weakness! Let us Prætors then be charged with the Care of the Levies; and the Senate shall see what even inferior Magistrates can do, by exerting their Authority, to force the People to obey them. Prætors will do the Business more effectually than Consuls.* The Discourse of *Sulpicius* and *Claudius* was applauded; and, to the Confusion of the Heads of the Republick, the Senate transferred the Commission of raising Levies from the *Consuls* to them; thereby to punish the timorous Ambition of those cowardly Magistrates.

In order to perform their Promises the more effectually, *Sulpicius* and *Claudius* hastened the Election of the *Censors*. The Candidates for this eminent Post were six of the most considerable Men in the Republick; and the Choice fell on two Persons of known Severity, approved Probity, and whose Union gave the People Hopes of a peaceful Administration. The Names of these new *Censors* were *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*. In the first *Comitia* that they assembled, they proposed to the People a Law for regulating the Enrolments, fixing the Age of those who should be forced to enter into the Service, and preventing the too frequent Exemptions from it. It ran thus. *Whoever is not of the Age of forty six Years, shall appear to be incorporated in the Legions. And they who have been spared, as long as they shall continue to be under that Age, shall appear before the Consuls every time that they raise new Legions, or Recruits.* The *Censors* also desired, That a Clause to this Effect might be added to the Oath taken by all that were enlisted, and be made a Part of it. Nor was this all. By a second Law, the same *Censors* got it enacted, *That all the Soldiers, who since the Consulship of Ælius and Popillius, (that is, for these three last Years compleat,) were returned from Macedon into Italy, should first be enrolled, at the Place of their Abode, and then return to their Duty; That all Children who were under the Power of their Fathers, or Grandfathers, should give in their Names; and lastly, That Enquiry be made in- to the Exemptions of all those who were of Age to serve.*

L. 39. B. 43.  
C. 14.

THE Publication of these two Laws in the City, had so good an Effect on the Country-Tribes and the Colonies, that there was immediately a vast Concourse of Youth, fit to bear Arms, at *Rome*. Their Number was so great, that they were burdensome to the City, and had like to have caused a Famine there. So that the

Levies



Year of  
ROM E  
DLXXXIV.  
C. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
CN. SERVILI-  
US CÆPIO,  
Consuls.

Levies were dispatched with all Haste. In the Space of eleven Days after the Publication of the Edict, Men enough were raised for the Recruits for the Armies in *Spain* and *Macedon*, and to make four *Legions*, to be ready to march wherever the Senate should direct. So that the *Roman Legions* and Auxiliaries were all compleated; and the two *Prætors*, *C. Sulpicius*, and *M. Claudius*, had the Glory to have executed what the *Consuls* durst not attempt. And now, nothing delayed the Departure of *Q. Marcius Philippus* for the Army in *Macedon*, which had fallen to him by Lot. His Colleague *Servilius* had but a barren Campaign to make in *Italy*. The Appointment of *Marcus* was much approved. This General was indeed sixty, and Age had made him unweildy. But nevertheless, the People had a Dependence on his Valour, Experience, the Remains of his Vivacity, and even on his Name of *Philip*, which the *Macedonian* could not but respect. However, we will for the present leave this *Consul* at *Brundisium*, to embark with his Recruits, and the young *Roman* Lords that attended him. We shall soon describe his Expeditions all together, without dividing them; but will first continue a little at *Rome*, and observe the Conduct of the *Censors*, who acted important Parts.

§. XXIX. THE first Business of *Claudius Pulcher*, and *Sempronius Gracchus*, was to draw up a List of the Senators; and they gave the Presidentship of this august Body to *Æmilius Lepidus*, who was still *Pontifex Maximus*. They also struck seven of the old Senators out of the List; and the *Roman Knights* were more severely treated. Many of the Members of this illustrious Body were degraded. It is well known that the Farmers General appointed for raising the publick Money, were generally *Knights*. These Offices were sold to the best Bidders; and the *Censors* presided at these Sales. But *Claudius* and *Sempronius* made a Law, forbidding all those who during the last *Lustrum*, in the *Censorship* of their Predecessors, had been employed in raising the publick Money, to be in any manner concerned with it again, either as Partners with the new Farmers, or otherwise. This was a considerable Blemish on many of the *Roman Knights*, and a Diminution of the Profits which they received from their Farms; so that they hated the *Censors*; and such of them as were disappointed of their Hopes, and disgraced, sought for an Opportunity of Revenge; which they found in an Event that was really in itself a trifling Matter. But the Injured would not let it slip, and Passion turned it into an Affair of Importance.

A *Citizen* of *Rome*, whose Name the Historians have not thought it worth while to transmit to us, had built an House on a Piece of Ground belonging to the Republick. The *Censors* ordered this House to be demolished, fined the *Citizen*, and obliged him to give Security for the Payment of his Fine: and among all the ten *Tribunes of the People*, *Rutilius* only protested against this Decree. The *Citizen* was his Client; and the *Tribune* was piqued at the little Regard the *Censors* had shewn to his Opposition. However, this was yet only a Spark; but the excluded *Publicans* made use of it to raise a Flame. They greatly incensed *Rutilius*, by magnifying the Affront he had received; and by representing to him, That the Contempt of the *Censors* was more injurious to his Character, as *Tribune*, than to his Person. In short, they exasperated him to such a Degree, that at last he would no longer hearken to Reason, or keep any Measures. It is well known, that at *Rome*, the *Tribunes of the People* were deemed sacred Persons. To make an Attempt against their Persons or Jurisdiction, was a capital Crime; and Banishment was the least Punishment which they had a Right to demand might be inflicted on the Guilty. *Rutilius* therefore resolved to accuse the *Censors* as Criminals, for having lately opposed his Will. But before he attacked their Persons, he first tried to make the People disannul the Sales that had been made of the publick Farms. To this End, he presented his Request to the *Comitia*. The *Censors* opposed it; and their Opposition was made a Crime. *Claudius* <sup>54</sup> and *Sempronius* were cited to appear

*Pat. Max. B. 6.*  
*c. 5.*  
*Livy, B. 43.*  
*c. 16.*  
*Cicer. de Repub. apud Gellium l. 6. c. 16.*

<sup>54</sup> The *Censors* themselves, and *Caius Claudius* in particular, were, according to *Livy*, so far from declining the Judgment of the *Comitia*, that they engaged the *Priætor* of *Rome* to appoint an Assembly of the People by *Centuries*, that they might be judged there without Appeal. They were therefore cited to appear on *The eighth and seventh of the Calends of October*. And immediately the *Censors* suspended

acting in their Office, till such time as they should be acquitted by a definitive Sentence. They came into the Court of the Temple of *Liberty*, where they used to hold their Sittings; and by their Orders, the publick Registers were sealed up, the Archives in which the *Censors* Acts were kept shut up, and the inferior Officers under these Magistrates discharged

before



before the assembled *Centuries*, as guilty of Rebellion, against the inviolable Authority of the *Tribunes*; so that it was now become an Affair of great Importance. The two Offices, which, all things considered, were the most powerful of any in the Republick, were entered into a Competition. But the Faction of the *Tribunes* was infinitely the strongest. The People naturally inclined to favour those, who defended them against the Oppressions of the Nobility. And as to the *Censors*, though they had been unanimous in their Opposition, *Caius Claudius* was much more hated by the Multitude, than his Collegue *Sempronius*. The former was of a Family, that had always declared against the Commons: The latter was of *Plebeian* Extraction, and a Man of Honour. *Scipio Africanus*, and his Brother *Asiaticus*, had experienced the Constancy of *Sempronius*, in the height of Persecution; and he had married the Sister of those two great Men. So that the People made a great Difference between the Accused. *Claudius* spoke first in Defence of his Person, Office, and Rights; and as soon as he had done, the People went into the Voting-place, to give their Suffrages. The first Class, that is, that of the *Roman Knights*, *Claudius's* Enemies, began to vote him guilty. Eight of the twelve *Centuries* of the *Roman Knights*, gave their Votes against the *Patrician Censor*. And then *Sempronius Gracchus* could contain himself no longer. Being supported by the most noble <sup>55</sup> *Citizens* of *Rome*, who declared in his Favour, he made a great Clamour, and spoke both for his Collegue and himself. The People in vain gave him to understand by their Gestures, and Words, that they would not <sup>56</sup> meddle with him, but be content with condemning *Claudius*. The *Plebeian Censor* protested, That he would either follow *Claudius* into Banishment, or *Claudius* should be acquitted with him. *The Fault*, said he, *is equal on both sides, and so ought the Punishment too*. Then the Assembly were struck with this Act of Generosity; and as enraged as they were against *Claudius*, they shewed him Favour, out of Regard to *Sempronius*. Nay, the Constancy of this faithful Collegue made an Impression on *Rutilius* himself. He desisted from his Pursuit, and the Proceedings dropped. Such an Effect has the Unanimity of two cordial Friends in supporting their mutual Rights, on the most prejudiced Minds.

§. XXX. But though the Proceedings of the *Censors* had hitherto deserved the Approbation of the Publick, the two Collegues lost much of their Reputation by their Severity to the *Roman Knights*, and to the *Tribune Rutilius*. *Claudius* and *Sempronius* were now wholly bent on Revenge; and in their Reviews of the *Roman Cavalry*, they treated them without Mercy. The *Censors* took from a great Number of the *Knights*, the Horses the Republick kept for them; and even reduced them below the Condition of private *Citizens*. And as for the *Tribune Rutilius*, he was treated with yet greater Cruelty. He was not only degraded from the Rank of a *Knight*, and deprived of the Right of giving his Suffrage in his *Tribe*, but he was also forced to work in the publick Work-houses. A fine Lesson for Men in low Life, who, when raised to great Dignities for a time, abuse their Power, to the Prejudice of the most venerable Persons! Yet after all, a little more Moderation, and Restraint of their too warm Resentments, would have done *Claudius* and *Sempronius* more Honour, than such excessive Revenge. But it is the true Religion only, that can form Men to perfect Virtues.

In other things, the *Censors* laboured to promote the publick Good with Zeal. They examined the Furloes and Dispensations from Service, which the Generals had too easily granted. All those who had been disbanded, or excused from serving on false Allegations, or frivolous Pretences, were forced to take the military Oath again, and return to their *Legion*. And as for the *Freedmen*, *Sempronius* was for depriving all of the Right of Suffrage, who did not possess Lands to the Value of at least thirty thousand *Sesterces*\*, and had not Sons of at least five Years of Age. But *Claudius* remonstrated to his Collegue, that it belonged only

*Auth. de Fidis lib. 24. 26. 3. 9. 1. Sterb. Arb.*

<sup>55</sup> The *Censor Gracchus* was supported by the chief Nobility in *Rome*. In order to incline the People to favour *Caius Claudius*, says *Livy*, the most considerable of the *Citizens* laid aside their Rings, changed their Garments, and in the Posture of Suppliants, and in a negligent Dress, ran thro' all the Ranks, and claimed the Protection of the

assembled *Centuries*, against the Proceedings of *Publius Rutilius*, the *Tribune of the People*.

<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless we are told by *Livy*, that by order of the *Tribunes*, the Estate of *Tiberius Gracchus* had been confiscated for the use of the *Roman Divinities*. See what we have said, *Vol. I.* concerning the Usage and Form of such Consecrations.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIV.  
C. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
CN. SERVILI-  
US CÆPIO,  
Consuls.  
Cicero de Or.  
L. 1.

to the assembled People, to exclude any *Citizen* from giving his Vote, and therefore the *Censors* took a middle Way. They commanded all the *Freedmen* in the four <sup>57</sup> *City-Tribes* to incorporate themselves in one of those *Tribes* only; where they should be mixed with a sufficient Number of honest Citizens, to be able to out-vote them. *The Esquiline Tribe* was increased with all these vile Fellows, who were forced to become Members of it: And this Regulation of *Claudius* and *Sempronius* was, in the Opinion of one of the ablest Statesmen *Rome* ever had, an Act of Policy, which saved the Republick from approaching Ruin. These low Fellows were always creating Disturbances in the Assemblies, and promoting the Cabals of the Faction.

NEVERTHELESS, the Severity of the *Censors* created them other Enemies, besides the *Roman Knights*. A *Tribune of the People*, named *C. Tremellius*, was very ambitious of getting a Seat in the Senate; and *Claudius* and *Sempronius* having left his Name out of the List, he first earnestly demanded to be admitted among *The Fathers*, and afterwards shewed his Resentment openly. He alone opposed an Edict of the *Censors*, which prolonged the Payment of a Tribute, which *Rome*, for some Years past, had constantly demanded, for repairing the publick Buildings; and it was decreed, that the *Quæstors* should only pay the *Censors* half this Tribute for new Works. However, *Sempronius* employed the part he received, in buying the House in which *Scipio Africanus* had formerly lived, and erecting in that Place one of those Palaces which were called *Basilicæ*; That is, a sort of large Hall, vaulted, and covered in, where the Senate assembled, Justice was administered, and the Tradesmen often had their Shops. And this Edifice ever after bore the Name <sup>58</sup> of *Sempronius*, who had built it <sup>59</sup>.

§. XXXI. BUT if there was one turbulent and restless Man among the *Tribunes of the People*; there was on the other hand at least one more, who made it his whole Business to provide for the Welfare of private Families, and remedy the Abuses which had been introduced in relation to *Wills*. Nothing was more common, especially among the Rich, than for Men to give excessive Legacies to Women, and leave them by *Will* all the whole Estate of a wealthy Family. One of the Laws of *The Twelve Tables* empowered all *Citizens* to appoint whomsoever they pleased to be their Heirs, without Regard to Sex, or Relation; and this Law had had its Inconveniencies. Debauchery was increased by it, and it became the more easy to seduce a Sex, who are not always deaf to their Interest. But it happened, that one of the *Tribunes of the People*, named <sup>60</sup> *Quintus Voconius*, had made judicious Reflections on the Abuses introduced by the Liberty of making *Wills* in favour of Women, which was often done, out of Love, or Caprice. It was no uncommon thing to see Women, who were by Legacies grown much richer than their Husbands,

<sup>57</sup> The Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men* expressly says, That these *Freedmen*, who were now all united in *The Esquiline Tribe* only, were before dispersed about in the *Country-Tribes*. To which he adds, That the *Censor Gracchus* distributed them in the four *City-Tribes*. But the Testimony of this Writer, whatever it is, is expressly contradicted by all the old *Roman* Historians. 1. *Livy*, and the most famous Authors agree, that this Reformation had been made long before the time of *Gracchus*, in the Year of *Rome* 449, as we have observed in the second Volume, when we speak of the *Censorship* of *Q. Fabius Rullianus Maximus*. At that time, they who from Slaves had been made free, were excluded out of the *Country-Tribes*, into which they had intruded themselves, to the great Uneasiness of the Nobility; and were incorporated in the four *City-Tribes*. 2dly, *Cicero* indeed, in his first Book *de Oratore* says, That *Tiberius Gracchus* transplanted into the *City-Tribes* those *Freedmen*, who, in contempt of the Laws, had incorporated themselves in the other *Tribes*. But we cannot from thence infer, that all the *Freedmen*, which were added to *The Esquiline Tribe*, had been taken out of the *Country-Tribes* by the *Censor's* Order. The greatest Number of these vile Fellows had, according to some old Regulations, no Right of Suffrage, but in one of the four *Tribes* at *Rome*; except per-

haps some few, who had escaped the Vigilance of the Magistrates. And these were probably they, whom the rigid *Censor* called back to the *City-Tribes*. Nevertheless he would admit none into the three first *City Tribes*, but such as had Sons of at least five Years of Age, and had each the Value of thirty thousand *Sesterces* in Land.

<sup>58</sup> The *Basilica Sempronia* stood in that part of the *Forum*, which joined the Streets *Tuscus* and *Vulturnus*. This was the most frequented part of *Rome*. The common Necessaries of Life were sold there, as Wool, Fish, Cattel, &c. And the Buyers and Sellers, who came thither from all Parts, found it very convenient to have this *Basilica* to walk in, and transact their Business.

<sup>59</sup> The *Censors* performed the Ceremony of a *Lustrum* in this Year 584, according to *Livy*, in his *Epitome* of Book 45; and they reckoned up four hundred eleven thousand eight hundred and ten *Citizens* fit to bear Arms.

<sup>60</sup> The *Voconian* was a very considerable *Plæbian* Family. It was divided into three Branches. The first was that of the *Saxa's*; the second that of the *Vitulus's*, some Traces of which we find in the *Consular Medals*; and the third that of the *Nasos*. *Voconius Naso*, who was *Cicero's* Collegue in the *Prætorship*, was descended from the last.

insulting



insulting them, and behaving themselves in their Families, in a manner not to be borne: And the *Tribune Voconius* found out a Remedy, for the Arrogance and Corruption of a Sex, which it is dangerous to suffer to assume too much Superiority. He drew up a new Law, which he at last got passed in the *Comitia*; and it were to be wished, that the very Words of it had been transmitted to us. This would have saved the *Civilians* many painful Enquiries, and bold Conjectures. But they are lost, and all that we can with most Certainty collect concerning the *Voconian* <sup>61</sup> Law, in the ancient Writers, may be reduced to these three chief Articles. 1. Every *Citizen*, who had Estate enough to be ranked in one of the Classes of the *Roman Census*, was forbidden to make any Woman whatsoever universal Legatee, even an only Daughter not excepted. So that no Women could inherit. 2<sup>dly</sup>, A Daughter's Portion, after the Death of her Father, was to be proportioned to his Estate, or to be *pro rata* of what he had left, according to the Estimation of prudent Men; and generally speaking, the Daughter was allowed only one fourth of her Father's Estate. May we not therefore suppose, that a Testator was at Liberty to leave a fourth part of his Estate to any other Woman, besides his Daughter? And 3<sup>dly</sup>, By the *Voconian* Law it was enacted, That all the Legacies of the Testator should not exceed one half of his Estate. The Legislator was afraid, that Heirs would too often renounce the Succession to Estates, on Account of the small Value, to which the Inheritances were reduced.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIV.  
C. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
CN. SERVILI-  
US CÆPIO,  
Consuls.

*Cicero de finibus, B. 2. & Ferrina 1<sup>a</sup>.  
Gell. Noct. Attic. L. 20. c. 10; & D. Aug. de Civit. Dei L. 3. Pædian in Var. 1. Cic. Verrina 3<sup>a</sup>.*

*Id. in Catone.*

*Ex Oratione Catonis ipsius apud Gellium, L. 17*

BUT this Alteration, of one of the Laws of *The Twelve Tables*, was not made without some Difficulty. *Cato* was forced to employ all his Eloquence and Interest to bring the People to consent to it. This zealous <sup>62</sup> Republican, who was then sixty five Years of Age, spoke with as much Force and Vivacity against the Law which allowed Women to inherit, as he had formerly done against their Luxury. *What strange Disorders are these*, cried he! *A Woman brings a large Portion into a Family by Marriage, and her Fortune becomes entirely the Property of her Husband. But all on a sudden his Wife grows rich by Inheritances, or Legacies; and becoming sole Mistress of the Estates that are devised to her, or which she inherits, this enables her to give Law in her House, and to lend her Husband Money. And then the poor Man must submit to the Authority of his Wife. If she is ever so little offended, she demands her Debt with more Haughtiness, than the most merciless Creditor: And sometimes to insult her Husband the more, she sends a favourite Slave, whom she keeps as her own Property, to demand Payment. What then becomes of the Subordination which is necessary in Families! What becomes of mutual Concord!* However, the Reasons of *Voconius*, and the Declarations of *Cato*, made an Impression on the People, and the *Voconian* Law was passed. It became of Force from that time, and continued in force as long as the Republick lasted. *Augustus* <sup>63</sup> first began to invalidate it. But notwithstanding all the Precaution that

<sup>61</sup> *Cicero*, in his Book *Of Old Age*, fixes the passing of the *Voconian* Law, to the Year of Rome 584, in the Consulship of *Quintus Marcius Philippus*, and *Cneius Servilius Cæpio*: The Events of which Consul's Year are part of the Subject-matter of *Livy's* forty third Book. It is therefore surprising, that this Law should be mentioned in the Epitome, or Summary of his forty first Book; And it unfortunately happens, that this Book is not transmitted entire to us. Some part of it has not been able to escape the Wrecks of Time; so that we cannot possibly judge whether what related to the *Voconian* Law was contained in it, or not. And the same may be said of the forty third Book, which has met with the same Fate as the forty first. But be that as it will, this testamentary Law had been preceded by another, which the Ancients father upon a *Tribune of the People*, named *Cainus Furius*: And for this Reason it was called the *Furian* Law. According to *Ulpian*, *Pomponius*, and *Justinian*, it forbade any *Roman Citizen* to leave, by Legacy, above the Value of a thousand *asses* to any one Person; and at the same time, it condemned the Legatee, to pay four times the Sum which was given him above what the Law stipulated. So that the *Voconian* Law ought to be looked on as a

Supplement to this, which probably was grown out of Force, in the time of *Voconius Saxa*, the *Tribune of the People*. These two Laws destroyed that Law of *The Twelve Tables*, which we have mentioned *Vol. 1. p. 448. Note 50.* in these Words; *PATER FAMILIAS UTI LEGASSIT SUPER PECUNIÆ TUTELÆ SUÆ REI, ITA JUS ESTO.* By virtue of the latter, the Father of a Family had a Right to give his Estate to whomsoever he pleased, even exclusive of his own Children. But by the new Regulations the *Romans* thought fit to restrain the Injustice of some Fathers, who took Advantage of this old Custom, and deprived their Children or Heirs of their Estates, and gave them to Strangers. This Abuse gave rise to the *Furian* and *Voconian* Laws. But they did not absolutely remedy one Disorder which had been introduced. A Testator was still at Liberty to leave as many Legacies as he pleased. So that the Heir often received but a small part of the Estate.

<sup>62</sup> This Speech had been inserted by *Cato*, in his Book *De Origin.*; and was in being in *Livy's* time. We have some broken Fragments of it in *Aulus Gellius*.

<sup>63</sup> *Dio Cassius* tells us, *B. 56.* that *Augustus* lessened the Force of the *Voconian* Law, in favour of his Wife *Livia*, to whom he resolved to devise, by Will,



Year of that could be taken to get it observed, the Women found Means to evade in a great Measure the Execution of it. They introduced the Custom of appointing Trustees; and the latter often put them in Possession of the largest Estates of Inheritance. Indeed, St. *Austin* did not think the *Voconian* an equitable Law, especially in respect to that Clause, which would not suffer a Father to make his only Daughter his sole Legatee. But what Law has not some Inconveniencies? At that time, the Disease was a desperate one, and required a desperate Remedy.

R O M E  
DLXXXIV.  
Q. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
CN. SERVILI-  
US CÆPIO,  
Consuls.

Livy, B. 44.  
c. 18.

§. XXXII. AND as *Rome* was employed in making Laws, she also entertained the People with Games. Those which were represented in the *Circus* this Year, were the finest that had been seen there. There was one thing new in them. The *Romans* were not only entertained with Chariot-Races as usual. The *Curule Ædiles*, *Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, and *Cornelius Lentulus*, now first brought strange Beasts into the *Arena*, not only to shew them to the People, but likewise to give them the Pleasure of seeing those Beasts fight with armed Men. It was a sort of Hunting, which was very agreeable to the Spectators. There were let loose in the *Circus* sixty three Lions, forty Bears, and a great Number of Elephants. So that it may well be imagined, that these were bloody Battels; but the *Romans* delighted in Bloodshed. They thereby kept up that martial Spirit in their Republick, which made her superior to all the Nations in the World.

Cicero in Ca-  
tone & Bruto.  
Ilicum in  
Chronicon.  
A. Gell. &c.

HOWEVER, these Rejoicings were damped by the Death of a Man, who had scarce any other Merit in the Republick, but that of Probity, and a Love of Letters. *Rome* then joined to her Love of Heroism, an Esteem for those Persons, who could sing the Praises of Heroes. *Ennius*, a Native of *Rudiae*, a little City in the Territory of *Tarentum*, had written the Wars of his Time in Verse. By the Sublimity of his Genius, and his polite Behaviour, he had made himself agreeable to the *Scipio's*, whose Exploits he had recorded for the Benefit of future Ages. *M. Fulvius*, who took him with him, when he went to put an end to the War in *Ætolia*, was almost as much pleased with the historical Poem *Ennius* had made on that Subject, as with his own Victory. And in proof of his Gratitude for it, this Great General consecrated part of the Spoils of the Vanquished to the *Muses*, which had inspired *Ennius*. But the Great *Scipio* was an Hero, who better deserved to be celebrated in Story, than *Fulvius*; and the *Roman* Poet made him the Subject of his finest heroic Poems. He painted him in so lively Colours, that the Ancients admired them, even when the *Latin* Tongue was altered, and much refined and improved. And it is not therefore surprizing, that the *Scipio's* should have erected a marble Statue of *Ennius*, in the Burial-place of their Family, in *The Appian Way*. The *Romans* gloried in distinguishing Men of great Genius, as well as those who had signalized themselves in War. *Ennius* died at *Rome* of the Gout in his Stomach, at seventy Years of Age; and the Poverty which he professed, even to his Grave, was no Reflection on the Republick, or his illustrious Friends. The *Romans* affected it. The *Dictators* and *Consuls* themselves preferred the Inconveniencies of Poverty, to the Splendor of Riches. And it is not at all surprizing, that a Man of Letters should be as much a Philosopher, in this Particular, as the Governors of the Republick, and Generals of Armies. As for Glory, he loved it like a Poet, and a *Roman*. He was so sure his Fame would survive him, that he desired no Tears might be shed at his Funeral, or any Funeral Honours be paid him. *Though my Body shall die*, said he, *my Name will live in my Works, and be transmitted with Advantage to latest Posterity*.

Livy, B. 43.  
c. 15.

§. XXXIII. THUS were the *Romans* in the City busy about Matters of small Importance, whilst their *Consuls* had Thoughts of taking the Field. *Servilius*, to whose Lot *Italy* had fallen, expected indeed to have nothing to do in his Campaign; and the Senators themselves were pleased to shew him, how little Stress they laid on the Expeditions he was going upon. Though the *Consul* desired to choose the Soldiers which he was to have for his Army, out of all the Troops; the *Conscript Fathers* referred him to the *Prætors*, *Sulpicius*, and *Claudius*, for them to give him any two *Legions* they pleased. He therefore resented the

Will, the greatest part of his Estate. But that Historian speaks very ambiguously of the *Voconian* Law. Inasmuch that what he says has given the *Civilians* occasion to put different Interpretations

upon it. And that we may not confound the regular Order of Events, we will reserve the Discussion of this Passage, till we come to the History of *Augustus's* Reign.

Preference



Preference which the Senate gave to the *Prætors* before a *Consul*; and instantly left the Assembly. But nevertheless, he had Meanness of Spirit enough to appear before the Tribunal of the *Prætors*, and offer them his Petition; and *Sulpicius* and *Claudius* had the Civility to let him choose his Soldiers. But they likewise had the ill-natured Pleasure to see a *Consul* humbled in their Presence. After this *Servilius* set out, and went to *Liguria*. As for his Collegue *Q. Marcius*, his Commission made him more respected, but it was not deemed superior to his Merit. *Rome* thought him a proper Person to cope with *Perses*, repair the Faults of his Predecessors, and discharge his Commission with Dignity. All necessary Precautions were therefore taken to make his Army complete, and to recruit the Crews of the Fleet, which was to act as he should direct, and to be commanded by another *Marcius*, surnamed *Figulus*. In *Rome* itself, a thousand Rowers were raised, all *Roman Citizens* but *Freed-men*: and the *Prætor* of *Sicily* had Orders to raise for the Fleet of the Republick in *Macedon* a thousand more, to serve on Board the *Roman Gallies*, and to be sent to the Admiral *Marcius*, wherever he was riding at Anchor.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIV.  
Q. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
Cn. SERVILI-  
US CÆPIO,  
Consuls.

ALL these Preparations encouraged the *Consul*, to do his utmost to answer the Cares and Expectations of his Republick. He sailed from *Brundisium*, as we have observed, on board the Fleet commanded by the *Prætor*, the Admiral, and in two Days appeared off *Corcyra*. On the third, he entered the Port of <sup>64</sup> *Actium* in *Acarnania*, and there landed his Troops, to march them by Land to *Ambracia*. From thence the Fleet made a longer Voyage, as far as to *Theffaly*. From the Promontory of <sup>65</sup> *Leucas*, it sailed to *The Gulph of Corinth*, and came to an Anchor in the Port of <sup>66</sup> *Creüsa*, in *Bæotia*. There the Admiral left his Ship, and came ashore, to go by Land to *Chalcis*, where a good Number of the *Roman Gallies* his Predecessor had commanded, were waiting for the Arrival of the new *Prætor*, to receive his Orders. So that all Preparations were made by Sea and Land, to begin a new Campaign with the King of *Macedon*. His Dominions had not yet been touched. Hitherto *Theffaly* only had been the Seat of the War. The *Roman* Generals had not yet broken through the Barriers, which Nature, and the industrious *Perses*, had put in the Way of their Armies. They had several times endeavoured to break into *Macedon*, but in vain; and the Passes into this Kingdom were now become more difficult, since the new Precautions the King had taken, during the Winter. The Account we are going to give of them, will do Honour to *Perses*; but sooner, or later, turn to the Glory of the *Romans*. The greater the King of *Macedon* appears to be, the greater will be the Glory the Republick will gain by overcoming him.

Livy, B. 44.  
c. 1.

DURING this Interval of Inaction, when the Armies on both sides generally refresh themselves in good Quarters, till the Spring returns, *Perses* did not give himself one Moment's rest. He made very deep and judicious Reflections, both on the Means of guarding his Kingdom of *Macedon*, and on the Passes through which he might enter into *Italy*. Barely to continue on the defensive, was not enough to content the King. He resolved to penetrate by the Way of *Illyricum*, into the Heart of the Republick his Enemy, and carry the War thither. He still depended on the *Bastarnæ*, whose Assistance he solicited; and the Advantages he had gained the last Campaign, doubled his martial Ardour. An ancient Author observes, That he thought himself not inferior to *Alexander the Great*. And indeed, there was something heroical in his Expeditions. He said, that the *Romans* could not well penetrate into the Heart of his Dominions any way, but on the side of *Illyricum*; and in order to shut up the Avenues of his Kingdom on this side, where it was weakest, and most exposed, he had two things to do. In the first Place, he was to bring all the petty Sovereigns of *Illyricum* into his Interest. And Secondly, it was necessary that he should make himself Master of the *Illyrican* Cities, which were nearest to his Frontiers. This would both open a Way to *Italy*, and at the same time be a strong Barrier against the Efforts of the *Roman* Armies; and this was the Work he undertook, during this time of Repose and Inaction.

Livy, B. 43.  
c. 18.

Zonar. B. 9.

<sup>64</sup> *Actium* was the Name of a City and Promontory now called *Capo Figalo*.

<sup>65</sup> We have already described the Island, City, and Promontory, of *Leucas*.

Vol. IV.

<sup>66</sup> The City and Port of *Creüsa* stood on the Coast of *The Gulph of Corinth*, twenty Miles South of *Theffaly*, and thirty Miles West of *Megara*.



Year of  
R O M E  
IDLXXXIV.  
C. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
CN. SERVILI-  
US CÆPIO,  
Consuls.  
Livy, B. 43.  
c. 19.

§. XXXIV. NOTWITHSTANDING the Winter-Frosts, which were very severe in *Macedon*, especially at the Foot of the Mountains which surrounded it, *Perfes* marched towards *Illyricum*, with a Detachment of ten thousand *Phalangites*, two thousand light-armed Foot, and five hundred Horse. His *Rendezvous* was at <sup>67</sup> *Stubera*, in the Country of the *Deuriopes*, between the Rivers <sup>68</sup> *Axius*, and <sup>69</sup> *Erigonus*. There the King laid up great Stores of Provisions, and distributed enough among his Army to subsist it for several Days. In short, *Stubera* was his Magazine of Arms, and the Center of his Expeditions, during the Winter. Though the *Consular* Army wintered in *Theffaly*, yet the *Romans* had a Body of Troops, on the Confines of *Illyricum*, and *Macedon*. *C. Lælius*, one of the Lieutenant Generals of the *Roman* Army, commanded it; and one *Appius Claudius*, at the Head of a flying-Camp, guarded the Country, and was always ready to march wherever he was wanted. The last Year, this Officer, who was more brave than prudent, had neglected to take *Uscana*, which was at length, I know not by what Accident, fallen into the Hands of the *Romans*; and this Place was now the chief Object of *Perfes's* Desires. He was very uneasy to see that this Key to his Dominions was taken from him; and he turned his Arms against it, notwithstanding the Rigours of the Season. He appeared before it with a great Number of Machines, proper for carrying on a Siege; and before he began his Attacks, tried to gain it by Treaty. But the Garrison of *Uscana* was too faithful, and too numerous, to deliver up the City without Resistance. Besides the *Roman* Soldiers who were commanded by good Officers, it consisted of some brave *Illyrican* Youth, who were well affected to the Republick. It was therefore necessary to use Force; and the King ordered a general Assault. His *Macedonians* were incessantly labouring to set Fire to the Gates, and climb over the Walls. Their Ladders were raised against the *Courtine*, Day and Night; and yet the Efforts of the Besiegers did not lessen the Constancy of the Besieged. The latter depended on the excessive Coldness of the Weather, which daily increased, and would not suffer Troops to continue long exposed to the Severity of the Season. Besides, they flattered themselves, That the *Consular* Army would soon begin to move; and That the King would be obliged to leave *Uscana*, to hasten into *Theffaly*. But these Hopes soon vanished. Dilatoriness was no part of *Perfes's* Character. He multiplied his Attacks, set Miners at Work, and brought forward his wooden Towers, which were higher than the highest part of the Ramparts; and then it appeared that the Garrison and the Assailants were not equally matched. Besides, the City was invested in a Season, when it could not have been expected; and therefore it was so ill stored with Provisions and Ammunitions, that it already began to want both. What then could it do but capitulate? Accordingly two *Roman* Officers went out of *Uscana*, to treat with the King; and *Perfes* readily gave the *Romans* leave to march out of the Place with their Arms and Baggage. Nothing in Appearance could be more favourable than this; but no Promise was ever less faithfully executed. The *Roman* Troops were no sooner got without the Gates, but they were disarmed and seized; and as for the rest of the Garrison, consisting partly of *Illyricans*, and partly of *Uscanians*, who had made a Composition for themselves, and delivered up the City, they underwent a more severe Fate than that of the *Romans*. They were shut up in several Prisons round about *Stubera*; whilst the rest of the Inhabitants were reduced to Slavery, and sold to the best Bidder. A base Proceeding of a faithless King! But *Perfes* had no Honour, or Regard to the Laws of Nations, or Fidelity, in the Observance of Treaties.

HOWEVER, the taking of *Uscana* was only the Prelude to the great Design the King had formed. His main Business was to fix *Gentius*, the wavering King of *Illyricum*, in his Interest. This Prince, after shewing much Levity, and Inconstancy, was still wavering between the *Macedonian* Party, and the *Roman*; and *Perfes* thought to have determined him to take up Arms in his Favour, by drawing near

<sup>67</sup> *Stubera* (which is called *Stymbara*, by *Strabo*; and *Stobera*, by *Suidas*) stood in the Country of the *Deuriopes*, a People who lived near the Mountains of *Candavia*, between *Illyricum*, and *Macedonia Propria*.

<sup>68</sup> The River *Axius* in *Macedon*, rises in Mount *Scardus*, and discharges itself into *The Thermaic*

*Gulph*. *Sophian* gives it the Name of *Vardari*, or *Vardare*; *Zonaras*, that of *Bardarius*. See what we have said of it elsewhere.

<sup>69</sup> The *Erigonus*, of which we have already spoken, rises in the Mountains of *Illyricum*, and after several little Rivers have enlarged it, falls into the *Axius*, below *Edessa*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIV.  
C. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
CN. SERVILI-  
US CÆPIO,  
Consuls.

to his Dominions, and working upon his Fears. With this View, he set out again from *Stubera*, and came and laid Siege to *Oæneum* <sup>70</sup>, a City very near the Frontiers of *Illyricum*. This was a necessary Post to open him a Way into the Country of the <sup>71</sup> *Labeates*. But he was informed, that unless he made himself Master of *Draudacum* <sup>72</sup>, which was a populous City, the taking of *Oæneum* would be of little use to him. He therefore hastened thither, and *Draudacum*, and all the Castles in the Country submitted to him. The *Roman* Garrisons in these Places, to the Number of fifteen hundred Men, were forced to submit to the Yoke of the Conqueror. *Oæneum* indeed detained the King of *Macedon* longer. The Place was strong, the Garrison numerous, and the Walls of the City were washed on one side, with the River <sup>73</sup> *Artatus*, and covered on the other by an high Mountain. It was therefore necessary to besiege it in form. The principal Attack was carried on by the Help of a *Cavalier*, which the King had built as high as the Rampart. But this Work was often interrupted by the Sallies of the Besieged; and in these Battels much Blood was spilt on both sides. Till at length the *Cavalier* was carried up high enough, for the Besiegers to fight on a Level with those on the Ramparts, and long enough to reach to the *Courtine*; and the King sent up to the Top of this Eminence, a chosen Battalion, which he honoured with the Name of *Victorious*. There these brave Men fought with the Besieged, as it were on even Ground. At the same time scaling Ladders were raised against all parts of the Walls; and whilst the Assault kept the Garrison in play elsewhere, the *Victorious Cohort* leaped on the Rampart, and seized it. And then the Slaughter the *Macedonians* made in the City, when they had taken it by Assault, is not to be expressed. Neither young Children, nor Women, were spared. All were sold, and the Money arising from thence, and the Spoils of the City were given to the Soldiers for their Reward.

§. XXXV. THEN *Perfes* marched back his Troops to *Stubera*, and there rested them for some Days, after the Fatigues of a laborious Siege, undertaken in a very bad Season. But the King was not idle during his short Stay at *Stubera*: He made a good Use of it. He sent an Embassy to *Illyricum*. *Pleuratus*, one of the petty Kings of the Country, who had been driven out of his Dominions, and retired into *Macedon*, was at the Head of it. With him was joined a *Macedonian*, named *Adæus*; and these Ambassadors had Orders to let *Gentius* know, how formidable *Perfes* had made himself to the *Romans*, during the last Campaign. They were to inform him, *That Thrace had declared for the Macedonian*; *That* <sup>74</sup> *Cotis, the King of the Odrysians, was going to send his Troops to his Assistance*; *That the Dardani were subdued*; *That Perfes had no longer any Reason to fear a Diversion from this restless People*: *That* <sup>75</sup> *Cephalus, one of the Kings of Epirus, had just shaken off the Roman Yoke, and joined his Army with those of the Macedonian*; *That in Europe, all Greece inclined to favour him*; *That in Asia, the King of Pergamus, and the Provinces subject to the Rhodians, only waited for an Opportunity to renounce the Treaties, which enslaved them to imperious Rome*; and lastly, *That the Macedonian's Allies increased, in Proportion to the Ascendant he had gained by his Conduct, and his Conquests*. *Perfes* did not doubt, but this bare Narrative would strike *Gentius*, and bring him to a settled Determination; and in full Confidence of this, he sent away his Ambassadors.

*PLEURATUS*, and *Adæus* his Collegue, began their Journey, passed through the Defiles of Mount <sup>76</sup> *Scordus*, and came into *Illyricum*, through a Country which *Perfes* had laid waste, in order to make his Kingdom inaccessible

<sup>70</sup> The City of *Oæneum* bordered on *Stymphalia*, and the Country of the *Atintanes*. It stood in the Canton of *Penestria*. According to *Briet*, it is now called *Sabioncello*, or *Ciderisso*.

<sup>71</sup> The *Labeates* were a People of *Dalmatia*, who lived near *Scutari*, as we shall observe hereafter.

<sup>72</sup> We know nothing more of the Fort of *Draudacum*, than that it was near *Oæneum*.

<sup>73</sup> We cannot guess where the River *Artatus*, which *Livy* mentions rose, or what was its course. *Ligorius* in his Map of *Greece*, does not distinguish it from the *Drinius*, or *Drino*, which rises in Mount *Scardus*, and falls into the *Save*.

<sup>74</sup> *Polybius*, B. 27. of his *Extracts* represents *Cotis*, as a polite, prudent, and reserved Prince, who had nothing of the Barbarity of the ancient *Thracians* which were subject to him.

<sup>75</sup> *Cephalus*, who was falsely accused by young *Charops*, says *Livy*, of having favoured *Perfes's* Party, had just declared against the *Romans*, to avoid the Fate of those who had been falsely accused before the Senate of *Rome*, and imprisoned, notwithstanding their Innocence.

<sup>76</sup> Mount *Scordus*, or *Scordus*, divides *Macedon* from *Upper Mesia*. It is the Mountain which *Barlet* calls *Marinai*.

*Livy*, B. 43.  
*ex Polyb.*



Year of to the *Dardani*. The King of *Illyricum* was then residing at 77 *Lissos*, a City in  
 R O M E his Dominions, almost at the Mouth of the 78 *Drilo*, and pretty near *Macedon*.  
 DLXXXIV. The Ambassadors, who were much fatigued, were soon admitted to an Audience  
 Q. MARCIUS by the young King: But though their Speeches intimidated, they did not determine  
 PHILIPPUS, him. *Gentius* protested, That his Heart was entirely with the King of *Macedon*;  
 CN. SERVILI- and That he desired nothing so much, as to assist his Neighbour, and join with him  
 US CÆPIO, in supporting the Cause of Monarchy, against an ambitious Republick, and in  
 Consuls. avenging the Liberty of all the East. But after all, said he, *my Finances are so  
 much exhausted, that I cannot possibly equip Fleets, or raise Troops. Let Perſes  
 but supply my Wants; and as soon as he has remitted me sufficient Sums of Money,  
 he shall see me as zealous for the common Cause, as himself. I will then join with  
 him in his Labours; and perhaps shall not be useless to the many Nations, who groan  
 under the Yoke of the Western People.*

Polyb. n. 76.

Polyb. in Le-  
 gal. n. 77.

WITH this Answer *Adæus* returned with all Speed to *Stubera*; and there found  
 the King of *Macedon* busy in selling the Prisoners he had taken in War. Avarice  
 was his predominant Passion; and he shuddered at the bare mention of the Proposal  
 of the *Illyrican*. He would fain have had all the Kings and Nations in the *Levant*  
 to have taken up Arms in his Defence, purely out of Regard to the publick Good;  
 and as he loved nothing so well as Money, he pretended not to understand the  
*Illyrican's* Proposal. He was resolved not to send *Gentius* any of the Sums he ex-  
 pected; and immediately sent back *Adæus*, and an Officer of his Guard, named  
*Glaucias*, in whom he could confide, with Orders to conquer *Gentius's* Irresolution  
 by Words, rather than Remittances; which was a very difficult Undertaking. And  
 whilst they were endeavouring to gain over the *Illyrican*, *Perſes* himself returned  
 once more to the Territory of the 79 *Penestæ*, ravaged those Countries which  
 held out for the Republick, took the City of 80 *Ancyra*, ordered it to be sacked;  
 and after he had reinforced the Garrisons of *Uscana*, and *Oæneum*, came back  
 again to *Stubera*. There he received a second Answer from the King of *Illyricum*,  
 to this Effect. *I am very desirous of sending you Succours, but want Money. Assist  
 me then with your Riches, and I will assist you with my Men and Ships.* But the  
 covetous *Macedonian* could not prevail on himself to disburse even small Sums,  
 though to gain over to him, the most powerful of all the Kings that could open  
 him a Way into *Italy*, and the most able to oppose the Designs of the Republick.  
 So that *Perſes* barely solicited him a third time, without granting his Request, or  
 supplying his Wants. He acted like a great Man in every thing else; but ruined  
 all his Affairs, and made his Conquests useless to him, by his most sordid Avarice.  
 Generally speaking, this base Passion contributed more to ruin him, than the Arms  
 of the *Romans*. Had he known how to have expended, I don't say with Profuse-  
 ness, but with OEconomy, a small part of the Treasures his Father and he had  
 heaped up: There was not a King in *Epirus*, *Thrace*, or *Illyricum*, or a Republick  
 or free City in *European*, or *Asiatick Greece*, which would not have joined with  
 him. A prophane Author is therefore of Opinion, that Heaven judicially blinded  
 this wicked Prince. The Love of Money was a sort of Infatuation, which the  
 Gods inflicted upon him, to punish him for his Crimes, and to deliver Mankind  
 from so great a Scourge. His Covetousness so blinded him, that he did not see  
 wherein his true Interest consisted; and he thereby failed of that Success, which  
 he would have abused.

Liv. B. 43.  
 c. 21.

§. XXXVI. He spent the rest of the Winter in an Expedition, which he thought  
 of more Importance, than his Incursions and Conquests in *Illyricum*. Havin

77 *Lissos* was anciently a City of *Illyricum*, situ-  
 ated on the Confines of *Macedon*, a little above  
 the Mouth of the *Drilo*, which falls into the *Adri-  
 atick* Sea. This City is thought to be the same as  
*Alessio*, which now belongs to *Albania*.

78 The *Drilo*, now the *Drin*, is a very different  
 River of *Illyricum*, from the *Drinius*, of which  
 we have spoken above. There are two Rivers of  
 that Name; one rises in Mount *Scardus*, and is  
 vulgarly called *Drino Bianco*, or *White Drin*; and  
 the other is now called *Black Drin*. The latter  
 runs out of the Lake *Lychnis* in *Macedon*, and con-  
 tinues its Course towards *Dalmatia*, where it joins

the *White Drin*. And there this River divides it-  
 self into two Branches, and has two Mouths below the  
 City of *Lissos*, into the *Adriatick* Sea.

79 The *Penestæ* lived near *Illyricum*. The  
 Country bordered upon *Pelagonia* to the North, and  
 the Territory of the *Deuriopes*, to the South.

80 As far as we can judge by *Livy's* Story, a  
*Perſes's* March, the City of *Ancyra* here spoken of  
 must have stood near the *Cambunian* Mountains,  
 the Banks of the *Panyasus*, or *Gennysus*, near the  
*Deuriopes*, and *Penestæ*; and this is the Situation  
*Sanſon* gives it in his Map.



Hopes of gaining over *Ætolia* to his Party, he took his Rout towards *Epirus*; and his first Stay was at *Elimea*, a City of his own, near the Frontiers of the *Epirots*. After his Departure *L. Calius*, and *Appius Claudius*, who durst not stir out of their Quarters, whilst the *Macedonians* kept the Field, were very desirous of recovering the Posts the Republick had just lost in *Illyricum*; and *Calius* endeavoured to retake *Uscana*. But the Garrison was too strong for him. The *Romans* got only Blows there, and were very fortunate to be able to regain *Lychnis*. From thence *Calius* sent a Detachment to take Hostages of the Cities, that yet retained some Regard for the Republick; which he thought a very necessary Precaution, at a time when the Resolution of *Perses* made the Ballance ready to turn on his side: Whilst *Claudius*, on the other hand, endeavoured to wipe off the Shame of his Defeat, in his Expedition against the City of *Uscana*, the last Year; entered *Epirus*; and would have taken <sup>81</sup> *Phanote* by Force. But he found there a brave *Macedonian*, named *Clevas*, a Man of Reputation, who defended it with a strong Garrison. In the mean time the *Macedonian* Army pursued its March; and the King made all possible haste to *Stratos*, on the Banks of the *Achelous*. This City belonged to *Ætolia*; and *Archidamus* the *Ætolian*, who had been disobliged by the *Roman* Party, offered to deliver up this Key of *Ætolia* to the King of *Macedon*. The indefatigable *Perses* therefore hastened thither with a Detachment of ten thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse; but the Roads were so very bad, that he could not carry his Army entire, upon his new Enterprize. What Difficulties had he to surmount, before he could arrive at <sup>82</sup> *Stratos*! However, after three Days march, he came to the Foot of the *Pindus*, which he was obliged to pass over, and found the Weather extremely severe. The Soldiers encamped on Heaps of Snow, and found it so inconvenient a Post, that they soon left it. From *Pindus* they had very bad Roads, and hard Frosts to struggle with; and it is not to be described, how much the Troops, and especially the Beasts loaded with the Baggage, had to suffer. Nevertheless, after two Days Fatigue more, the little Army arrived near a Temple dedicated to *Jupiter the Victorious*, where it encamped; and then another Difficulty occurred. The River <sup>83</sup> *Arachtus* was so swelled with the melting of the Snow, that it was not possible to ford it; and any other General would have waited till the Waters had sunk. But *Perses* immediately made a Bridge over that part which had overflowed. And after all, these many Labours, and this great Expedition, were not rewarded with a proportionable Success.

*ARCHIDAMUS* had drawn *Perses* into *Ætolia* by his Promises. As soon therefore as the King had passed the *Arachtus*, this *Ætolian* came to meet him, and was his Guide, to conduct him to *Stratos*. The same Day the *Macedonian* entered *Ætolia*, and in two Days more arrived on the Banks of the *Achelous*. Upon *Archidamus*'s Word, he expected to have had the City of *Stratos* immediately surrendered to him, and to have seen a general Insurrection in *Ætolia* in his Favour. But how different was his Reception, and how great his Disappointment! Whilst *Archidamus* was out of *Stratos*, on the Road to the Frontiers to receive the *Macedonian*, the Inhabitants had brought *C. Popillius*, the *Roman*, thither, from *Ambracia*. This Lieutenant General was entered into the City with a Body of *Legionaries*, had made himself Master of it, and appeared resolved to keep it for his Republick. At the same time one *Dinarchus* an *Ætolian*, delivered up to the *Roman* Party a flying-Camp, which he had brought to *Stratos*, by order of *Archidamus*. The Change which had happened in the City had turned *Dinarchus*. *Perses* therefore, who found himself anticipated, and *Archidamus*, who thought himself betrayed, resolved to besiege *Stratos* together. Whilst *Popillius* on the other hand prepared to sustain a Siege, though the Place was divided into several factions; ordered the Keys to be brought him; and confined *Dinarchus*, and the Citizens of *Stratos* in the Citadel, under Pretence of defending it. And by these Dispositions, the *Romans* discouraged *Perses*. Nevertheless, the King drew

<sup>81</sup> *Sigonius* confounds the Port of *Phanote*, in *Epirus*, with a City of the same Name in *Phocis*. The one we speak of stood near *Thesprotia*, and *Ghaonia*.  
<sup>82</sup> The City of *Stratos* stood near the River *Achelous*, in the Neighbourhood of *Ætolia*. It depended on *Acarnania*.

<sup>83</sup> The River *Arachtus*, now the *Spagmagnurisi*, according to *Niger*, after it has passed through a part of *Epirus*, falls into *The Gulf of Ambracia*, or *Larta*, as it is now called.



Year of up his Troops on an Hill pretty near the Place, as it were to invest it. But his  
*R O M E* *Macedonians* were soon obliged, by the Darts and Arrows of the Troops in *Strator*,  
 DLXXXIV. to draw farther off. The King retired beyond the <sup>84</sup> *Petitarus*, being not yet deter-  
 Q. MARCIUS mined either to undertake the Siege, or drop the Design. Whereas, *Archidamus*  
 PHILIPPUS, burned with Ardour to conquer the Place. But the King on the contrary hearken-  
 CN. SERVILI- ed to the Advice of his *Macedonians*, and concluded, that he himself would be sooner  
 US CÆPIO, starved, than the Besieged, in a Country which he could not depend on, and  
 Consuls. near a *Consular* Army. He therefore retreated in good Order; took Refuge  
 in *Aperantia*, a little Region of *Epirus*, which submitted to him; left *Ar-*  
*chidamus* there to govern it; and returned to *Macedon*. Upon his Approach  
*Claudius* raised the Siege of *Phanote*; and his Departure had more the Air of  
 a Flight, than a Retreat. So that *Clewas* pursued him with a thousand of his *Legi-*  
*onaries*, and took two hundred of his Men Prisoners. The same *Roman* also  
 lost a thousand more of his Soldiers in a Rencounter, and was forced to leave  
*Illyricum*, send Home his Troops to their own Countries, and return to  
*Rome*.

§. XXXVII. THE Superiority *Perses* gained over *Hostilius*, whilst he was com-  
 manding the Armies of the Republick in the *Levant*, had made the *Greeks* almost  
 forget the Conquests of *Flamininus*, and the Valour of the *Scipio's*. Nothing was  
 talked of among them, but the Exploits of the *Macedonian*; his bold Marches  
 over Ice, and through impassable Countries. They thought *Macedon* inaccessible,  
 and admired the Conduct of a General, who, without running the Risque of  
 losing an Inch of his own Dominions, turned the War wholly against the Al-  
 lies of his Enemies. Every Campaign took from the *Romans* some one or  
 other of the Nations, which had been most attached to them. Indeed, the  
 Republick had really lost more Ground in the Affections of the *Greeks*, through  
 the Robberies and Extortions of the *Prætor*, and other *Roman* Officers, than *Per-*  
*ses* had gained by his Arms in the Cities and Provinces he had conquered. The  
*Greeks* hated both *Rome* and *Perses*. But lately, they had often been com-  
 pelled by Necessity to join with the strongest Side. The People at *Rome* there-  
 fore now felt the Consequences of the Tyranny, which the Commanders of the  
*Roman* Armies and Fleets had exercised in *Greece*, over the most faithful Cities and  
 Nations. And therefore the Senate sent two Commissioners thither, to publish  
 in all the Countries of the *Roman* Confederacy a Proclamation, prohibiting the  
 Generals of the Troops of the Republick to demand any thing of the Nations,  
 without an express Order of the Senate; and forbidding the Allies to submit to  
 any Exactions, or even Demands of the *Consuls*, *Prætors*, *Lieutenant Generals*, or  
*Roman Tribunes*, unless they were authorized by a Decree of *The Fathers*. The  
 Dict of *Achaia* assembled at *Argi*, received the Edict of the *Romans* with Accla-  
 mations. But in *Ætolia* the People did not seem disposed to hearken to any  
 Ordinances from *Rome*. On the contrary, all things threatened a speedy Revolt.  
 The Commissioners therefore demanded Hostages there; and they were refused  
 them. From thence they went into *Acarmania*. The *Acarnanes* called an As-  
 sembly of the chief of the People, in the little City of <sup>85</sup> *Thyrium*, to receive  
 the *Romans*; and there they discovered the different Inclinations that divided that  
 People. Some were for putting *Roman* Garrisons in all the Cities in the Coun-  
 try. Whilst others opposed it, out of Fear, as they pretended, of bringing under  
 this Pretence the Enemy's Arms upon a peaceable Country, whose Confederacy  
 with *Rome* did not oblige them to carry their Fidelity so far, as utterly to ruin  
 themselves by it. This Opposition prevailed, and the Commissioners seemed con-  
 tent with it. At least, they saw, by the Attempts they made in several Places  
 how much *Rome* had lost of that sovereign Authority, which she exercised in the  
*Levant*, before the time of *Perses*: And she had now no means of regaining  
 her former Ascendant in *Greece*, but by humbling the *Macedonian*, and reducing  
 him so low, as not to be able to contend any longer with her. The Impression  
 he had made on the Minds of the *Greeks*, and the Superiority he had gained over

<sup>84</sup> What *Livy* says of the *Petitarus*, gives us Reason to believe with *Ortelius*, that this River was near *Ætolia*.

<sup>85</sup> We know nothing more of the little City of *Thyrium*, than that it belonged either to *Epirus*, or *Acarmania*.



the two last *Consuls* in Greece, had cooled the Affections of many People, and brought them at least to an unsettled State.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXIV.  
Q. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
C. SERVILI-  
US CÆPIO,  
Consuls.  
Livy, B. 44.  
c. 1.

ALL the Hopes of the Romans were now upon *Marcus*, who was lately arrived in *Thessaly*. The new General was come without Delay to take upon him the Command of the *Consular* Army, in the room of *Hostilius*. This *Pro-Consul*, who was too dilatory, and more prudent than enterprising, had acquired no other Glory there, but that of having formed his Troops to strict Discipline, and prudently managed the Allies of *Rome*. However no Country, at least in a national Body, had openly declared for the *Macedonians* in his time. The Predecessor received his Successor with all the Dignity that became the Republick they represented. Before *Hostilius* delivered up the *Fasces* into the Hands of *Marcus*, he reviewed his Troops, and ordered that the Men, Horses, and Arms, should be put into a good Condition, and go and meet the General who was to succeed him. Then, after common Civilities, and reciprocal Congratulations, *Marcus* took upon him the Command; and *Hostilius* returned to *Rome*. The first thing the *Consul* did, was to harangue his Troops. *The Enemy we are going to fight*, said he, *is the Curse both of Gods and Men. Can one who murdered his Brother, and in effect assassinated his Father, escape the Vengeance of Heaven? The Surname of Philip, which I bear naturally, obliges me to avenge the Cause of the King, from whom I had it. His Shade calls upon me for Justice, with respect to the Troubles which were given him by an unnatural Son, and the Throne which the latter usurped by a Crime. How many Furies are there continually hovering round him, to punish him for the many Persons he has secretly poisoned; the many cruel Assassinations, and the many Sacrileges, which he has committed? His Attempt on the Person of Eumenes, his Unfaithfulness in breaking his Treaties with Rome, and the unjust sacking of so many Cities, are Transgressions, the Consequences of which he cannot avoid. Happy then shall we be, if I, and You, should be able to execute the Wrath of the Gods! Rome has by her Piety, often deserved to be employed as the Instrument of Heaven, in punishing the Guilty; and who knows whether the Gods have not, for that very Reason, made us so formidable in the World? Compare then the Roman Forces with the Macedonian; and remember Philip and Antiochus had many Advantages over us, which Perses never had; notwithstanding which, the Eastern Nations have seen both defeated, and the Terrors of it are not yet worn out. May then a more wicked King than they meet with the same Fate, since he better deserves it!*

THIS warm Harangue inspired the *Legions* with Valour. They desired nothing but to be led to the Enemy; and *Marcus* had already determined, in spite of all Difficulties, to march his Army into *Macedon*. *Perses* had already sufficiently amused the *Roman* Generals in foreign Countries, and preserved his own Dominions. It was therefore necessary to put him upon the defensive at Home, and make his Subjects bear all the Weight of the War. The only remaining Question was, what Rout the *Roman* Army should take, and through what Passes they should open themselves a Way, cross inaccessible Mountains and Hills, which a small Body of Men could easily defend. The Admiral *C. Marcus* was recalled from *Chalcis*, to be present at the Consultation. The *Roman* Camp was then near *Pharsalus*; and was to set out from thence for *Macedon*; and the Officers were divided in Opinion. Some were for marching over the *Cambunian* Mountains (which are a part of the *Candavian* to the East) the same Way that *Hostilius* had endeavoured to penetrate into *Macedon* the last Year. Others were for marching directly to *Pythium*<sup>86</sup> in *Pelagonia*, more on this side of *Pharsalus*. And lastly, Others proposed to go the shortest Way; to keep along by the Coast of the Marsh of *Ascuris*<sup>87</sup>, and enter *Macedon* by the Confines of *Pieria*, a Province of *Macedon* near *Tempe*. So that in this first Council nothing was resolved on. Only the Army decamped, and the coming to any Resolution was postponed, till they should draw nearer to the Enemy's Lands. The *Consul* passed the *Peneus*, entered

<sup>86</sup> *Pythium*, or *Pytheum*, was a City of *Pelagonia* *Tripolitis*.

<sup>87</sup> The Silence of the ancient Geographers, both as to the Marsh, or Lake of *Ascuris*, and the Forts that was near it, makes us believe, that there

was nothing remarkable in either. This Lake lay between *Illyricum* and *Macedon*, towards the *Cambunian* Mountains. *Ortelius* inclines to believe, that it was the same as the Lake *Lychnis*. But this is a mere Conjecture, offered without any Proof.

*Perabia*,



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIV.

C. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
CN. SERVILI-  
US CÆPIO,  
Consuls.

Livy, B. 44.  
c. 2.

Livy, B. 44.  
c. 3.

*Peræbia*, passed on from thence to *Pelasgiotis*, and there coasting along the Mountains, arrived at length between <sup>88</sup> *Dolyche*, and *Azorus*.

§. XXXVIII. IN the mean while, this unsettled March still kept *Perses* in suspense. He had hastened to his Frontiers, and made great Preparations to defend them; and as he knew not which way *Marcus* had resolved to pass, had posted his Troops at all the Avenues. Ten thousand light-armed Men, under the Command of *Asclepiodorus*, were out to guard the Tops of the *Cambunian* Mountains. *Hippias* was posted with twelve thousand *Macedonians*, at the Extremity of the Marsh of *Ascuris*, and there defended a Fort called *Lapathus*: and the *Phalangites* were cantoned round *Dium*. But at the same time his Care and Restlessness kept *Perses* continually upon the Wing from Place to Place. Sometimes he hastened to the side of *Heracleum* <sup>89</sup>; then hurried towards *Phila*; and as soon again turned towards *Dium*, without giving himself any rest. At length the Consul, after he had marched more to the West, determined to enter *Macedon*, near *Ostolephum*, about the same Place where *Philip* had been beaten thirty one Years before, by the Consul *Sulpicius Galba*. Nevertheless, *Marcus* did not venture to pass this Way, without first taking proper Precautions. He sent his Son, and another Officer, with a Detachment of four thousand Men, to seize some important Posts; and the rest of the Army followed the Detachment, but very slowly. No Roads were ever more difficult. If we were to give Credit to the Descriptions of some declamatory Historians, we should say with them, that the *Romans* climbed up Rocks which were so high, that the Birds could not fly up to the Tops of them. And this at least is certain, that the Detachment of the Consular Army, though consisting of most active Soldiers, could not march more than fifteen Miles in two Days. They were much fatigued, and encamped at the Foot of a Tower called *Eudieru* <sup>90</sup>, doubtless, from the great Number of Rivulets that watered the Country. The next Day they were forced to leave this fine Country, and continue their Rout through Roads as steep as the former: So that they marched only seven Miles that Day. However, the Detachment came at length within a proper Distance of the Enemy, and seized an Eminence, on which they encamped. Then the Son of the Consul immediately sent an Express to his Father to be his Guide, and to hasten his March. The Courier found the main Army advanced no farther than the Banks of the Marsh of *Ascuris*. The Waters in the Vallies, and the Steepness of the Mountains, seem to have been the Causes of the slow Progress of the *Roman* Troops. And to these Difficulties we may add the Consul's own Uncasiness, on account of his Son's March. He was under great Apprehensions for the little Army he had sent before him, but was much comforted with the News he received from it. Then, with a Courage not to be subdued by any Fatigues, he marched on in all haste, and joined his Son. The young Warrior had already chosen the Place for the whole Camp. All the Army posted itself on the side of an Hill, and pitched their Tents in Rows above one another, like the Seats of an Amphitheatre. From this Eminence the *Romans* not only saw the *Macedonian* Camp, which was scarce more than a Mile from them, but also the vast Plains round *Dium*, and *Phila*, and the Sea itself, which bounded the Prospect. It was indeed a most agreeable View; but never was Place less proper for the Subsistence of an Army, for any length of time. Was it then out of Ignorance, or Complaisance to his Son, that the Consul halted there? He had not yet crossed all the Mountains that surrounded *Macedon*.

THEN the *Romans*, though posted in this delicious Country, and notwithstanding their Fatigues, demanded of the General that he would lead them to the Enemy, without Delay. But *Marcus*, though very well pleased with their Ardour, did not give Way to their Impatience. He ordered them to rest one Day, and was obeyed.

<sup>88</sup> *Azorus* and *Dolyche*, stood in *Pelagonia Tripolitica*, towards the Confines of *Thessaly*. It was from the Territories of these two Cities, and that of *Pythium*, that *Pelagonia* was called *Tripolitica*.

<sup>89</sup> The City of *Heracleum* belonged to *Pieria*, a Province of *Macedon*. It stood almost at the Foot

of Mount *Olympus*, at the Entrance into *The Thracian Gulf*.

<sup>90</sup> The Name of *Eudieru* was taken from the Greek Word *Αἶμας*, which alludes to the many Rivulets and Springs which watered the neighbouring Plains.



THE next Morning, by break of Day, the *Consul* appeared in the Plain, drew up his *Legions* in Battalia, and left only a small Body of Troops on the Hill to guard it. The Enemy *Marcus* had before him was not *Perses* himself. The King in great Uneasiness was moving about his Frontiers, attended by a flying Camp, and giving Orders wherever he came, to prevent the *Romans* passing into his Dominions. The General that supplied his Place in the *Macedonian* Camp was *Hippias*, an experienced Officer, of an established Reputation. He was but lately come to guard this Pass; and as soon as he saw the *Roman* Camp, he prepared his Soldiers for an Engagement, and marched to meet the *Legionaries* when they began to move. His Army did not consist of *Phalangites*; he had scarce any but light-armed Soldiers under his Command; and therefore the *Consul* at first sent against him only some light Troops, armed with Slings and Darts, who fought at a Distance, with little or no Order. So that this first Day's Engagement was, properly speaking, only a Skirmish, in which few Men were killed. Nevertheless, the Troops on both sides were animated by this first Attempt, and both desired to come to a pitched Battel. But they wanted Ground for it. The Valley was not spacious enough for forming two Armies. Besides, the Hill which the *Romans* had seized, grew narrower and narrower all the Way down it, and was scarce broad enough at Bottom for posting two or three *Manipuli*. So that the rest of the *Legionaries* could only be Spectators of the Battel, without having any part in it. This second Day therefore ended as the first had done, in some Skirmishes between the light-armed Troops. Those of the *Romans* marched down the Hill on both sides, came within Bow-shot of the Enemy, and retired as soon as they had thrown their Darts. Whence it is easy to see, that a Battel of this sort could not either be bloody, or decisive. Nevertheless it lasted till Night.

§. XXXIX. ON the fifth Day after he arrived on the Hill, the *Consul* became sensible of the Difficulty of continuing in a Post surrounded with Mountains, and at too great a Distance from the Sea, to be easily supplied with Provisions from thence. But what could he do? An Army hindered him from going down into the flat Country, and getting entirely free of this Labyrinth of Rocks, with which he was surrounded; and he could not return back without Dishonour, and Danger: and the only Expedient he had left, was not a very safe one; which was to march along the Chain of Mountains on which he was, and climb from one Rock to another. A terrible Situation for the *Roman* Army, if the Enemy had known how to have made their Advantage of it! But the *Consul* by his Boldness, Constancy, and Intrepidity, extricated himself out of this bad Situation. He marched to the Eastwards, sometimes climbing up very steep Rocks, and sometimes going down into frightful Bogs. If then he had had the old *Macedonians*, which *Alexander*, and his Father *Philip* commanded, to deal with, what would have become of the *Roman* Army? *Perses* was seized with a kind of Infatuation. He never once appeared in Person at the Head of his Army, to stop that of the *Romans*; neither did he send *Hippias* any Troops to enlarge or recruit his Army, during all the little Battels he fought to harass the *Consul* in his March. And yet he was but twelve Miles from the Place where these Skirmishes were fought. In short, *Perses* had spent all his Fire in running from Post to Post, where he had fixed Bodies of Men. He made it his whole Business to place Troops in all the narrow Passes of the Mountains, and in all the Defiles. Whilst on the other hand it was surprising to see the *Roman* General in his Battles, acting both the part of a General and a Soldier at the same time. Notwithstanding his Age, he bore the Fatigues of the most laborious March, which we have mentioned in Story; and notwithstanding his Bulk, climbed over the highest Rocks. His martial Ardour gave him Activity, and made Amends for his Fatness; and *Marcus* employed both his Head and Hands in this perillous State. In order to deceive the Enemy, he left *Popilius*, one of his Lieutenant Generals, in his first Camp, with Orders to continue there till *Hippias* had decamped, to pursue the *Roman* Army; and at the same time the *Roman* General took one very necessary Precaution. Before he would engage in such difficult Roads, he sent before him *Attalus* the *Pergamian*, and *Misagenes* the *Numidian*, each with the Body of Auxiliaries he commanded, and with Orders to beat down and level the Roads as much as possible. This advance-Guard was followed by the Beasts of Burden, Waggon, and Elephants; and the

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIV.  
Q. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
C. SERVILIUS  
CIPPIO,  
Consuls.



Year of *Consul* with his *Legions* brought up the Rear. In these rough Ways, the greatest Danger was not in climbing up, but in getting down the Mountains. Some Horses and Elephants tumbled down the Precipices. The latter with their Cries affrighted the Beasts of Burden; and both one and the other threw their Guides and Riders, and gave them terrible Falls upon the Points of the Rocks. It was therefore necessary to find out some Expedient to prevent these Disasters; and in order to get down the Precipices, the *Romans* built Bridges of Boards one below another, upon Posts like Piles, and covered them with Earth. When an Elephant was come almost to the end of the first Bridge, the Piles of it were cut, and the Beast suffered to fall or slide down to the second Bridge; and so on from one Bridge to another, till he was come down to the Valley. Thus these heavy Animals were conveyed from Bridge to Bridge, and from Declivity to Declivity, till at length they were brought into the Plains, where the Roads were more passable. So that it is not at all surprising, that the *Roman* Army could not march above seven Miles a Day, in such difficult Ways. *Marcus* himself confessed, that *Perses* might have cut all his Army in pieces with an Handful of Men. But by the good Fortune, Boldness, Constancy, and Industry, of her General, the Republick saved her *Legions*.

R O M E  
DLXXXIV.  
C. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
CN. SERVILI-  
US CÆPIO,  
Consuls.

Livy, B. 44.  
“ 5.

Livy. *ibid.*

AFTER all these Fatigues, the Danger was not yet past. The Night was closed when the *Consular* Army arrived in a Valley, surrounded on all sides with high Mountains; and during the Darkness, it was not possible to examine narrowly the neighbouring Places. However, they were not disturbed all Night; and the next Day they were in fresh Concern about the Place where they were then obliged to encamp. It was a deep Valley, where the Enemy might have destroyed them only with Stones; and yet they were obliged to tarry there, to wait for *Popilius*, and his Troop. Nevertheless, as surprising as it is, *Perses* lost all these Opportunities of making these Barriers to his Dominions fatal to the *Romans*. The only Obstructions they met with in their March, were the Difficulties of the Roads; and at length the *Consular* Troops all join'd, and *Marcus's* Army was complete. He had indeed many Hills yet to pass, and Mountains to climb over; but the Fatigue was now become more supportable by Habit, and the Fears of his Troops lessened. They began to jest on *Perses* for his Inaction, and thought on past Dangers with Pleasure. In this Temper they came from the Mountains through a narrow Pass called <sup>91</sup> *Callipeuce*, in the Language of the Country, and drew near to the Sea, from whence they hoped to receive Provisions and Ammunitions. Their Fleet had Orders not to go far from the Shore, but to coast round *Macedon*, to be ready to assist them in time; and then the *Consular* Army was divided into two Camps. The greatest part of the Infantry were posted, on the Eminencies between *Heraclea* and <sup>92</sup> *Lebethrum*; whilst the rest, with the Horse, encamped in a Valley. They were now in *Macedon*; but nevertheless were near enough to that maritime Province of *Thessaly*, which was called *Magnesia*.

§. XL. THIS Situation of the Enemy might well terrify *Perses*, who had made but feint Efforts to oppose them. He was in a Bath when he received this News; and it astonished him. He was in great Anxiety at it, and suffered Expressions to drop from him, which were unworthy of his Dignity, or Courage. *Then I am conquered*, said he, *without having given Battel*. And the Disorder of his Mind appeared yet more plainly, in his Restlessness and Irresolution. He was perpetually shifting his Place and Posture, and often changing his Designs. All his Passions were afloat; but the prevailing one got the Ascendant. His Avarice, or the Love of his Treasures, first engrossed all his Concern. His first Care was to prevent their being seized. To this end he recalled to him from their Posts in the Mountains, two of his most faithful Officers; and gave them such Orders, as shewed the Baseness of his Soul, and the Meanness of his Sentiments. The first of these Confidants was *Nicias*, a Man of Genius, but ready to execute any of his Master's Orders, how inconsiderate soever. The Name of the second was *Andronicus*, a Man of a better Understanding, and capable of distinguishing a rash Command, given

<sup>91</sup> The Pass of *Callipeuce* was probably so called, from the great Quantity of *Pines* which grew in that Neighbourhood.

<sup>92</sup> *Lebethrum*, or *Libithrum*, was a City of

*Magnesia*. It stood near *Macedon*, at a little Distance from Mount *Helicon*, and the City of *Corinthea*. Near it was the Fountain of *Libethra*, consecrated to *The Muses*.



without Reflection, from a Design deliberately formed, after mature Consideration. *Perfes* ordered the former to hasten to *Pella*, seize all the Gold and Silver he found there in his Coffers, and throw it into the Sea. And he commanded the second to go to *Theffalonica*, and burn all the *Macedonian* Ships he found in that Port. Whilst the King himself, in a sudden Fit of Despair, carried on board his Fleet, all the Statues of valuable Metal which he had at *Dium*; abandoned that important Post; and fled for Refuge to *Pydna*. By such imprudent Resolutions did *Perfes* unguard his Posts, leave open the Avenues of his Kingdom, and give it up to the Mercy of the *Consul*. So that these bad Steps of the *Macedonian* gave an Air of Prudence to the Temerity of *Marcus*; and the Success (the chief Rule by which the Generality of Mankind judge of the Goodness or Badness of things) justified it.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIV.  
C. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
CN. SERVILI-  
US CÆPIO,  
Consuls.

THUS the *Roman* Army had at length penetrated into *Macedon*; and now the Difficulty was, how to subsist there, or get out of it again. All the Avenues to this mountainous Country were shut up; and the *Romans* had therefore only one of these three Things to choose. The first was to turn about directly, and enter again the same Passes, where they had once had the good Fortune to escape. The second was to enter *Theffaly*, by *The Valley of Tempe*; and the third was to break into the inner parts of *Macedon*, live there at the Enemy's Expence, and make Conquests. The first of these Schemes the *Legions* could not by any means approve of. They had already undergone such Fatigues in their Passage, as it seemed to be beyond the Strength of Man to bear. Besides, it was probable that *Perfes* would not suffer them to return with as little Loss and Danger as they came. And as to attempting to pass *The Valley of Tempe*, that seemed still less practicable. How could a whole Army be carried through a Road, which, for five Miles together, was but just broad enough for a loaded Mule to pass? And this Path was overlooked on the right by Mount *Olympus*, and was bounded to the left by the River *Peneus*, which fell down a steep Precipice, with a terrible Noise. So that to the right, a handful of Troops might destroy all the *Legionaries*, and kill them with Darts thrown down from the Ridge of the Mountains; and to the left, Men, Horses, and Elephants ran the Hazard of falling from the Top of a Rock, (which was too high for the Men to look down the Precipice without Giddiness) into a deep rapid River, which turned their Heads with the very Noise of its Fall. Nothing therefore remained but to continue in *Macedon*, to get Provisions with the Points of their Swords, and march over the Bellies of those Troops of the Country, which opposed the Progress of the *Roman* Army. This then was the *Consul's* Resolution; but he extended his Foresight to future Contingencies. His Troops might after all be distressed for a Subsistence, in a dry Country, which abounded more with Metals, than Corn; and he therefore judged it necessary, at all Events, to secure the Pass of *The Valley of Tempe*, as difficult as it was. This would still be a Resource against a Famine, and the other Misfortunes of War; and he sent Orders to *Sp. Lucretius*, who commanded a Body of Troops at *Larissa*, in *Theffaly*, to lay aside all other Expeditions, and come and seize all the Posts, which the *Macedonian* Army had not yet seized. Indeed *Perfes* had guarded the narrow Way, which led from *Macedon* to *Theffaly*, between the *Peneus* and Mount *Olympus*, in four Places; and was Master of *Gonni*, at the Entrance into this Pass; of <sup>93</sup> *Gonnocondylon*, which was on the Road; of *Lapathus* <sup>94</sup>, or *Characa*, near the Banks of the *Peneus*; and of that part of the Pass where it was so narrow, that two Men could scarce walk a breast in it. But nevertheless, *Lucretius* obeyed the *Consul's* Orders, and came to prepare the Way for the return of the Army, in case of Accidents.

§. XLI. IN the mean time, *Marcus* was preparing to leave the Sea-Shore, in order to enter farther into *Macedon*, towards the West. What then was become of this formidable *Perfes*, who had behaved himself so heroically in the Winter? He seems to have disappeared at the Approach of *Marcus*; and the Name of his Father *Philip*, which the *Roman* bore, seems to have struck such Terror into him, that he durst

<sup>93</sup> *Sigonius* guesses, that the Name of *Gonnocondylon* was given to this Place from its Neighbourhood to *Gonni*, which was situated on the Banks of the *Peneus*, and to the Fortrefs of *Condylon*, which *Livy* mentions *B. 44.*

<sup>94</sup> *Livy* places the Fortrefs of *Lapathus* in the Neighbourhood of *The Valley of Tempe*, near Mount *Characa*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIV.  
Q. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
CN. SERVILI-  
US CÆPIO,  
Consuls.

not undertake any thing in his Presence. He might, without Difficulty, have hindered the *Consul* from advancing farther into his Dominions. The Passage out of *Pieria*, where the *Roman Army* was encamped, was hemmed in on one Side by Mount *Olympus*, and the Mouth of the River <sup>95</sup> *Baphyrus*, which overflowed, and thereby made impassable Marshes. Besides, the City of *Heraclea*, and a Temple dedicated to *Jupiter*, which might easily have been fortified, commanded the Plain. And on the other Side, the Way out of his Province was so very narrow, that if the *Macedonians* had dug a Ditch, erected a Rampart, or only built a Wall there, they had made it utterly impassable. Nor were any Materials wanting for such kind of Works. There were Woods and Stones on the Spot, in great Abundance. But *Perses* did not know his own Advantages. Fear had blinded him. He continued immoveable at *Pydna*; and did not take the Field, or so much as oppose the Enemy, in all their March.

THE *Roman General*, with all the Confidence that the Dejection of the King could give him, took the direct Road for *Dium*, one of the chief Cities of *Macedon*; and *Popillius* marched before, to examine the Roads, and level them. In two Days, the Army arrived at *Dium*; and there being a Temple of *Jupiter* (which doubtless gave the City its Name) built in that Neighbourhood, the *Consul*, for fear of prophaning it, pitched his Camp at some Distance from it. Then, to his great Surprize, he found the Gates of the City open, and entered it without Opposition. But the Place was so well fortified, and he found so many fine Statues, and other valuable Monuments in it, that he thought it could not be abandoned without some Design. And therefore, for fear of a Surprize, he kept upon his Guard; continued there one Day, to search all the Avenues to it; and after he had made all safe, left it. The *Questors* of the Army thought they had Provisions enough for continuing their March; and the Army encamped the first Day, on the Banks of the *Mitys*, a River which waters the Province of *Pieria* in *Macedon*, and discharges itself into *The Thermaic Gulph*. The next Day, the *Consular Army* appeared before <sup>96</sup> *Agassa*; and the General only demanded Hostages of it. Then in one Day more he came to the Banks of the *Ascordus*; and the *Roman Army* filled all the Country with Terror. Insomuch that the whole Province would have submitted to the *Consul*, if he could have found Provisions enough in the Places which he ran thro' in this victorious Manner. But, to his great Misfortune, the farther he went from *Thessaly*, the less Subsistence he found for his Troops; and this obliged him to return to *Dium*. Nevertheless, he had some glimmering Hopes of being soon eased of the Distress to which he was reduced for want of Provisions. He saw his Fleet out at Sea; and this gave him Joy for some time. But he was soon informed, that his Transport-Ships were got no further than *Magnesia*. And then how desperate was his Case! what Resolutions could he take! He was ready to perish, without drawing his Sword; and at a time when the Enemy durst not appear before him. However, in the midst of his Anxiety, a Courier came to him from *Sp. Lucretius*, with Advice, That this Lieutenant-General had seized all the Passes that led to *The Valley of Tempe*, and had found vast Quantities of Provisions in the Places which he had seized; and this unexpected good Fortune left no room for Deliberation. The *Consul*, without waiting for the Arrival of his Barks, which the Winds retarded, immediately hastened to the Place whither the present great Distress drove him; tho' he was sensible these Steps would much lessen the Opinion the World had entertained, both of his Ability and Valour. Some said he fled to avoid the Battel *Perses* was preparing to give him: Others, that his Reflections on the Vicissitude of human Affairs had lessened his Courage. But these Discourses did not make him change his Resolution. He left his Conquests in *Macedon*, and returned to the Frontiers of *Thessaly*.

§. XLII. UPON which, *Perses* affected to seem very uneasy to see his Prey escape him; and he sometimes reproached *Hippias* with it, and sometimes *Asclepiodorus*. It is by your Means, said he to them, that the rash Consul and his Army have escaped the Destruction I was preparing for them. It is you who have opened the Passages

<sup>95</sup> See what we have elsewhere said of the River *Baphyrus*, which *Ptolomy* calls *Pharibos*. It is now the *Faribo*. It rises in Mount *Olympus*, and falls into *The Thermaic Gulph*.

<sup>96</sup> *Agassa* stood on the Banks of the *Mitys*.



for his Return, and robbed me of so much Glory! Whereas in Reality the King was rejoiced to see *Macedon* delivered from so troublesome a Guest as the *Roman Consul*. As soon as the Enemy had abandoned *Dium*, he returned thither; repaired the Ravages the *Romans* had committed, rebuilt the Walls they had demolished, and strengthened it with new Fortifications. From thence he went and encamped on the Banks of the *Enipeus*, which in the Summer is but a small Rivulet, tho' in the Winter it rolls down Mount *Olympus* with a very great Noise, and becomes a mighty Torrent. However, *Perses* thought it would be a good Barrier between him and the Enemy; and here he resolved to continue the rest of the Campaign. In the mean time the *Consul*, tho' he had drawn near to *Theffaly* to get Provisions, was not actually gone out of *Macedon*; nor had he laid aside the Design of continuing the War there. From *Phila*, where he tarried some time to refresh his Legions, he sent *Popillius* with two thousand Men, to lay Siege to *Heraclea*. This City stood on a Rock which overlooked the Sea, at the Place where the *Baphyrus* discharges itself into it. *Popillius* first summoned the chief Men in the Place to surrender it. But *Perses* was too near at hand, for the Demands of the *Roman* to be complied with. The Inhabitants could see from their Walls the Fires that were made in the King's Camp, on the Banks of the *Enipeus*; and it was therefore necessary to besiege the City both by Sea and Land. The *Roman* Fleet was within Reach; and Machines were placed to clear the Ramparts. But the great Difficulty was, how to get to the Foot of the Wall, which was built on a Rock, very steep on all Sides; and this a Company of young *Romans*, who remembered an Exercise which had been used in *The Cicerian Games*, were inclined to attempt. In these Times, when Valour was yet esteemed at *Rome* as the greatest of all Excellencies, the Fineness of the *Games* was not thought to depend on the great Number of strange Beasts which had been shewn the People. The most agreeable Sights to the Spectators were certain military Exercises, in which the young Men shewed their Skill and Address. After the Chariot and Horse Races, which scarce lasted above an Hour, the brave Warriors brought into the *Arena* six hundred young Children, who divided themselves into several Squadrons. These Children, after many Evolutions, which they made together in a Body, divided themselves, and fought a mock Battel, which could only give Pleasure, without Pain, to the Spectators; and the Shew ended in a Sight which was still more entertaining. The Children made a *Tortoise*: Some holding their Bucklers over their Heads, others over their Backs, they made several Stages with their Bodies; and upon these living Floors, Battels were fought without Bloodshed. But this Way of fighting, which was only Matter of Diversion in the *Circus*, was now actually put in Practice before *Heraclea*. The Soldiers, by forming *Tortoises*, climbed up to the Top of the Rock, and made a Lodgment there; and then, by the same Method, scaled the Wall. There were only two Things in which the real *Tortoise* differed from the sham-one in the *Games*. First, the true one was broader, and deep enough for two Companies to climb up that Way to the Height of the Parapet. And secondly, the Soldiers who flanked this *Tortoise*, did not cover their Heads only, but all their Bodies, with their Bucklers, to guard against the Darts which were thrown down upon them from the Ramparts. As for the Beams, and heavy Weights, or Stones, which were thrown down on the *Tortoise*, they slid down it, as down the Roof of an House. And when the two Companies were got up to the Rampart, they soon cleared it; and leaping down into the City, Sword in hand, seized it.

Thus the *Consul* become Master of *Heraclea*, and came and encamped near it; and in these new Entrenchments, his only Points in view seemed to be, to drive the King from his Post, march to *Dium*, and penetrate farther into *Macedon*. Whereas his chief Design was to make the Roads good from *Theffaly* to *Macedon*; thereby to facilitate the Conveyance of Provisions from one Country to the other. This was a necessary Precaution, to enable him to take up his Winter-Quarters in *Macedon*; and he spared no Pains to compleat this great Work. He erected Magazines for Corn all along the Road, and fortified them; and built Houses for the convenient Lodging of those that guarded the Convoys. A Work sufficient of itself to have gained him immortal Honour, if he had done nothing else all the Campaign! He thereby opened his Successors an easy Entrance into a Kingdom which had hitherto been deemed inaccessible; and not only prepared



Year of the Way for the Conquest of it, but made that Conquest certain to the Roman Armies.

DLXXXIV.

C. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
CN. SERVILI-  
US CÆPIO,  
Consuls.

As for *Perses*, he had hitherto been afraid to engage with the *Consul*. *Marcus's* Presence had made a very different Impression on him, from what the Sight of his Predecessors had done. But now, when he saw the *Roman* continue in a kind of Inaction in his Camp round *Heraclea*, the King recovered his Spirits, and conquered a little his Dejection. He repented of the Orders he had given, to throw all his Treasures at *Pella* into the Sea; and to burn his Ships which were in the Port of *Theffalonica*. But one of the Officers to whom he had given these Orders, had been but too exact in his Obedience; whilst the other had wisely delayed putting in Execution a mad Project which was dictated by Fear, in a Fit of Despair. *Nicias* had actually thrown into the Sea all the Gold and Silver which *Philip* and *Perses* had so frugally heaped up. However, the King had still one Remedy left. He got some Divers, and they fished up his Treasures out of the Sea. And *Andronicus* had not the Mortification to have set Fire to the Fleet. It was entire, when the Counter-Orders arrived. Nevertheless, how incredible soever it may appear, both *Nicias* and *Andronicus* were punished; one for his ready Obedience, the other for his wise Delays in obeying his Orders. The King had them both privately assassinated; and also the Divers who had got his Riches out of the Sea. He was so much ashamed of the Orders he had given, and the Dread he had been under of the *Consul*, that he wanted to abolish all Footsteps of it, and therefore removed all those who were Witnesses of it, out of sight. An Assassination accompanied with the greatest Injustice, whereby *Perses* filled up the Measure of his Iniquities; and we shall soon see them draw down upon him the Vengeance of Heaven!

§. XLIII. THE *Consular* Army was now wholly employed in making good Roads for the marching of Troops, and Conveyance of Corn, from *Theffaly* to *Macedon*; whilst the *Roman* Fleet, commanded by *Marcus Figulus*, set sail to go on several Expeditions on the Coasts. From *Heraclea*, it came to *Theffalonica*; and there the Admiral made a Descent, laid waste a great Part of the Country, and threatened the City with a Siege. But the *Theffalonians* brought so many *Ballistæ* on their Ramparts, and threw such Multitudes of Darts with them, that not only the Soldiers ashore, but the Ships likewise, suffered much by them. It was therefore necessary to remove farther off from thence; and *Figulus* came and appeared with his Gallies before <sup>97</sup> *Ænia*. Its Territory was fruitful; and the *Roman* Soldiers found a plentiful Harvest there. From thence they came to <sup>98</sup> *Antigonea*, and there made a Descent. But the *Antigoneans* made a Sally, and killed about five hundred *Romans*, and took as many Prisoners, upon the first Onset. Then being eager to pursue the Enemy to their Ships, the *Macedonians* lost about two hundred Men, in a second Battel, and had about the same Number taken. After this slight Repulse, the *Roman* Fleet came to an Anchor, before <sup>99</sup> *Pallene*. This was a rich and populous Coast; and the *Romans* made a Descent there likewise. And whilst they were busy in pillaging, the *Pergamian* Fleet, consisting of twenty Ships of War, commanded by *Eumenes* in Person; and a Squadron of five *Bythinian* Ships, sent by *Prusias*, came and joined the *Prætor Figulus*. *Eumenes* had given the *Roman* some Grounds to suspect him; and he now wanted to efface their Suspicions, or cover his Game. But be that as it will, this Reinforcement of twenty five Ships emboldened the *Prætor* to attempt the taking of <sup>100</sup> *Cassandria*. The Siege was memorable; and the Ancients have taken Care to give us a very particular Account of it. *Cassandrea*, or *Cassandria*, was a maritime City of *Macedon*, which was at first called *Potidea*, and afterwards took the Name of *Cassandria*; either from *Cassandrea* the Daughter of *Priam*; or more probably, from *Cassander*, the Son of *Antipater*, and King of *Macedon*. It stood in *The Isthmus* of *Pallene*, or, if you will, on that Neck of Land which divides *The Toronaic*, from *The Thermaic Gulph*. It was advantageously situated for the *Romans*. They could not have

<sup>97</sup> *Ænia* was a City of *Macedon*, near *Theffalonica*. It is now called *Moncastro*.

<sup>98</sup> We have already spoken of the Origin and Situation of *Antigonea*, a maritime City of *Macedon*, near *The Toronaic Gulph*.

<sup>99</sup> *Pallene* is the Name of a Peninsula and City in *Macedon*, between the *Toronaic* and *Thermaic* Gulphs. See the preceding Volumes.

<sup>100</sup> See what we have said of the City of *Cassandria*, Vol. 3.



a more convenient Entrance into *Macedon*, than thro' the *Paraxian* Province, to which *Cassandra* was a Key. The Generals in the *Roman* Fleet divided the Attack between them. The *Prætor Figulus* erected his Batteries on the Side of the Peninsula which the two Gulphs make; and, to hinder any Communication between *Macedon* and the Place, he filled all the Road with *Caltrops*, and other Instruments to embarrass Soldiers in their March. *Eumenes*, with his *Pergamians*, and the *Bythinians*, attacked the City on the opposite Side. On that Side where the *Romans* were, nothing stopped them so much as a wide and deep Ditch, which *Perses* had very lately dug there, to cover the City. It was necessary to fill it up; but none of the Earth that had been dug out of it could be found. At length, the *Prætor* was shewn, that the *Macedonian* had made use of this Earth in raising a Bulwark which stood on an Arch, supported only by two Walls, which were not very firm, and only one Brick thick. This served the City instead of a Wall; but was not so strong as the old one. The *Roman* General first made a Breach in the outer Wall of the Arch, designing soon to make another in the second, to enter the City that Way. Nor was this all. Before he began this Attack, which was to be almost under-ground, *Eumenes* ordered another to be made in the Place opposite to the Bulwark, and thereby made a considerable Diversion for those who defended the Place. The Garrison which *Perses* had put in *Cassandra*, consisted partly of the *Thracians* called *Agrianes*, from the River *Agrianus*, which watered the Province; and partly of *Illyricans*, of the Country of *Penestia*. The former were eight hundred in Number; the latter two thousand: and these were thought the Flower of the *Macedonian* Troops. With the young *Cassandrians*, they made a little Army of about four thousand Men. A considerable Force; and sufficient, behind Walls, to resist a *Prætorian* Army.

As soon as a Breach was made in the second Wall, the Pioneers who had made it might have entered the City without Resistance, and taken it, if they had been armed. But the Besiegers were forced to bring regular Troops to enter thro' this Passage, and to carry them over a *Glacis* between the City and the Ditch. Before the *Romans* came there, they gave a great Shout for a Signal, and to encourage the *Asiatics*, who were engaged in the Assault on the opposite Side of the City; and this Noise at first surprized the Garrison. However, they afterwards understood That the Enemy had made a Breach on the Side of the Bulwark, but That no *Roman* had yet entered within the City-Wall. The Commanders of the *Agrianes* and *Illyricans* were two able Officers. The Name of the one was *Pyto*, and that of the other *Philip*; and they presently perceived that this Breach might be made as useful to the Besieged, as the Besiegers. *The main Point*, said they, *is, who shall seize it first. If we do it, it will serve us for a Postern, to make a Sally on the Enemy.* Which said, they ran thither with Part of their Troops, and made a Sally in good Order on the *Romans*. They were yet forming themselves on the *Glacis*, and waiting till the rest of their *Manipuli* had crossed it. But as soon as the Besieged appeared, who had anticipated the *Romans*, the latter were repulsed, thrown into the Ditch, and there crushed in pieces, under the Ruins of the Bulwark. Six hundred *Legionaries* perished in this Action; and not one returned to the Camp without some Wound.

Nor were the Troops of *Eumenes* more fortunate in their Assault than those of the *Prætor* at the Breach. So that the Attacks were abated on both Sides; and the Besiegers had no more Thoughts of taking the Place by Force. They only took Care to invest it so well, as to cut off all Provisions from it, in order thereby to reduce it by Famine. And the Design had succeeded, if the Danger of *Cassandra* had not roused *Perses*. But he sent from *Theffalonica* ten Barks laden with Men and Provisions. These keeping close to the Shore, escaped the *Roman* Fleet, which lay at Anchor farther out at Sea, and entered the Port. And this Reinforcement put the City out of Danger. So that the *Prætor* and King of *Pergamus* had nothing to do but to abandon their Enterprize. Both Fleets set sail, and appeared before <sup>101</sup> *Torona*, the City which gives its Name to *The Toronaic Gulph*. But this Place was too well fortified to be taken. They therefore turned towards *Deme-*

<sup>101</sup> *Torona*, which gives its Name to *The Toronaic Gulph*, was a City of the *Paraxian* Province, which belonged to *Macedon*. *Nardus* and *Pinet* put it in the same Place where *Castel Rampo* now stands.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIV.  
C. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
CN. SERVILI-  
US CÆPIO,  
Consuls.



Year of *trias*. Tho' this City belonged to *Theffaly*, the Kings of *Macedon* had long been in Possession of it; and thought it one of the chief Cities of their Kingdom. Its Port was a Refuge for their Fleets; and they had erected their Arsenals and Magazines there. When the *Roman* Fleet appeared before it, so numerous a Garrison lined the Ramparts, that the Enemy were forced to pass by it; but they did not lay aside their Design. It was necessary to make Preparations, before they undertook so important a Conquest.

R O M E  
DLXXXIV.  
C. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
CN. SERVILI-  
US CÆPIO,  
Consuls.

§. XLIV. THE *Consular* Fleet and Army united together in making proper Dispositions for this Enterprize. The *Roman* Admiral brought his Ships before <sup>102</sup> *Iolcos*; and the *Consul* sent away *Popillius*, with a small Body of *Legionaries*, to lay Siege to *Melibæa* <sup>103</sup>. *Iolcos*, a maritime City of *Theffaly*, lay near *Demetrias*, to the East; and *Melibæa*, which stood on Mount *Offa*, covered it more to the South; and therefore the *Romans* kept both these Places in Awe. The Garrison of *Melibæa* was alarmed at the Sight of the *Roman* Troops; but their first Terror vanished, when they perceived that they were only a Detachment, come rather to attempt to surprize the Place, than besiege it in Form. Nevertheless, *Popillius* invested it; and made all proper Dispositions for an Assault. But *Perfes*, upon the News, that *Iolcos* on one Side, and *Melibæa* on the other, were threatened, and that the Design was upon *Demetrias*; detached *Euphranor*, with two thousand *Macedonians*, to drive away *Popillius* from *Melibæa*, and with Orders to go to *Demetrias*, thro' By-roads, before the Fleet was gone from *Iolcos*, and had made a Descent on the Coast. And the *Macedonian* Officer put his Orders in Execution with Success. He first forced *Popillius* to leave *Melibæa*, and then turned towards *Demetrias*, and led his Troops thither. And now, the Descents of the Fleet were no longer to be feared. The numerous Garrison of *Demetrias* was strong enough to preserve the Fields from being plundered, and the City from the Siege with which it was threatened. The Ships of *Eumenes* and *Figulus* in vain surrounded it by Sea, to terrify it; and the King and *Prætor* saw, by the Appearance of the *Demetrians*, that their Design was impracticable.

Valer. Ant.  
apud Liv.

THUS ended a Campaign which but little weakened *Perfes*; and had brought but little Glory to the *Consul* *Marcus*. And thereby the King of *Pergamus*, who already wavered towards the *Macedonian*, was determined to renounce the *Roman* Party. Some Historians pretend, that he refused to put to Sea with his Fleet the whole Campaign; or to join that of the *Prætor*, who had often desired him to do it, by Letters. To which they add, That *Eumenes* served only by Land, and left the *Consul's* Army, highly displeased with the Proceedings of the *Roman* General. *Marcus*, say they, had refused to let that Prince's Soldiers lodge in the same Camp with the *Romans*. But be that as it will, this at least is certain, that *Eumenes* ceased to be a faithful Friend to the Republick, and an irreconcilable Enemy to *Perfes*. If he saw the *Consul* again before his Departure, it was a Visit of pure Ceremony. He complimented *Marcus* on having penetrated into *Macedon*; but refused to leave a Body of *Gauls*, that is, *Galatians*, which he had brought from *Asia*, in the Service of the *Romans*. But *Attalus* did not imitate his Brother. At the same time that *Eumenes* was falling off from *Rome*, the Prince his Brother was entering into the strictest Engagements with her. He was a better Politician than the King, and we shall see him do good Service to the Republick, and cultivate the Friendship of the *Romans*, who were better able to reward his Fidelity, than the *Macedonian*.

Polyb. in Legat.  
N. 77.

THUS the King of *Pergamus* in effect renounced his Alliance with *Rome*; where as *Achaia* was earnest to strengthen her Confederacy with the Republick. While *Marcus* was making War in *Macedon*, *Archon*, then *Prætor* of *Achaia*, assemble the *Achaian* Diet; and in order absolutely to destroy the Reports which were spread, That *Achaia* inclined to favour the *Macedonian*, he got the Assemblies to pass a Decree, That if *Rome* would accept of their Services, they would send a their Forces to the Assistance of the *Romans*, and join them to the *Legionaries*, *Auxiliaries*. They also ordered an Embassy to be sent to *Marcus*, to make him this Offer; and *Polybius* the Historian was chosen to be the Head of the Deputation

<sup>102</sup> *Iolcos* was formerly a City of *Magnesia*, on the Coast of the *Ægean* Sea, at the Foot of Mount *Pelion*, and near *Demetrias*. It is now only a Village, which the Natives of the Country call *Jaco*.

<sup>103</sup> *Melibæa* belonged also to *Magnesia*. It stood on this side the River *Peneus*, near the Lake *Babæ* at the Foot of Mount *Offa*.



This famous *Achaean* was also instructed by his Republick, to enquire of the *Consul* whether he would consent, That *Achaia* should lend *Appius Claudius* the Soldiers he desired, and send them into *Epirus*, there to make War under that General. When *Polybius* arrived, he was received in a handsome Manner by the *Consul*. The Good-will of a great Nation, at a time when so many others were wavering in their Fidelity, could not but be acceptable to him. He remembered with Pleasure, the entire Deference *Achaia* had shewn from the Beginning of the War, for the Orders of the Senate, and *Roman* Generals. But nevertheless, as the Campaign was going to be ended, *Marcus* did not want foreign Succours; and as to the five thousand Men *Claudius* demanded, the *Consul* was not of Opinion that *Achaia* should send them. Was not then *Marcus* jealous of *Claudius*? Or was he willing to save the *Achaean*s the Trouble and Expence of so long a March? Whatever was his Motive, *Polybius* readily complied with the Inclinations of the *Consul*; and when he was returned home, got *Claudius*'s Envoy dismissed with this Answer, That *Rome* had published an Edict in *Greece*, forbidding the *Greeks* to comply with the Desires of the *Roman* Generals, unless backed with an express Order of the Senate. By this Step, *Polybius* both made his Court to the *Consul*, and consulted the Interest of his Country at the same time. The Expences she must have been at to have justified *Claudius*, would have amounted at least to \* an hundred and twenty *Talents* <sup>104</sup>.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIV.  
Q. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
CN. SERVILI-  
US CAEPID,  
Consuls.  
Livy, *ibid*.

§. XLV. AND now, tho' the War between the *Romans* and *Perses* was come to no Issue, and the latter had scarce begun the Conquest of *Macedon*; nevertheless, the *Macedonian* already discovered, by I know not what Foresight or Penetration, that after all, it was safest for him to sue for Peace. Perhaps he was conscious that his Avarice, which was indeed the true Cause of all his Misfortunes, would be his Ruin; and he now chose rather to beg a Peace in a shameful Manner, and save his Riches, than carry on a glorious War, by distributing some of his Treasures among useful Allies. He employed the King of *Bythynia* and the *Rhodians*, as Mediators. The Affair was transacted with the Senate of *Rome*, to which the Republick of *Rhodes* and King *Prusias* had sent their Ambassadors; and the Proceedings of the two Ambassadors were as different, as the Opinions of the People of the *Levant*, concerning the Success of the War. Some yet laid Wagers on *Perses*'s Side; and others on that of the *Romans*. And hence it was that the *Rhodians* gave themselves haughty Airs at *Rome*; whilst *Prusias* proceeded by way of Intreaty with her. The People of *Rhodes* were fully persuaded that the People of *Rome* repented of having undertaken the War in the East; but *Prusias* was convinced that they would finish it with Glory. The Ambassador of the latter therefore addressed himself to the Republick, with the same Submission as when she was most predominant in *Greece* and *Asia*. *Rome*, said he, cannot but know with what Zeal the King of *Bithynia* declared for her against *Perses*; and with what Care he carried on her Designs. The Fidelity he has shewn to you is inviolable. It will last as long as his Life. But nevertheless, *Prusias* could not bear the Lamentations of the King of *Macedon* without Compassion. *Perses* has desired the King our Master to intercede with the *Roman* Senate; which is acknowledging his Repentance, and his Weakness. And it is as much to our Honour to be chosen Intercessors with you; as it is to yours, to see an Enemy make the first Advances towards a Peace. And if you shall find it for your Interest to grant our Supplications, it will be a great Satisfaction to us to have contributed something towards the Tranquillity of the East, and the Happiness of *Macedon*. This Speech was favourably received, but the only Effect it had, was, that it sunk the Esteem the Senators had for *Prusias*, to nothing.

\* 23250 l.  
Sterl. Arb. at h.  
Zenaras, B. 9.

But the Deputies of *Rhodes* spake a very different Language. If *Rome*, said they, was formerly victorious in the *Levant*, to what did she owe her Success, but to our Arms and Fleets? The Humiliation of *Antiochus* was as much owing to our Efforts, as yours. As for *Macedon*, it was then at Peace with us; and our entering into Engagements with *Perses*, could be therefore no just Offence to you. But we at first broke with this Prince, merely out of Complaisance to *Rome*. We followed your standards, to the Prejudice of our Ally; contrary to our own Inclinations, and with-

<sup>104</sup> That is, to the Sum of one hundred and sixty thousand *French Livres*, according to our Computation, the preceding Volumes.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIV.  
C. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
CN. SERVILI-  
US CÆPIO,  
Consuls.

out any Provocation from him. Had he done any thing, whereby he had given us just Cause to abandon him? We have indeed been very justly punished for separating from him. How many Misfortunes have we suffered for the three Years that you have made War with him! Our Navigation is lost, and our Island often wants Necessaries. We can no longer run over with Ease the Coasts of Asia, and raise our Imposts in the tributary Cities there. The Rhodian Republick therefore, fatigued with your Hostilities, which all recoil upon her, thought herself obliged to intreat the Macedonian to make Peace with Rome; and she sent Ambassadors to him, to require it of him. And now she sends others to the Senate, to warn them to put an End to the War with Perses; which if you do not accept, we shall think of proper Means to bring the Obstinate to Reason.

WHAT an Impression such a Discourse must make on the Minds of *The Fathers*, is easy to judge. Some Historians indeed say, that the Senate heard it without Emotion; and that they gave no Answer to it, otherwise than by instantly declaring the *Carians* and *Lycians* absolutely free from Subjection to any People. Rome had formerly subjected them to the *Rhodian* Republick; and by this Stroke freed them from her Dominion. And this Decree, say they, was like a Thunder-bolt to the intrepid Chief of the Embassy, who was so struck with it that he fell into a Swoon. But others assure us, that the *Conscript Fathers* made the *Rhodians* this Reply. Before the War, we suspected that there was a Correspondence kept up between Rhodes and Macedon; and now they have thrown off the Mask. What! Dare the *Rhodians* to set themselves up for the Peace-makers of the World? Shall Rome receive Law from these Gods of the Earth? Shall we take up Arms, or lay them down, as they direct? Shall we ratify our Treaties on their Altars? They threaten us indeed; and say, they will think of Means to force us to give up Macedon. But have they well considered of what they say? The Time approaches when the Conquest of Perses will leave us at full Liberty to reward or punish the good or ill Offices we have received during the War; and then Rhodes shall smart for this. These Words surprized the Ambassador. Nevertheless, the Republick sent him the usual Present of two thousand \* *Asses* of Brass. But the proud *Rhodian* refused to accept of them.

\* 6 l. 9 s. 2 d.  
Arbutnot.

§. XLVI. AT the same time, the Senate received Advices from *Marcus*, that the *Roman* Army had penetrated cross the Mountains that surround *Macedon*; That they were resolved to Winter in that Kingdom; That they had erected Magazines of Corn for that purpose; and lastly, That in order to fill them, they had borrowed of the *Epirots* † twenty thousand *Modii* of Wheat, and ten thousand of Barley. The Consul also desired, That the *Epirots* might be paid what they lent the Republick; and That the Senate would send to *Macedon* Cloaths for the Soldiers; and at least two hundred *Numidian* Horses. All which was accordingly done, by a Decree of the Senate. Six thousand *Togæ*, and thirty thousand *Tunicks* were sent to the Army, to be distributed as the General pleased. And Satisfaction was made the *Epirots* for what they had advanced. What then remained, but for the *Conscript Fathers* to reward a *Macedonian* of great Birth, who had on all Occasions signalized his Zeal for the *Roman* Party? His Name was *Onesimus*. He had Access to the Court of the Kings of *Macedon*, and was in all their Councils; and was continually intreating *Perses* to read over often the Treaty between *Rome* and *Macedon*. The late King your Father, said he to him, used to order it to be repeated to him twice a Day; and this made him backward to declare against so formidable a Republick. Till at length *Onesimus*, by boasting of *Rome*, made himself suspected by a Prince, who hated him, tho' he esteemed him; and the brave Courtier seeing his Disgrace was nigh, chose rather to avoid the ill Effects of it by Flight, than stand the Shock of it. He fled to the Consul's Army for Refuge, and did him important Services; and then he came to *Rome*, where he met with a grateful Return for them. All the time he was in the City, his Lodgings were provided, and Expences borne, by the Publick. And lastly, there were given him, by a Decree, two hundred Acres of Land in Fee, in the Plains of *Tarentum*, and a House in that City. By such Liberalities as these did the *Romans* buy themselves Friends in all the Courts in the East; and therein pursued a very different Conduct from that of *Perses*. They expended the publick Treasure, without Profuseness; and at the same time, without sordid Thrift; and this prudent OEconomy contributed as much as their Valour, towards their gaining the Victories we are yet to relate.

† 5000 Eng.  
Bush. Arbut.







[illegible]

Roman Miles 5000 paces each

Stadca of 105 paces each

Age Group	Percent
18-24	10
25-34	15
35-44	20
45-54	25
55-64	30
65-74	35
75-84	40
85+	45







# T H E

# Roman History.

## B O O K XLV.

§. I. **R**OME blamed her Generals for the Superiority, or Equality, which they had suffered the King of *Macedon* to gain in the last three Years. In the Senate, in the Assemblies of the People, and in private Conversation, every *Citizen* murmured at it. As they were all obliged to bear Arms, and as most of them had already been many Years in the Service, they thought they had a Right to condemn the Conduct of the late Generals, without Pity. These Speculators, who were safe at home, settled all the Marches for the Armies in the *Levant*. They determined the Times and Places where Battels ought to have been given, according to their own Notions of Things, or their Humour. They, in Imagination, past over to *Macedon*, fancied the Conquest of it must be easy, and reproached *Licinius* and *Hostilius* with Want of Bravery, or Activity. *Marcus* himself did not escape Reproaches. But the Multitude imputed his Inactivity to his Bulk. In short, every one consulted only his own Ardour to conquer *Perses*, and was impatient that it was not yet done.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIV.  
C. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
CN. SERVILI-  
US CAPIO,  
Consuls.

SUCH were the Dispositions of the Minds of the People, when the Time came for electing new *Consuls*. *Servilius Capius* was the only *Consul* that was left in *Italy*; and he was recalled from the Place where he had made the Campaign, without acquiring any Glory, because he had no Enemies to fight with. The Attention of *Rome* was wholly fixed on the ensuing Election. *Hannibal*, said the People, *found a Conqueror at last, in the Elder Scipio; Antiochus, in the Younger; and Philip, in Flamininus.* Can *Perses* then, with only the Remains of his Father's Army, hold out long against all the Forces of a Republick, that has been victorious in *Africa, Europe, and Asia*? Let us find out a Man who will recover the Glory which the three *Consuls* have suffered us to lose! Let us not have any Regard to the Intrigues of the Candidates for the Consulate, or chuse any Man out of Favour! If we longer delay to subdue *Perses*, we shall run the Hazard of causing the Republick to lose the Superiority she has gained, in the East, and South. This was reasoning justly; and in the next *Comitia*, the People acted with that Impartiality which they ought always to have shewn in the *Campus Martius*. After much Consideration, they thought it necessary to bring again upon the Stage, a Man who had been forgotten for thirteen Years; was of an advanced Age, being near sixty; and was wholly employed in the Care of his Family, and the Education of his Children. This Hero was *Paulus Æmilius*. The *Romans* resolved at last to draw him out of the Obscurity in which they had obstinately buried him, all the finest Part of his Life. After his first *Consulship*, which was famous for one of the most glorious Victories the Republick had ever gained over the *Ligures*, they had ill rewarded him for his Services, and had kept him out of that first Dignity, which he had stood for, more than once, without Success. This is the Fate of the greatest Men, in Republican States. The common People do them Justice in their Hearts; but their Affections are so divided and lost among the Multitude of the Candidates, and their Inclinations are so much thwarted by the most Ambitious, that they often produce no Effect. The Esteem which the People entertained for *Paulus Æmilius*, did not revive till the Wants of the Publick made it necessary. He was indeed a Great Man, and it is highly proper that we should give a just Representation of his Conduct, Life, and Character, before his Glory raised him, tho' a little late in Life, even above Jealousy itself.

§. II. PAULUS



Year of ROME DLXXXIV. Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS, CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO, Consuls. Plut. Life of Paulus.

§. II. *PAULUS ÆMILIUS* was born of a *Patrician* Family. The Genealogists make him to have descended from one <sup>1</sup> *Mamercus*, the Son of *Pythagoras*, who was surnamed <sup>2</sup> *Æmilius*, for the Sweetness of his Eloquence, and the Ease and Politeness with which he spoke his Mother-Tongue. But be that as it will, this at least is certain, That the *Æmilian* Family, for several Generations together, produced Men of known Probity, and constant Success. The Father of the Hero we celebrate was the first of that Family who sunk under the Calamities which befel the Republick. He was *Consul* at the Battel of *Cannæ*, and perished there; more thro' the Fault of an unworthy Collegue, than for any Want of Ability in the Art of War. This unfortunate Father left but two Children; a Daughter named *Æmilia*, who was married to *Scipio Africanus*; and a Son, who surpassed his Ancestors, both in Glory, and Success. This was the *Paulus Æmilius* whose Exploits we are going to relate. He did not devote the first Years of his Life, as the young Nobility of his Time did, to making Declamations; which were more proper to gain him the Applause of the Multitude, than to make him useful in Arms. He was no Flatterer of the People, would not servilely make Court to them, and make his Way to great Employments by caressing some, embracing others, and cringing to all. He loved Virtue, and cultivated nothing else. Not that he wanted the necessary Talents for shining as an Orator. But he preferred Justice and Valour before them. A Love of Duty was his Cardinal Virtue. This he shewed in all the Offices to which the Republick promoted him. When he was <sup>3</sup> *Ædile*, he filled the City with Plenty; managed the Expences of the publick Games, without Thrift, or Profuseness; and kept the Temples and publick Buildings in decent Repair. When *Augur*, he studied the Principles of the Art of Divination, corrected the Abuses of it, made new Regulations in it, and raised it out of the Contempt into which it was fallen. He re-established the *Augurate* upon the Foot on which it stood at its first Institution; and that not so much out of Superstition, as from a <sup>4</sup> Sense of his Duty. When *Prætor* in *Spain*, and put at the Head of an Army for the first time, he learnt by slight Disadvantages, how to conquer ever after. He profited even by his Losses; and soon found Means to repair them an hundred fold. When *Consul* the first time, he, with an Army of eight thousand *Romans*, defeated forty thousand *Ligures*, pacified their Province, and after he had forced them to deliver up their Ships, restored Tranquillity to the Coasts of *Italy* and *Spain*, which had been ravaged by the Pyrates.

AFTER his first *Consulship*, he retired; but did not perfectly enjoy the Sweets of a private Life. A virtuous, but disagreeable Woman, was a more insupportable Burden to him, than the Fatigues of War, or the Weight of publick Affairs. He had two Sons, and two Daughters by her. The former seemed to promise Heroism; but even these lovely Children could not lessen the Father's Dislike to *Papiria* their Mother. Tho' a *Consul's* Daughter, he was determined to divorce her;

<sup>1</sup> *Plutarch* here carries up the Origin of the *Æmilian* Family to *Mamercus*, the Son of *Pythagoras* the Philosopher; tho' this Historian himself had already said, in his *Life of Numa*, that the *Æmilii* were descended in a right Line from another *Mamercus*, a Son of the second King of *Rome*, who took his Name from one of the Sons of *Pythagoras*. So that so manifest a Contradiction gives us a just Prejudice against the Faithfulness of the ancient *Roman* Genealogists. Besides, this Descent seems to be as chimerical, as the Opinion of those who had supposed, without Proof, that *Numa Pompilius* was Contemporary with that Philosopher. Whereas there were at least an hundred and thirty six Years between them. See what we have said on this Subject, Vol. I. According to some others whom *Festus* mentions, *Ascanius* had two Sons, one named *Julius*, the other *Æmilius*; from whom, say they, the *Æmilii* descended. This has been the Folly of Men in all Ages. They have ever been fond of great Names, and laying Claims to Nobility, at least upon very uncertain Foundations.

<sup>2</sup> The *Romans* took their Name *Æmilius* from the Greek Term *ἡμιλίος*; and gave it the same Signification.

<sup>3</sup> *Plutarch* affirms, that *Paulus Æmilius* obtained the *Ædileship*, preferably to twelve Competitors, who were famous for their high Birth, Men of great Merit, and were all raised to the highest Employments in the *Roman* Republick.

<sup>4</sup> According to *Plutarch*, *Paulus Æmilius's* Maxim was, That the least Failure of a Magistrate in Point of Duty, was of dangerous Consequence. Hence, said he, the Subversion of States. Great Revolutions are seldom begun by great Crimes. The Way is first paved for them by the Indolence of Magistrates. The Consequence of their Negligence is Impunity, and a Contempt of the Laws. Whereas the Vigilance and Steadiness of a Magistrate is the surest Fence against the Progress of Impiety, and the Enterprizes of Profligates. And upon the same Principle, he was, when a General, very exact in keeping up military Discipline.

<sup>5</sup> *Papiria*, the Wife of *Æmilius Paulus*, was the Daughter of *Caius Papirius Mæso*; who was raised to the *Consulate*, in the Year of *Rome* 522; and distinguished himself by the Victory he gained over the *Corficans*.



but before he did so, discovered his Design to his Friends. These asked, *Whence can these Quarrels and Discontents proceed?* Papyria is handsome, prudent, and you have had Children by her, which are both your Hopes and ours. Which Reproaches he only answered by shewing them his Feet. *These Shoes*, said he, *are new, and well made, and yet I must change them.* No Body feels where they pinch me, but myself. Whether this was then a new Way of speaking, or not, *Emilius* thereby discovered to his Friends the true Cause of the Separation. In the married State, the Persons that are in Appearance most happy, are often found to be of very incompatible Tempers, which destroys all their Harmony and Peace. They appear happy Abroad, but are very miserable at Home. Little Faults, and continual Reproaches raised such a Soweriness in their Minds, and such a Dislike to one another, as makes it impossible for them to live together, with any Contentment, or Satisfaction.

BUT if *Paulus Emilius* was unhappy on one Hand in a termagant Wife, he was no less happy on the other, in his Children. He educated them with Care, had the best Masters brought from *Greece*, to polish their Minds with Science, and to form them to all bodily Exercises. He himself inspected the Lessons that were given them, and his Presence made them the more eager to learn. Before he gave them a Mother-in-Law, he transferred his two Sons, by Adoption, into other Families, and married his two Daughters. The eldest of his Sons was adopted into the Family of that <sup>6</sup> *Fabius Maximus*, who had been five times Consul; and the youngest into the *Cornelian* Family. The weak Son of *Scipio Africanus* adopted him; and from being his <sup>7</sup> Cousin-German, he became his Father. From that time, young *Emilius* bore the Name of *Scipio*, and will soon make himself known by the Appellation of *Scipio Emilianus*, or which is more for his Honour, by that of *The Second Africanus*. As for his Daughters, *Emilius* married them into the two Families, which were in the highest Reputation for Virtue, of any in *Rome*. *Cato the Censor* chose one for his Son; and the other was married to *Ælius Tubero*. So that the first was gone into a wealthy Family, where an affected Severity of Manners was a Cloak for Avarice, and Ambition. The second readily conformed herself to that Frugality, and Austerity of Life, which was practised by the <sup>8</sup> *Tubero's*, whose Virtue supplied the Place of Riches, and whose Love of Philosophy seemed to be hereditary.

§. III. SUCH was this *Paulus Emilius*, on whom *Rome* cast her Eyes, to raise him a second time to the *Consulate*. He was now enjoying the Delights of a private Life, with a second Wife, who was very complaisant to him, and by whom he had two Sons. The Dislike he seemed to have for publick Affairs, and the Hurry of Arms was the only Obstacle that was apprehended to his Promotion. How could the People prevail on a Man, who was exasperated with the Refusal he had more than once met with, and who had now been long settled in an honourable Retreat? However, the *Romans* thought they had found out the Means effectually to induce him to appear again among the Candidates for the *Consulate*. They employed his Sons, Sons-in-law, and their Families, to entreat, pray, and solicit him, to suffer his Name to be put in the List. His House was continually beset by his Relations and Friends. Nay, the People courted him to be Consul, with as much Earnestness, as the Ambitious used to court great Employments. The *Citizens* surrounded his Door every Morning, and by their Shouts, shewed their Impatience to see him at the Helm of Government, and the Head of their Armies. He therefore could not but comply with such earnest Sollicitations. The Love of his Country prevailed over his well-grounded Resentments.

<sup>6</sup> *Plutarch* here follows the Opinion of those, who pretended that the eldest Son of *Paulus Emilius* was adopted by the Son of that *Fabius Maximus*, who had the Surname of *Cunctator*, or *The Temporizer*. But others have thought that this Adoption was made by the Grandson of the Great *Fabius*. However, *Emilius's* Son laid aside the Name of his Family, according to the Custom of those Times, to assume that of his adoptive Father. The Name of *Emilianus* which he retained, shewed the Family from which he sprung. He had a son named *Quintus Fabius*, an Orator, who was famous for his Eloquence.

<sup>7</sup> *Scipio Africanus* had married *Æmilia*, the Sister

of *Paulus Emilius*, and consequently their Children were Cousin-Germans.

<sup>8</sup> According to *Plutarch*, and *Valerius Maximus*, the *Ælius-Tubero's* were sixteen in Number, and had only one small House in the City among them. They cultivated a very small Estate in the Neighbourhood of *Veii*; there lived in common; and were contented with the little it produced for their Support. The Austerity of Life, which *Ælius Tubero* professed, was followed by his Son *Quintus Ælius Tubero*, which he had by the Daughter of *Paulus Emilius*. This Son was one of the most famous Stoicks of his Age.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIV.  
C. MARCIUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
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US CÆPIO,  
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Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

Plut. Life of  
Paulus.  
Cicero de Di-  
vin.

As soon as he had consented to be elected, *Rome* thought the Victory certain, and looked on *Perses* as infallibly defeated. When *Æmilius* went to *The Field of Mars*, the People imagined they saw him going up the *Capitol* with the Train and Glory of a triumphant Victor. They were probably unanimous in his Election; and the Collegue they gave him was one *Licinius Crassus*, a Man of Probity, who made it Matter of Duty, to give up all the Prerogatives of the *Consulate* to the eldest. It was determined, without drawing Lots, That *Paulus Æmilius* should make the Campaign in *Macedon*. This was agreeable to the Inclinations of the People, who had not drawn him out of his Retreat, but to set him against a Rival, who had been too long dreaded, whose Forces increased every Day, and who would indeed have been more formidable, if his Avarice had not prevented it. Under any other General, *Rome* could not depend on the Reduction of *Macedon*. So that *Paulus Æmilius* left the *Comitia*, amidst the Acclamations of a Crowd of *Citizens*, who were zealous to attend him. The first Person he met when he came into his House, was his Daughter *Tertia*. By her Name, and Age, it is easy to judge, that she was his *third* Daughter, and the eldest of those that were left at Home. This Child drew near to her Father, in great Grief of Heart, and to his Surprise, lisping said, *Perses is dead*. This was the Name of a Dog, which was a great Favourite with little *Tertia*: And the new Consul seemed to think there was something prophetic in the Occurrence. *I accept the Augury*, replied the Father to the Child; *May the Gods fulfill the Prediction you have brought me!* But in reality, the wise Magistrate, though an *Augur* himself, looked on the Child's Words as a mere Accident, which did not presage any thing of Consequence.

THEN *Paulus Æmilius* made it his whole Business to make Preparations for the War; and lost not a Moment's time, either in domestick or civil Affairs. The first Office belonging to his new Dignity was to harangue the People, according to custom, and thank them for his Promotion. But how little did his Discourse resemble those of his Predecessors! There was no Meanness, no base Flattery, in it. He remembered, That his Election was not Matter of Favour; and That the *Romans* were more obliged to him for complying with their Sollicitations, than he to them, for honouring him with their Suffrages. So that he used no Ceremony; but spoke more like a Man in Authority, than an humble Client, affected with a deep Sense of the Favours of his Protectors. *In my first Consulship*, said he to the Commons assembled, *I returned you Thanks for the Honour to which you had raised me. You then advanced me to the high Station which I desired. But now you have forced me from the Tranquillity I enjoyed amidst my Household-Gods. You wanted a General, and forced me to accept the Office. Wherein then am I obliged? Am I indebted to you for my Post, or you to me for having accepted it? By your Proceedings I judge, that your Confidence in me proceeds from some little Esteem for my past Services; and if then you have Value enough for me, to think me worthy to lead your Armies, don't defame me, when I am absent. Hitherto your Generals have been but too often loaded with Calumny. You who sit quietly in the Port, would fain govern the Ship, which is struggling with a Storm. You have often charged your Generals with Cowardice, or Insufficiency, without knowing either the Time or Place, proper for giving Battel. Ought I then to expect better Treatment? Nay, even Orders have been sent from hence to Macedon, which were unseasonable. Our Commanders have been governed by People at a Distance; and not left at Liberty to exercise their Valour and Prudence as they judged proper. But I desire you would give me leave to take Advantage of Events, and act with Liberty. Otherwise you will discourage me. I don't pretend to so much Philosophy, as the Great Fabius, who was not affected with your Murmurings. Nor shall I pretend to assume a despotick Power over my Army. I shall ask, and follow the Advice of the Officers which shall attend me, and which I shall employ. In a Word, leave the Management of the Enterprize you intrust me with, to me, and I will do my utmost not to frustrate your Expectations.*

Livy, B. 44.  
c. 18.

§. IV. THIS Discourse only raised the Expectation of the Publick, and increased the Esteem they had of the General. They were pleased with his Freedom; and took even his Reproaches in good part. And the Senate were as ready to accept the Representations of *Paulus Æmilius*, as the People. These two sovereign

Power



Powers concurred to satisfy his Desires. Before his Departure he made some wise Regulations; and all the People saw, that such proper Precautions could not fail of happy Success. In the first Place *Paulus Æmilius* ordered, That three Men, who well understood the Art of War, should go immediately to *Macedon*, and examine upon the Spot, into several Particulars, which it was of Consequence for him to know before he left *Italy*. The *Consul* wanted to be informed, 1<sup>st</sup>, Of the exact Place where *Marcus* was then encamped; whether he had gone through all the narrow Passes of the Mountains that surrounded *Macedon*; and whether he was gone so far, that he might be said to be in the Enemy's Country. 2<sup>dly</sup>, In what Disposition the Allies of *Rome* were; what Nations continued faithful to her; and what Kings and Republicks seemed either to stand neuter, or to be wavering. 3<sup>dly</sup>, Whether he could depend, on those Magazines of Provisions which his Predecessor had laid up; on the Roads he had mended for the Convenience of Carriage; and on the Cities which were to furnish the *Roman* Armies with their Subsistence. Upon these minute Informations *Paulus Æmilius* was to regulate the Operations for the Campaign; and to form his Plan accordingly. The Deputies set sail without Delay, and though twice driven back by a Storm to *Dyrhachium*, arrived at length in *Thessaly*; and till their Return, *Rome* was wholly employed in Preparations for the War, under the Direction of *Paulus Æmilius*.

Six *Prætors* had been already chosen in the same *Comitia* as the *Consuls*; and their Provinces were assigned them by Lot. *Bæbius* continued at *Rome*, there to judge both the Causes of *Citizens*, and of *Foreigners*. *Anicius Gallus* was appointed to succeed *Claudius*, in *Illyricum*. *C. Octavius* had the Command of the Fleet, which was to act under the *Consul* in *Macedon*. *Æbutius Elva* was to govern *Sicily*. *Papirius Carbo*, *Sardinia*; and *P. Fonteius*, *Spain*. All prepared to set out for their respective Provinces, and waited only for the Distribution that was to be made of the *Roman* and Auxiliary Troops. *Paulus Æmilius* was so intent upon his Schemes, that he ruminated upon them Day and Night. He was excused the Trouble of making the Levies. A Commission was given for that Purpose, to his Colleague *Licinius*; and in the meantime, *Æmilius* got the Senate to pass a new Decree, in relation to the Command of the eight new *Legions*, which were going to be raised. He had, doubtless, observed, that these important Corps, had only Favourites at the Head of them, who little deserved the Offices that were given them. It was therefore determined, That all the *Legionary Tribunes* should be chosen out of those, who had been promoted to Magistracies; That the People should chuse one half, and the Generals the other; and That *Paulus Æmilius* should chuse himself what Officers he pleased, and should have the Preference before his Colleague and the *Prætors*. The Levies *Licinius* made for *Macedon*, amounted to seven thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, all chosen out of the *Citizens* of *Rome*. To which were added, seven thousand other Foot raised in *Latium*, and four hundred Horse; besides six hundred *Gallic* Horse. This was a considerable Reinforcement for the Army that *Marcus* then commanded in the *Levant*. As to the Camp that *Licinius* was to have in *Cisalpine Gaul*, it was to consist only of two *Legions*, each containing of six thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse. This was enough to keep the Country in Subjection. It was also ordered, that such of these Troops, as were least inured to Discipline, should be put in Garrison. As to *Anicius*, who was nominated to make War in *Illyricum*, the Army *Claudius* then commanded there, was increased with an Addition of ten thousand auxiliary Foot, and eight hundred Horse, besides the two *Legions* he was to carry over with him. And lastly, the Fleet which was to be commanded by *Octavius* was recruited with Rowers. Five thousand were added to those already on board. The rest of the Winter was spent in Works of Religion, and Shows. The Magnificence of the publick Games increased, in Proportion, as the Riches of the Republick did. It was observed, that in this Year there were shewn to the People sixty three Ostriches, forty Bears, and a good Number of Elephants.

9 The Senate ordered *Cneius Servilius Cæpio*, the *Consul* for the last Year, to nominate the three Deputies which were to go into *Macedon*, to inform *Paulus Æmilius* of the State of Affairs; and

the Persons he nominated were *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus*, *Aulus Licinius Nerva*, and *Lucius Bæbius*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

Lic. B 44  
C. 21.

Ex diario bu-  
jus anni inter  
Monumenta  
Ludovici Vi-  
vis.

S. V. IN the mean time *Paulus Æmilius* waited only for the return of the Deputies sent to *Macedon*, before he set out for his Province. He declared this to *The Conscript Fathers*, and desired his Colleague *Licinius* to embark immediately after him, the Troops that were to follow him into the East. In a little time, these Deputies which had been so long expected, arrived; and *Æmilius's* Impatience to hear their Report was so great, that he would have assembled the Senate the Moment they appeared, had it not been Night. Early in the Morning *The Conscript Fathers* were convened, and the Deputies made their Report to them in these Words. *After the most exact Enquiries that we could make, what we find may be most certainly depended on, in relation to the State of our Affairs in the Levant, is this. Marcius has forced himself a Way through the Passes into Macedon; but with more Danger, than Profit. He is entered into Pieria, a Province faithful to her King. The Macedonian now lies encamped on the Banks of the Enipeus*<sup>10</sup>, *with a numerous Army, and shuts up the Entrance into his Provinces against our Troops. He is very well pleased to see our Troops linger away their time in a Camp, without hazarding a Battel; and at the same time we dare not attack him in his Lines. Besides, the Winter is very severe in that mountainous Country; and the Cold, as well as their Inaction, helps to starve our Soldiers. In the mean time the Provisions are consumed; and Marcius has no more Corn, than will last him eight Days. As for Claudius, who is encamped in the Neighbourhood of Lychnis, he might make a powerful Diversion; but his Army is so weak, that it must soon perish in Illyricum, if a Reinforcement is not immediately sent to it. And the Roman Fleet is in as bad a Condition. The greatest part of the Crews have been carried off by Sickneses; and the rest are oppressed with Want. The Sailors continually desert; and almost all those of Sicily are returned Home naked, and ready to perish with Want. Our old Allies are all wavering. Eumenes himself had no sooner joined his Fleet to ours, but he immediately left us. He was as inconstant as the Wind that brought him, and instantly altered his Mind. But the Fidelity of his Brother Attalus is immoveable. In fine, we cannot absolutely depend on the Rhodians; neither ought we to despair of recovering the King of Illyricum.*

THIS plain, but minute Narrative, alarmed *The Conscript Fathers*; and *Paulus Æmilius* took his Measures according to these Informations. He hastened the Preparations for his Departure, with an Expedition not to be paralleled. On *The Fifth of the Calends of April*, he took Possession of the *Fasces*, and three Days<sup>11</sup> after, went to celebrate *The Ferie Latinæ*, on *The Hill of Alba*. After a pompous Sacrifice, he was there robed in Form, with the Cloak, and military Habit. The next Day, that is, the first of *April*, he left *Rome*, attended by *Octavius*, who was to command the Fleet; and carried with him a Man of great Distinction. This was that *Sulpicius*<sup>12</sup> *Galbus*, who from being *Prætor* the last Year, was now forced to serve only as a *Legionary Tribune*.

WITH a fine Train of Officers of the greatest Merit, *Paulus Æmilius* took the Road to *Brundisium*, and went to embark there for *Macedon*. It was observed, that the *Romans* had never conducted any General to the Gates of their City,

<sup>10</sup> In the French it is *The Helicon with the following Note*. [The River *Helicon* watered the City of *Dium* in *Macedon*. *Pausanias* calls it *Baphyras*. It is thought to be the same River which *Ptolemy* calls *Pharybus*. After it has lost itself under Ground, for the Space of twenty *Stadia*, or about one League, it appears again, and discharges itself into the *Ægean Sea*.] But I have corrected it by *Livy*, and by the Authors themselves, Vol 12. p. 23. N. a.

<sup>11</sup> We have yet preserved a Fragment of those ancient Tables, in which the *Pontifices* recorded, by way of Annals, all the Events of every Day, to serve as Memoirs for Posterity; and there we find, that *Paulus Æmilius* began to exercise his Office of Consul, on *The fifth of the Calends of April*, which answers to our 28th Day of *March*. This Monument at the same time informs us of a Fact, whereof we find scarce any Footsteps in the ancient Authors; which is, That the two Consuls then presided each his Day successively; and That the *Fasces* were sent by turns from the House of one, to that of the other. This was not always the Custom, as we

have observed, in the course of this History; and we shall see it vary again, in the first Consulship of *Julius Cæsar*. Add to this, that the Exactness of these ancient Annals is plain, from this Fragment which *Ludovicus Vives* has transmitted to us. We may here observe the Care of the Annalists, in exactly fixing the Dates of Facts, though of the least Consequence. Such are the Accounts given of the different Prodigies that happened, of the Accusations brought against some Citizens, of a Quarrel that happened in a Tavern between some People who were drinking there, of the Punishment of a Captain of Pirates who was condemned to be crucified, of the Death of a famous Woman in *Rome*, of the Magnificence of her Obsequies, &c.

<sup>12</sup> *Cicero*, in his Book entitled *Brutus*, highly commends this *Gaius Sulpicius Galbus*. He ranks him among the most eminent Orators, and those who were best versed in the *Greek Learning*. And to these Qualities, we may add that of his being an able Astronomer, as appears by *Livy*.



in greater Numbers, or with a more remarkable Chearfulness. You might, in a manner, read in all their Faces, their Hopes of seeing an End put to the War with *Perfes*, by a General, who was allowed to be brave, vigilant, and expeditious.

§. VI. AND whilst *Paulus Æmilius* was taking proper Measures at *Rome* to secure himself the Victory; *Perfes*, in *Macedon*, seems to have taken Pleasure in ruining his own Affairs. He had an excellent Understanding, a great deal of Valour, and no less Artifice; and with these Qualifications he might have made Head against the *Romans*, preserved his Territories, and destroyed the Dominion of the imperious Republick in the *Levant*. He considered things in very proper Lights; had begun important Negotiations with Success; and had put the Sovereigns and Republicks of the East in Motion, against *Rome*. But a base Passion subverted the Schemes which he had so wisely begun. He loved Money to excess; his Treasure was the only God he worshiped; and we shall see him become a memorable Example for Sovereigns, of the Calamities in which Avarice involves a Prince, who has given up his Heart to it. It lost *Perfes* his Crown, and those very Riches, which he idolized.

THE *Consul Marcius*, and the King, had watched one another all the Winter, on the Banks of the *Enipeus*. But their Conduct had been different. The *Roman* General was wholly taken up with the Care of providing Subsistence for his Troops in an Enemy's Country. Whereas the King of *Macedon* turned even his Inaction to his Advantage. Never were Views more extensive, or Enterprizes better concerted, than those which he formed. He attempted to join all the Powers in the East, in a general League against the Western People, his Enemies. The last Year he had sent to solicit Succours quite to the North, and beyond the *Danube*. An Army of twenty thousand of those *Gauls*, who had settled on the Banks of the <sup>13</sup> *Boristhenes*, and who afterwards were called <sup>14</sup> *Bastarnæ*, drawn by the Promises of *Perfes*, had come from thence, and already gained the Frontiers of *Illyricum*, and dispersed themselves there. This Army seemed to consist half of Horse, and half of Foot; and were so drawn up, that every Foot Soldier fought by the side of an Horseman; and when the latter fell, the former took his Place, and leaped on his Horse, with surprising Activity. *Clondicus*, <sup>15</sup> one of the little Kings of the Country, was the General of these Barbarians. They used to live entirely by War; neglected cultivating their Lands; and hired themselves to serve in the Armies of any Nations that would pay them. So that they expected to have received a considerable Pay from the King of *Macedon*. He had promised to give every Foot Soldier five Pieces of Gold, every Horseman ten, and their General a thousand. Upon the first News that the *Bastarnæ* were arrived on his Frontiers, the King of *Macedon* left his Camp, attended by a Guard, and went to meet this Reinforcement. He gave Orders, that Provisions should be got ready in all the Places, through which these Foreigners were to pass, and carried with him little Presents for the Officers of the Army. But as to the Money which he had promised them, he did not pay it. *Perfes* was the most backward in his Payments of any Man living. He came into <sup>16</sup> *Mygdonia*, to a City called <sup>17</sup> *Almana*, on the Banks of the *Axius*; and from thence sent a Messenger to *Clondicus*, and his Army, who were encamped in the Neighbourhood of *Desudaba*, where they expected to receive their Pay. *Antigonus* came to them from the King of *Macedon*, and invited them to advance to *Bylazora* <sup>18</sup>, a City of *Pæonia*. The Ambassador was at first surprized at the fierce Looks of these warlike Men. Their wild Air, the

Year of  
*R O M E*  
DLXXXV.

L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

<sup>13</sup> The *Boristhenes* is that great River, which is now known by the Name of the *Nieper*, or *Niepro*. After it has run through a vast Extent of Ground, it discharges it self into the *Euxine*, or *Black Sea*, between *Little Tartary* and *The Ukrain*.

<sup>14</sup> The *Bastarnæ* inhabited (at least it is conjectured that they did) those Countries of *Sarmatia Europea*, which now contain *Black Russia*, *Podolia*, and *Moldavia*.

<sup>15</sup> *Appian* gives this King of the *Bastarnæ* the Name of *Cladius*. But he is more commonly called *Clondicus*. It is observed that this was a common Name among those barbarous Nations.

<sup>16</sup> *Mygdonia*, an ancient Province of *Macedon*, contained the Countries lying between the Rivers *Axius*, and *Strymon*, and reached to *The Thracian Gulph*.

<sup>17</sup> *Turnebius* is of Opinion, that Instead of *Almana* we ought to read *Albana*; and takes this City for that of *Albanopolis*, in *Albania*, situated on the Banks of the *Drilo*. But this Supposition neither agrees with the Rout the *Gauls* took, nor with the March of *Perfes*; as may easily be seen, by consulting the Maps, and by *Livy's* Narration.

<sup>18</sup> *Sanfon* places *Bylazora* in *Pelagonia*, which was then one of the Cantons of *Old Pæonia*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

Plut. Life of  
Æmilius.

Novelty of their Arms, and Way of Fighting, were enough to have terrified the Romans themselves. *Antigonus* assured them, that as they advanced into the middle of *Macedon*, they would find plenty of Provisions ready for them; and gave their Generals to understand, that the King his Master would make them Presents of Habits and Horses, as soon as they should come to him at his Camp. But Men who were not used to sell their Services for any thing but ready Money, were not to be deluded by these Hopes and Promises. *Clondicus* asked the Ambassador, whether he had brought the Sums agreed on; and upon his giving ambiguous Answers, said to him, with an arrogant Air, *Be gone then this Moment; and tell your King, that we will not stir from hence, till he has sent us Money and Hostages.* Upon this Answer of *Clondicus*, *Perses* called a Council; and dreading to take so large a Sum out of his Coffers, endeavoured to colour over his Avarice, with an Appearance of Concern for the publick Good. *I have considered*, said he, *that there may be Reason to be suspicious of so great a Number of Barbarians, in the Heart of my Dominions. Perhaps it would be better even to bring Romans there, than Bastarnæ. Would it not be sufficient to keep with us only five thousand of their Cavalry, without any of their Infantry? We should then have no Reason to be afraid of an Handful of Soldiers, who might be of Use to us, and give us no Umbrage.* The Council plainly saw upon what Motives the King's Speech was founded. It was visible that his greatest Fear was that of parting with his Money. But nevertheless, they out of Complaisance entered into his Views; and even exaggerated the Danger, of suffering twenty thousand Barbarians to enter a Kingdom, which was going to be attacked by an innumerable Multitude of Romans. Whilst at the same time, an Historian of good Authority assures us, that *Paulus Æmilius's* Army was to consist of at least a hundred thousand effective Men. Ought not then so important a Consideration to have weakened the idle Apprehensions of *Perses*, and made him less afraid of the Mercenaries which offered to serve him, than of the numberless Enemies which he had upon him? But how can any Man conquer a Passion, which he has once suffered to get the Dominion over him? The King sent *Antigonus*, a second time, to the General of the *Bastarnæ*, with Orders to take only five thousand of their Cavalry into his Master's Service, and to send back the other fifteen thousand into their own Country. But the bare mention of it raised a general Murmur among these Malecontents, who had been brought out of their own Country, to be sent back again, without Glory, or Reward; and all were enraged at it. However *Clondicus* kept his Temper. *Is then*, said he, *the Money ready for five thousand Horse at least, which you will vouchsafe to receive among your Troops?* Upon which *Antigonus* prevaricated anew, and gave only ambiguous Answers. Who then can express the Rage of these twenty thousand brave Men, when frustrated of all their Expectations? They had like to have cut *Antigonus* in pieces: But nevertheless, though Barbarians, they had Regard to the Laws of Nations. They decamped, and returned toward the *Danube*; but in their Passage, they vented their Rage upon *Thrace*. They destroyed, pillaged, and burnt to Ashes, all the Places wherever they came. And *Perses* did not then know, that this Heap of Gold and Silver, which he had partly inherited from his Father, and partly amassed together himself, would soon be a Prey for the Romans. He might have made use of it to conquer them; but he kept it to enrich them. In short, if he had only paid the moderate Sums he had promised, he might have utterly destroyed the Roman Army, which was obliged to spend the Winter on the Banks of the *Enipeus*. The *Bastarnæ* might have entered into *Thessaly*; ruined the Cities there from whence *Marcus* drew his Subsistence, without being suffered to enter into *Macedon*; and *Perses* might have employed them in other useful Divisions. But Avarice blinded this Prince, who was otherwise so full of great Projects. By sending away the *Bastarnæ*, he deprived his Army of all Hopes of being able to force the Romans to leave *Macedon*; and they still continued there under *Marcus*, who thereby pretended to facilitate the Victories of *Æmilius*.

19 The *Enipeus*, a little River of *Phthiotis*, a Province of *Thessaly*, rose in Mount *Olympus*, watered the City of *Pharsalus*, and after it had joined the *Assidorus*, fell into the *Pencus*. *Thevet* has very

improperly confounded it with the *Pharybus*, *Strabo* speaks of another City of this Name in *Peloponnesus*, which ran into the *Alpheus*.



§. VII. By another piece of Avarice, and Deceit, *Perses* also rendered use-  
 let's the Assistance of *Gentius*, King of *Illyricum*, whom he had solicited to  
 break with the Republick his Enemy. This was the first Negotiation which  
 He had laboured to conclude, during the Winter; and it was now far advanced.  
*Gentius* had immediately declared openly against the *Romans*, had it not been for  
 the Delays which *Perses* affected to make, in paying him the Money promised for  
 equipping a Fleet, and levying Troops. However, the Extremity of the Danger  
 forced him at last to feign a Readiness to satisfy the Desire of the *Illyrican*, that he  
 might the more effectually deceive him for the future. The base Artifice he re-  
 solved to make Use of, was this. He at length pretended to have determined to  
 send to *Illyricum* the three hundred *Talents* \*, which *Gentius* had demanded a  
 Year ago. *Pantauchus*, a deceitful Man, and full of his Master's Spirit, was the  
 Agent whom *Perses* sent to draw up the Articles of the Treaty with *Gentius*, and  
 assure him of the *Macedonian's* faithful Discharge of his part of it. The Amba-  
 sador found the King of *Illyricum* at *Medion* <sup>20</sup>, in the Country of the *Labeates*.  
 There the Alliance was made; and as soon as the Sum was agreed on, which was  
 to be paid for the Expence of the War, the artful Negotiator easily prevailed on  
*Gentius* to take what Steps he pleased. In the first Place the *Illyrican* sent away  
 the Hostages *Pantauchus* had required, and with them an Ambassador named  
*Olympio*, to receive from *Perses* his Hostages, and to make him swear to the  
 Treaty. And with this Ambassador were joined two Men of Business, to receive,  
 and bring, the Sums agreed on. At the Request of *Pantauchus*, the *Illyrican* also  
 sent a new Deputation of two Persons, who, when they came to *Macedon*, were  
 to join with the Ambassadors *Perses* was to send to *Rhodes*, to draw the *Rhodians*  
 into a League with the two Kings against the *Romans*. All these Deputies began  
 their Journey; but *Pantauchus* continued with *Gentius*, to hasten his declaring  
 himself openly against *Rome*, by some signal Act of Hostility. He was continu-  
 ally exciting him to seize some Posts of the *Romans* by Surprise, to take Cities,  
 and to equip a Fleet, to chase the Ships of the Republick. In the mean time the  
*Illyrican* Ambassador came to *Macedon*, and drew near to the Banks of the  
*Enipeus*. *Perses*, upon this News, left his Camp, and marched towards *Dium* <sup>21</sup>,  
 to receive him; which he did in an open Plain, in the Presence of the *Macedo-  
 nian* Horse, whom the King was willing to have Witnesses of his Alliance with  
*Gentius*. He first received the *Illyrican* Hostages, and then delivered up his own  
 to *Gentius's* Ambassador; so that after the Oaths were reciprocally taken, all that  
 remained was to pay the Money. But to force *Perses* to lessen his Treasures, was  
 Death to him. Nevertheless he sent the Envoys to <sup>22</sup> *Pella*, with Orders for the  
 Money. But he took a strange Step for a Great King. He sent Directions pri-  
 vately to those who had the Care of his Treasury, not to suffer the *Illyricans* to  
 carry away with them more than ten † *Talents*, instead of the three hundred \* pro-  
 mised. As to the rest, the Treasurers undertook to convey it to *Gentius* them-  
 selves; and gave the *Illyricans* Leave to seal up the Chests with their own Seals.  
 Upon these Assurances the *Illyricans* set out for *Illyricum*, but the Waggon's were a  
 great while following them. The Convoy with the Money marched exceeding  
 slowly, and advanced, by very small Journies, towards the Frontiers.

AND during this Management, which was carried on by order of *Perses*, *Pan-  
 tauchus* was still labouring to draw King *Gentius* further into the Snare. He was  
 continually stirring him up, to make all kinds of Attempts against *Rome*, and to  
 proclaim his new Alliance by overt Acts. But in reality, the Money which the  
*Illyrican* expected, was a more powerful Incentive, than the Discourses of *Pan-  
 tauchus*. *Gentius* was soon informed, that the two hundred and ninety *Talents*  
 were stopped on the Frontiers of *Macedon*, by the King's Order; fancied that  
 the only Reason why it was not delivered up into his Hands was, that he had not yet  
 given one signal Proof to the World of his new Engagement; and rightly judged,  
 that he could not give a stronger Testimony of his Zeal, than by being guilty of

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.

L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICIINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.  
*Polyb. in Legat.*  
n. 83.

\* 58125 l.  
*Arbuthnot.*

*Livy, B. 44.*  
c. 27.

† 1937 l. 10 s.  
*Arbuthnot.*  
\* 58125 l.  
*Arbuthnot.*

<sup>20</sup> The Country of the *Labeates* in *Dalmatia* took  
 its Name from a neighbouring Lake, which is now  
 called the Lake of *Scutari*. But the Natives of  
 the Country call it *Pantei*. *Scodra* was the Capi-  
 tal of this Canton.

<sup>21</sup> *Dium*, a City of *Pieria* in *Macedon*, stood  
 formerly at the Entrance into *The Thermaic Gulph*.  
 We have spoken of it in the preceding Volumes.  
 It is now called *Spadia*, according to *Nardus*.

<sup>22</sup> See what we have said of *Pella*, Vol. 3.



Year of a publick Breach of the Law of Nations. *Rome* had then two Ambassadors at the Court of *Illyricum*; one named *Perperna*, and the other *Petillius*. These Ambassadors had no Commission from the Senate, for any thing but to bring over the *Illyrican* to the *Roman* Party, or at least to engage him to stand neuter; and had not in the least exceeded their Commission. But nevertheless *Gentius* began his Acts of Hostility with them, and threw them into a Dungeon, under Pretence that they were not so much Ambassadors as Spies. This was a notorious Act of Violence, after which he could not hope for Pardon; and *Perfes*, who was also convinced of it, took that Advantage to indulge his Avarice. There was now a Necessity for the *Illyrican's* going to War; and it seemed certain, that a part of the *Roman* Forces would fall on *Illyricum*. It was past doubt, that there would be a Diversion made there; and this was enough for *Perfes*. He immediately ordered his Carts to turn about, and brought back his Money to his Chests: So that *Gentius* had no more for his Revolt than ten *Talents*. A poor Recompence for the important War, with which he was threatened!

DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.  
*App. in Iberic.*

*Livy, B. 44.  
c. 24.*

§. VIII. AFTER this first Cheat which *Perfes* had put upon young *Gentius*, he attempted another on *Eumenes*; but not with equal Success. *Eumenes* was old, had a personal Hatred to the *Macedonian*, and was his most declared Enemy. The *Roman* Republick had heaped many Favours on him, and had made his Dominions three times as large as before. Yet after all, among Sovereigns, Policy easily effaces the Remembrance of Benefactions, and stifles the most inveterate Enmities. Upon a Prospect of present Interest, or upon some present Affront, all that is past is immediately forgotten. And upon this Principle *Perfes* thought it possible to draw the King of *Pergamus* himself into the general Scheme he had formed, of stirring up against the Republick all the crowned Heads, and all the Republicks, in the East. In the first Place, the Uneasiness which it must naturally give all Monarchs to see themselves brought into Subjection to a foreign Senate and People, had much cooled the Zeal of *Eumenes* for the *Roman* Party; and then the bold Resistance *Perfes* had made to the Efforts of three Consuls, had piqued him with Emulation. He had served the Republick his Benefactress but coldly, and carelessly, the last Year. Nay it is said, That one *Cydas*, a *Cretan*, and an Officer in the Army of *Eumenes*, had first treated with *Chimarus*, one of his Countrymen in the Service of *Perfes*, near <sup>23</sup> *Amphipolis*; and that he had afterwards had a private Conference with *Menecratus* and *Antimarches*, two of the King of *Macedon's* Generals, during the Siege of *Demetrias*. And these Conferences gave the latter such Hopes of a Reconciliation between the two Kings, that *Perfes* thought he might venture to send an Embassy to *Eumenes*. The Pretence for it was, the Redemption of Captives, on both sides; but the real Design was to carry on a Negotiation of more Importance. The *Macedonian* intended to draw off *Eumenes* entirely from the *Roman* Party. To this end, he represented to him by *Crypho* <sup>24</sup> his Ambassador, That there was something monstrous in an Alliance between a Republick and a Monarchy; That their Maxims of Government were absolutely inconsistent; and That the *Roman* Republick in particular had nothing in view, but to make Kings destroy one another. Was it not, said the *Macedonian* Ambassadors, by these Artifices, that *Rome* made your Father *Attalus* take up Arms against Philip? Did not you your self, my Lord, deceived by the Subtlety of the Romans, lend these Western People your Assistance to overcome Antiochus? Were not the Wars between Prusias and You, the Work of these Republicans? All they aim at, is to make you oppress one another. Will you then lend them your Assistance to destroy Macedon, and run the Hazard of seeing it subdued? There is but a little Way between us and you; and *Rome* will soon pass it. She has already a great Footing in Asia. If her Senate gives the least Orders *Syria* trembles. An Ambassador draws a Circle round Antiochus in the Sand, and the Monarch instantly renounces the Conquest of Egypt. A strange Instance of the Arrogance of the politick Romans, who even now are not afraid to give Prusias the Preference before you. Is it thus they treat their old Friends? Both their Contempt

<sup>23</sup> The City of *Amphipolis* in *Macedon* was so called, because the River *Strymon* surrounded it on all sides. The *Greeks* afterwards gave it the Name of *Christopolis*. It is the same Place which *Holsteinius* calls *Chisopoli*.

<sup>24</sup> We here follow *Polybius*, who gives this Ambassador the Name of *Crypho*. *Livy* calls him *Eropon*. But whatever were his true Name, the latter tells us, that *Perfes* had sent him twice to *Eumenes*, in quality of Ambassador.



and your own Interest, my Lord, ought to induce you, either to break with them, or oblige them to make a Peace with Macedon. Your Inaction only will be enough to make them despair of reducing the East.

BUT *Eumenes* was too prudent, and too proud, to declare openly in favour of *Perses*. On one Hand, the *Romans* intimidated him; and on the other, he still retained some Hatred to the *Macedonian*, and looked upon him as an Assassin, who had put him in Danger of his Life. Besides, to have enabled him to conquer the *Romans*, would have been promoting him to the highest Pitch of Glory; and his Jealousy would not suffer *Eumenes* to gain too much Honour to a King, whose Grandeur might prove fatal to *Pergamus*. He therefore resolved to promise *Perses* nothing, but to become a Mediator, to obtain a Peace for him. The *Pergamian* flattered himself, that by leaving off to assist *Rome* with his Troops and Ships, he should force her to hearken more readily to the Proposals of the King of *Macedon*. Besides, the *Roman* Republick, tired out with so doubtful a War, seemed not to be so untractable as formerly. The People and Senate were at last tired with the great Expences of Armies in the *Levant*. So that according to the present State of Affairs, the part of a Mediator seemed to be most safe, and most glorious for *Eumenes*. But he did not foresee that the *Roman* Fleet was bringing into *Macedon*, in the Person of *Paulus Æmilius*, an Hero, who was capable of effacing in a few Months, all the Disgrace, which his Predecessors had brought on the *Roman* Name.

THE King of *Pergamus* therefore resolved to sell the King of *Macedon* his Interest. He promised two things, and expected to have got considerable Sums of Money for each. One was to stand neuter; and the other to intercede with the *Roman* Senate. For standing neuter only, he asked fifteen hundred *Talents*\*; and probably demanded much the same Sum, for his Intercession with the *Romans*. But be that as it will; (for the Historians are defective in that Particular.) *Perses* offered *Eumenes* fifteen hundred *Talents*, in hopes of having one Enemy the less; and without Hesitation, gave Hostages for the Performance of his Promise. But when the time came for advancing the Money, or lodging it in proper Hands, the Avarice and Deceit of the *Macedonian* were very notorious. He would deposite it no where but in the Island of *Samothracia*, which belonged to himself; and *Eumenes* in vain insisted, that it should be lodged in a Country that belonged to neither Party; as for Instance, among the *Cretans*. *Perses* indulged his Love of Money preferably to his greatest Interests. *Eumenes* indeed insisted upon having the Reward secured for him, after he had done the Service required; but the *Macedonian* was fully bent on deceiving his Benefactor, after he had made use of his Credit, and Services: So that the only Effect of the Negotiation was, that it made the *Pergamian* suspected by the *Romans*, and left the *Macedonian* as easy to be overcome, as before. And as to *Antiochus*, *Perses* did not pretend to make use of any Means to engage him in the League, but bare Remonstrances. He represented to him, by an Ambassador, That all Alliances between Monarchies and Republicks, had very ill Effects; and put him in mind, That he had very lately received sufficient Causes of Resentment, to make him shake off the *Roman* Yoke. But *Antiochus* was embarrassed with a religious War with the *Jews*. *Jerusalem* had been sacked. The Temple of the true God had been profaned; and the few virtuous *Israelites* that were left, threatened the *Syrian* with a general Revolt. Besides, having been brought up at *Rome*, he had been accustomed from his Youth to reverence nothing in Heaven or Earth, so much as the Dominion of the *Romans*.

§. IX. However, the *Rhodian* Republick was more easily seduced by *Perses*. This Prince, in order to gain the *Rhodians*, made use both of Negotiations, and Force, at the same time. At first some Ambassadors from *Macedon* and *Illyricum* arrived at *Rhodes* together, and acted jointly in the Name of the two confederate Kings. *Dino*, one of the Heads of the *Rhodian* Republick, had already conceived a Dislike to the *Romans*, and was inclined to favour the *Macedonian* Party. But *Thetetes* one yet kept up in the Hearts of the People, some weak remains of Affection to *Rome*; and it was therefore necessary to destroy it. Which *Perses* did, in such manner, as filled these Islanders with Terror. As soon as his Avarice had made him lose *Eumenes's* Alliance, and Interposition with the *Romans*; he thought it necessary.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

cessary to arm against *Pergamus*, and destroy the *Pergamian* Fleets wherever he met them. To this end, he equipped forty light Ships, and five great Gallies, which he sent together to cruise towards the Island of <sup>25</sup> *Tenedos*, under the Command of *Antenor*, and *Callippus*, two of his Admirals. This Squadron struck Terror into all the Coasts of *Asia*, and the adjacent Islands. Nay, it also gained an Advantage over some *Pergamian* Ships. The latter were surrounding (in a Bay near *Cassandrea*) fifty *Macedonian* Barks laden with Corn. But *Perfes*'s Squadron set them at Liberty, and chased the *Pergamenses*. From thence it came, and fell on thirty five of *Eumenes*'s Gallies, which were carrying some Cavalry, and their Horses to *Attalus*, in the *Roman* Camp. These Soldiers were almost all *Galatians*, who were little used to the Sea. The Convoy was briskly attacked, and easily defeated by the *Macedonian* Fleet, near *Chio*. The *Pergamian* Admiral did not expect to meet with a *Macedonian* Squadron, in this Road. He at first took it for a *Roman* Fleet; but was soon undeceived. He judged by the Make of the Ships, and the manner of Working of them, that they were *Macedonians*; and the *Galatians* were not an equal Match for them. They were not made for Sea-fights. All they could do, was to run a Ground near the Coasts of *Chio*; and the Men and Horses, either swam to the Island as well as they could, or got ashore at *Erythrea*. The Soldiers that landed at *Chio*, would fain have taken Refuge in the City; but the *Macedonians* landed after them, pursued them, killed about eight hundred of them, and made two hundred Prisoners of War.

FROM thence the *Macedonian* Squadron turned towards *Delos*. This was a free Port, at which all the Nations in the World touched. In this Island, and its Ports, all Hostilities ceased, between the most inveterate Enemies. The pacifick God who was worshiped there, made them all Friends, at least for a time; it was deemed a very great Crime to shed Blood in *Apollo*'s Presence, or to pollute with it the Country which gave him Birth. There the *Roman*, *Macedonian*, and *Pergamian* Ambassadors all met together; and all very peaceably made their Offerings in the Temple. But as soon as they were got out at Sea again, Hostilities were renewed. *Antenor*, one of *Perfes*'s Admirals, took or sunk all the Ships he could, that were not of his Party. The little *Roman* Fleet which carried the Ambassadors, long served to guard some Barks of the Allies. But the *Macedonian* took one of them every Night. In short, *Perfes*'s Squadron was become a Terror to the *Cyclades*; and these small Advantages which it had gained, inclined the *Rhodians* to give a favourable Reception to the Ambassadors of *Gentius*, and *Perfes*. They made Harangues in the *Rhodian* Senate, and before the assembled People; and then *Thetetes* himself complied, and dropped his Opposition to the Demands of the two confederate Kings: So that the *Rhodian* Republick promised to do for *Perfes*, what *Eumenes* had refused him. She engaged not to lend the *Romans* Ships or Soldiers, and thereby oblige them to finish the War with *Macedon*, by a Peace, which should be advantageous to all the East. How exceeding formidable then might *Perfes* have been, if Avarice had not blinded him? The Kingdoms of *Pergamus*, and *Illyricum*, assisted by the *Bastarnæ*, and without doubt by the *Syrians* too, if proper Measures had been taken for it, would have joined with the Republicks of *Rhodes*, *Ætolia*, and *Greece*, to have secured *Macedon*. Could all the Forces of the *Roman* People have withstood so great a Number of Enemies? The common Interest of the Eastern Powers would have made them unite. But a sordid Passion prevented their Union. Only the Alliance between *Perfes* and *Gentius* remained, to the utter Ruin of both; the Relation of which is one of the most entertaining Parts of the History we are writing.

§. X. VERY early in the Spring, the three Generals which *Rome* had appointed to make War in the *Levant*, arrived in *Greece*. The *Prætor Anicius* came first to succeed *Claudius*. *Illyricum* was the Province assigned him. It was no longer a doubt whether *Gentius* was an Enemy; he had declared openly against *Rome*, by a signal Act of Perfidiousness. *Octavius*, who was nominated Admiral for the *Romans*, sailed for *Eubæa*, and took Possession of the Fleet, which was then rid-

<sup>25</sup> *Tenedos* is a little Island of *Asia Minor*, lying in the *Archipelago*. It was anciently called *Leucophrys*, according to *Pausanias*. The Natives of the Country call it *Tenedo* to this Day. We have spoken of it in the preceding Volumes.



ing at Anchor in the Port of *Oreos*. As to *Paulus Æmilius*, he had a good Year of Passage, and landed in *Theffaly*; and as his Preparations had been made with Prudence, his Conquests were rapid. But we shall at present postpone them for a Moment or two; and begin with *Anicius*. This illustrious *Prætor* merited almost as much Glory, by the Defeat of the *Illyrican*, as *Paulus Æmilius* did by the Conquest of *Macedon*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.

L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

*GENTIUS* had succeeded in the Throne of *Illyricum*, his Father *Pleuratus*, a Prince of a solid Understanding, who in the first Wars of the *Romans* in the *Levant*, had always adhered to the best Party. When *Pleuratus* died, he left only two Sons by his Wife *Euridice*; but this Princess, whom he had married a Widow, had had by her former Husband another Son, whom the King had adopted. As soon as the Eyes of *Pleuratus* were closed, the elder of the two Brothers slew *Plator* the younger; but out of Pity, spared the Life of *Caravantius*, his Brother by Adoption. He was jealous of his own Brother, on two Accounts. *Etuta*, or *Esteva*, a beautiful Princess, the Daughter of the King of *Dardania*, was promised to *Plator*. *Gentius* fell in Love with her, and got rid of a Rival and a Competitor for the Throne together. So that he was a Fratricide, as well as *Perses*; but in all other Respects, the *Illyrican* was inferior to the *Macedonian*. The latter had a good Understanding, and not a little Penetration. The former had but a poor Genius, and had more Levity, than even his Age could excuse. The one was artful, and capable of deceiving. The other was simple, and easy to be imposed on. *Perses* was brave, and experienced in the Art of War. *Gentius* had no Valour, but that Rashness and Precipitation, in which the Fire of Youth consists, and which is often not regulated by Reason.

THIS *Gentius* had drawn the Relentment of the *Romans* upon him, by the Act of Perfidiousness beforementioned, for which the Author of it had but ill rewarded him. He therefore expected soon to see a part of the *Roman* Forces in his Dominions; and wanting Money for the Expences of the War, overloaded his People with Taxes, and made his Government odious. All *Illyricum* murmured at it. But *Gentius* abated nothing of the Impositions with which he oppressed them. He loved Wine, and in his drunken Fits, signed many Edicts, which were very oppressive to his Subjects. Till at length he compassed an Army of fifteen thousand Men, which he assembled near <sup>26</sup> *Lissos*. *Caravantius* commanded it under him. The two Brothers divided their Forces. *Caravantius*, with a Detachment of a thousand and fifty Men, marched into the Country of the <sup>27</sup> *Cavii* to reduce it. He was very well received at <sup>28</sup> *Burnium*, but the City of <sup>29</sup> *Caravantis* shut her Gates against him; and there ended his Expedition for the King. The latter, with the rest of his Troops, advanced towards <sup>30</sup> *Bassania*, a City near *Lissos*, and always faithful to the *Romans*; and laid Siege to it. *Appius Claudius* was then encamped with a small Army on the Banks of the <sup>31</sup> *Genusus*, otherwise called the *Panyasus*; and was daily expecting his Successor, the *Prætor Anicius*, to come, and take his Place. Accordingly *Claudius* received the News, that he appeared off *Apollonia*, with a Squadron of Ships, which the Republick sent to the *Levant* to enlarge her Fleet. Upon which *Claudius* did not change his Camp, but waited for *Anicius* on the Banks of the *Genusus*, where he arrived in three Days time, and took upon him the Command of the Troops.

Livy, B. 44.  
c. 30.

<sup>26</sup> *Lissos*, a City on the Confines of *Macedon*, belonged to *Illyricum*. It stood on an high Hill, 10 Miles from the *Adriatick* Sea, near the Mouth of the *Drilo*, or the *Drin*. From this City to *Scutaria*, the Capital of *Albania*, it was reckoned to be twenty five Miles; and thirty five, to *Durazzo*. *Lissos* is now called *Alessio*, according to *Strabo*.

<sup>27</sup> All we know of the *Cavii* is, that they inhabited a Canton of *Dalmatia*.

<sup>28</sup> *Ptolemy* mentions a City of *Burnium*, which places in *Liburnia*. *Pliny* says it belonged to *Dalmatia*. *Niger* pretends that it was the same place as *Grachova*, which belonged to the *Dalmatians*. In the Text of *Livy* we read *Durnium*.

But this Name was unknown to the ancient Geographers.

<sup>29</sup> *Livy* is the only Author who mentions a City of *Caravantis* in *Illyricum*. It is supposed that it stood near Mount *Caravanca*, which partly divides *Upper Pannonia* from *Istria* and *Liburnia*.

<sup>30</sup> *Bassania* was at a little Distance from the Mouth of the *Drilo*, and the neighbouring Gulph. It still retains its old Name, in the new Maps.

<sup>31</sup> The River *Genusus* watered the Western part of *Macedon*. It discharges itself into the *Adriatick* Sea, between *Apollonia*, and *Dyrrachium*. *Ptolemy* calls it *Panyasus*. Some now take it for the *Vainssa*. Father *Briet* thinks it is the River which is now called *Arzenza*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.  
App. in Illyric.

Liv. B. 44.  
c. 31.

THEN the whole Face of Affairs changed, upon the Arrival of a *Prætor*, who was a Man of Expedition, and a great Soldier. *Anicius*, whether he was willing to refresh the Troops he had brought from *Italy*, or whether they were not yet arrived, took only a Body of Auxiliaries with him, and hastened to the Relief of *Bassania*, which *Gentius* was besieging. The Success of the Enterprize depended on driving from the Coast some Barks belonging to *Gentius*, which infested it. They were many in Number, and commanded by *Pantauchus*. However, *Anicius* thought the Squadron he had brought with him sufficient to chase these Pirates, which ravaged the Territories of *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*. Being lately come from the Coasts of *Italy*, the Squadron was mighty well provided with Soldiers, Seamen, and Rowers: And it was only Matter of Diversion to them, to put to flight and disperse some Corsairs who were little used to fight, but had been wholly employed in making unexpected Descents, and Pillaging. Upon sight of the *Roman* Gallies the *Brigantines* put out to Sea, or fled in Disorder to the neighbouring Places. By their Lightness alone one part of them escaped; whilst the other part were either sunk or taken by the *Romans*; who pursued after them, came up with them, and made them surrender at Discretion.

§. XI. THIS first Success of the *Prætor* was a good Omen of that of the rest of the Campaign. Several *Illyrican* Cities came over to him; and preferred the amiable Government of *Anicius*, to the tyrannical Dominion of a vicious and covetous Prince. The *Prætorian* Army was no sooner upon the March, but the King of *Illyricum* raised the Siege he had begun. He was affrighted before the Battel, and fled to <sup>32</sup> *Scodra* for Refuge. This City had long been subject to the *Illyrican*, and undergone many changes. It was formerly *Roman*, and afterwards returned to its old Masters. Its Situation made it looked on as the Bulwark of *Illyricum*; and upon the taking of it, depended the Conquest of the whole Kingdom. It was indeed both one of the best fortified Cities in the World, and one of the most inaccessible. Two Rivers surrounded it, one called the <sup>33</sup> *Clausula* on the East-side, and another called the <sup>34</sup> *Barbana* on the West. After they had watered *Scodra*, they both ran into the <sup>35</sup> *Oriundus*, which rises in Mount <sup>36</sup> *Scodrus*. And this City was in the Center of the Territory of the *Labeates*, a Country which was itself difficult of Access, on account of the great Number of Rivers, Lakes, and Streams in it. Besides, *Gentius* was covering *Scodra*, with all the Forces in his Kingdom;

<sup>32</sup> *Scodra* was then the most considerable City in *Illyricum*. It is to this Day one of the chief Cities of *Albania*, and is called *Scutari*. From this City to the *Adriatick* Sea, *Pliny* reckoned it to be eighteen thousand geometrical Paces; and he places it on the Banks of the *Drilo*. But in this he does not seem to agree with *Livy*, who mentions only two Rivers here. One called the *Clausula*, which watered the Eastern Quarter of *Scodra*; and another, which he calls the *Barbana*, and which watered the Western part of this City. *Florus* is mistaken when he says, that *Scodra* was the Capital of *Macedon*.

<sup>33</sup> We know nothing more of the *Clausula* than what *Livy* says of it. Neither the ancient nor modern Geographers mention it.

<sup>34</sup> The *Barbana*, according to some Geographers, rises near the Mountains of *Albania*, and after it has run into *The Lake of Scutari*, continues its Course, till it comes beyond the Territory of *Scodra*, and discharges itself into the *Adriatick* Sea, between *Dolcigno*, and *The Gulph of Illyricum*, where it is called *Boiana*. This is the Account *Bandran* gives us of this River, in his Geographical Dictionary. But if we follow *Livy*, we must say that the *Barbana* rises in the Lake *Labeatis*, or *Scutari*, and falls into the *Oriundus*. So that one of these Authors seems to be mistaken, either the modern Geographer in taking the *Barbana* for the *Oriundus*; or *Livy*, in saying of the *Oriundus* what belongs to the *Barbana*. And in order to determine this with Certainty, it must first be known, which of the two Rivers loses its Name, at the Place where they join. Nor do the Maps agree better as to the Situation of these two Rivers. Whence we may judge of the Un-

certainty of the ancient Geographers. Nevertheless most agree, in placing the Springs of the *Barbana* beyond the Lake, into which it runs. Add to this, that we cannot make Sense of *Livy*, without supposing that he thought the *Barbana* rose at the Place where it comes out of the Lake of *Scutari*, from whence it runs to the Sea, and falls into it, near the Mouth of the *Drilo*. We have followed this Conjecture as the most probable, with respect to the Situation of *Scodra*. We cannot fix it otherwise, without contradicting that Author.

<sup>35</sup> The ancient and modern Geographers by no means agree as to the River *Oriundus*. Some as *Ptolomy*, *Pliny*, *Ortelius*, *Henry de Valois*, and Father *Briet*, make it the same River as the *Drin*, or *Drilo*. Others make them two different Rivers. A Difference which cannot be determined with Certainty, without going to the Place. Nevertheless most are of the latter Opinion, upon the Credit of *Livy*, who seems to distinguish the *Oriundus* from the *Drilo*.

<sup>36</sup> Mount *Scodrus*, sometimes called *Scordus*, and more commonly *Scardus*, is a long Chain of Mountains between *Macedon* and *Upper Mæsia*, or *Serbia*. It is there, says *Livy*, that the River *Oriundus* rises; and after it has been enlarged by several other Rivers, it falls into the *Adriatick*. From the Opinion of the *Roman* Historian, most People have thought the *Oriundus* and the *Drilo* to be the same River. And indeed what he says of the former does agree as well with the latter. But those Geographers who make them two Rivers, put the Springs of the *Oriundus* and the *Drilo*, at several League Distance from one another.



and securing himself a Retreat there against all Events. Nevertheless *Anicius* ventured to go over thither, in search of him. His Army was more numerous than those of *Prætors* generally were; and was not unlike a *Consular* one. So impatient was *Rome* to punish Perfidiousness, and avenge the Injury done her Ambassadors!

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

AFTER he had surmounted all Obstacles, the *Roman* appeared in the Neighbourhood of *Scodra*; and the *Illyrican* left the Plain, and retired for Safety behind the Walls of the City. Then *Anicius* took Advantage of the Terror he had struck into the Enemy. The Discouragement of *Gentius* made the *Roman* the more bold. He drew near the Walls, and ordered the Towers to be surrounded, as if he intended to scale them. It is not to be imagined, that he would have pretended to have taken a City by Assault, which was defended by a whole Army, commanded by its King in Person. But the Boldness of the *Prætor* had at least this good Effect, that it drew the *Illyrican* out of the Place into which he had retired. His Army marched out of the City, formed itself, and appeared ready to give Battel. But it did not maintain the Fight with so much Courage as it prepared for it. Upon the first Onset, the *Roman Legionaries* put it into Disorder. The *Illyricans* were hard pressed, returned to the City, and above two hundred of them were stifled under the Gates, as they were endeavouring to enter them. And this single Repulse, tho' inconsiderable in itself, caused the Loss of all *Illyricum*, and made *Anicius* Master of *Scodra*, and of the Person of the King. This weak and instant Prince could find no Resource but in a Submission. Immediately after his Defeat, he sent two *Illyricans*, of the chief of the Nobility, to the *Roman* Camp, to demand a Truce, to give him time to consider what to do. *Anicius* granted him three Days. This was indeed a very short one; but it was of Consequence, not to give the King time enough to recover from his Fright. In a word, *Gentius* was dismayed, trembled, was more vanquished by Fear than the Arms of the Enemy, and had no Hopes left, but in his Brother *Caravantius*. This Prince was then in the Country of the *Cavii*<sup>37</sup>, where he was to assemble a Body of Troops to come and reinforce the King's Army. But *Caravantius* could not come to him soon enough, since the Truce was to last but three Days. In order to hasten this Reinforcement, *Gentius* himself sailed down the *Barbana*, and entered the Lake *Labeatis*. But his impatient Expectations were frustrated, and turned into Despair. No Succours appeared. So that the King returned back, up the River, on the third Day of the Truce, which was ready to expire; and the Renewal of the Attacks intimidated him. The cowardly King therefore demanded an Interview with the *Prætor*, and obtained Leave, as a Favour, to come to him at his Camp. How glorious was this for a *Roman Prætor* to see a King humbled at his Feet! *Gentius* came to the Audience in Tears, and shewed his Weakness by his Actions and Discourses. *Mad that I was*, said he, *to prefer the Alliance of a wavering Prince, who has deceived me, to that of a powerful and faithful Republic!* At which Words he threw himself prostrate before *Anicius*. His Consternation drove him to this mean Submission, which was unworthy the Majesty of a King. The *Prætor* raised him up, and made him eat with him; and then the *Roman* General and the King went into the City together. *Anicius* took Possession of it in the Name of his Republic, and made himself Master of all the Posts in it. After a fine Entertainment, the *Roman* put the King into the Hands of a *Legionary Tribune*, to guard him; and it was not till after his Confinement, that *Gentius* saw what would be the fatal Consequences of his Levity. An unfortunate Prince, who for ten *Talents*\* lost both his Crown and his Liberty!

App. in Illyr.  
Livy, B. 44.  
c. 31.

\* 1937 l. 10 s.  
Arbutnot.

THE Captivity of the King struck Terror into the Capital. The *Prætor* gave Law there, and was obeyed. His first Care was to take out of Prison, *Petillius* and *Perpegna*, the two *Roman* Ambassadors whom *Gentius* had confined. And *Perpegna* himself was sent to all the Cities of *Illyricum*, to find out all the Princes and Princesses of the Royal Family, together with the King's chief Friends, and bring them to *Scodra*. This was an agreeable Commission to a *Roman* who had been personally ill treated; and he took out of the Royal Palace of <sup>38</sup> *Medion*,

Livy, B. 44.  
c. 32.

<sup>37</sup> We cannot guess what Part of *Illyricum* the *Cavii* inhabited. The Ancients say nothing of it.  
<sup>38</sup> All we know of *Medion* is, that it was a Ci-

ty in the Country of the *Labeates*, in the Neighbourhood of the Lake *Scutari*, according to *Livy*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

Plut. Life of  
Paulus.  
Livy, B. 44.  
c. 32.

Queen 39 *Etetva*, and *Scerdiletus* and *Pleuratus*, two of her Sons. *Eurydice* the Mother of *Gentius*, and Prince *Caravantius*, also underwent the same Fate. They were all brought to the *Roman* Camp. It would indeed seem incredible, if all the Ancients did not attest it; but they all agree, that this glorious Expedition, the Conquest of all *Illyricum*, was finished by the *Prætor* in thirty, or as some say, in twenty Days. So that the News of it came to *Rome*, before it was known there that *Anicius* had begun his Hostilities in *Illyricum*. *Perpegna* was sent thither to inform the Senate and People of this sudden Victory; and a few Days after, the King, two Queens, and three Princes of *Illyricum*, were brought to *Rome*. The Expedition of the *Prætor* was very surprizing, and the Sight of so many illustrious Captives increased the Glory of the Conqueror. Thanks were returned to the Gods; all the Temples in the City were opened for three Days, and frequented by a vast Concourse of People; and the Captives were kept to adorn the *Prætor's* Triumph, after his Return.

§. XII. ON the other hand, the *Consul* was even more expeditious in *Macedon*, than the *Prætor* in *Illyricum*. Considering the Enemy *Paulus Æmilius* had to contend with, and the Country he had to conquer, he was more rapid in his Success than *Anicius*. The Presence and Reputation of the *Roman* General, who was newly landed in *Thessaly*, forced *Perses* to take new Precautions for his Defence.

We have already observed, that he had the last Year pitched his Camp on one Bank of the *Enipeus*, and That *Marcus* had pitched his on the other. But when *Paulus Æmilius* had taken upon him the Command of the Army, the *Macedonian* saw by his Appearances that he had a Man to deal with, who was very different from the *Consuls* his Predecessors. The Discipline of the *Roman* Army seemed to be entirely reformed. And indeed, *Paulus Æmilius*, from the Day that he arrived in the Camp, spoke to his Soldiers with that Air of Authority which he had assumed at *Rome*, over the People assembled in their *Comitia*. In the Camp, as well as in the City, the Republican Spirit so far prevailed, as to give the Soldiers a strange Liberty of directing the Steps of the Generals, representing to them what Views they ought to have; pointing out their Expeditions, censuring their Conduct, and almost prescribing their Motions, Marches, Sieges, and the Times for giving Battel. By this Means, there could be no Secrecy in the Councils of War, nor could any of those Enterprizes be undertaken which depended wholly on Privacy. *Paulus Æmilius* therefore assembled his Soldiers, and made them one of those Harangues which the Ancients call 40 *Allocutions*. *Romans*, said he, *the Republic has appointed only one Head to command her Armies; and intends, that the Execution of all the Enterprizes she has entrusted him with, should depend on him only. This Authority, which she has not divided, is wholly vested in me; and for others to assume any Part of it, is Usurpation. As I am to be the Soul that is to actuate this great Body, all the Members of it ought readily to obey*



39 *Livy* had before spoken of a Wife of *Gentius*, under the Name of *Eteta*, the Daughter of *Honunus*, King of the *Dardani*. He was very fond of her. Envyng the Happiness of *Plutor*, to whom she was espoused, he shed this unfortunate Brother's Blood, that he might be at Liberty to enjoy his Amours. After he had got rid of a Prince, whom he only considered as a troublesome Rival, he married the Lady. So that if *Eteta* was a different Person from the *Etetva* here mentioned, *Gentius* must have had two Wives. And if so, either

the former was dead, or escaped the Search of the *Romans*.

40 Among the *Romans*, Harangues were made, even in Armies, as we have observed, Vol. 2. The Right of haranguing belonged to the Generals. The Emperors themselves gloried in this Privilege, as appears by the publick Monuments. There are Imperial Medals which prove this Custom. That above is the Reverse of *A. Galba*, who is represented in his military Habit, and haranguing his Soldiers. This is implied by the Term *ADLOCUTIO*, in the Inscription.



my Motions. I will admit whomsoever I please into my Councils; but I will not suffer any others to propose, either in publick or private, Opinions which are often no better founded, than in mere Caprice, and which they seditiously endeavour to insil into others, in private Assemblies. This is giving Law to him from whom they ought to receive it. All the Foresight of a Soldier ought to reach no farther than to harden his Body for military Fatigues, to keep his Arms bright and sharp, and to order his Provisions so as to be always ready to march upon the first Orders. To anticipate by their Conjectures, or to pretend to regulate by their Schemes, the Designs of the General, is either endeavouring to dive into the Mysteries of Fate, or encroaching upon that Authority which alone is lawful. There can be no Security in a Camp, neither can any Enterprize be regularly carried on, as long as the Subaltern encroaches on the Jurisdiction of his Superior, governs himself only by his own Judgment, and makes himself the Censor of him whose Orders he ought to reverence. I will take Care, Romans, to provide all Necessaries for you, and to consult your Safety, and your Glory. Place your Confidence then in me; and do you, without having any regard for the future, think only of the present. To be ready upon the first Sound of the Trumpet, to repair to his Post, and to fight there with Courage, is the whole Province of a private Soldier.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

BUT this Discourse, as imperious as it was, did not offend the *Legionaries*. They saw the Necessity of it. Those who were grown grey in Arms, honestly confessed that both they and their Generals were only Apprentices; one in the Art of Commanding, and the other in that of Obeying. And this Beginning of a Reformation emboldened the General to correct other Abuses. It was customary in the *Roman Armies*, to keep the Centinels, both Horse and Foot, that were upon Guard, four and twenty Hours together upon Duty. And this long Continuance of Labour often proved very grievous to the Soldiers, and prejudicial to the Camps and Armies. To continue upon Guard the whole Night, in the Frosts in the Depth of the Winter, and the whole Day in the greatest Heats of Summer, was too great a Fatigue for the most robust Men. It often happened, that the Enemy took Advantage of their being tired, and fell on the Advanced-Guards, who were then easily overcome. Out of Compassion therefore for the private Centinels, and Regard to the publick Good, *Paulus Æmilius* determined that the Guards should be relieved twice a Day. Nor was this all. Hitherto, all those who were upon Guard, either on the Ramparts, or without them, used to have with them all their offensive and defensive Arms. But the new General forbade them having their Bucklers upon Guard. The Soldiers often fixed the Points of them upon the Ground; and resting their Heads upon the Tops of them, and leaning at the same time upon their Darts, slept very quietly, when they should have been watching. It had several times happened, that, in the Night, the Enemy had discovered the Post where the *Roman* Centinels were, by Star-light, or the Reflection of the Moon-shine on their Bucklers, and had seized it: So that it was very prudent in the General to deprive the Soldiers upon Guard of their defensive Weapons. It was not their Business to fight, but to fly, and give the Alarm, at the Approach of the Enemy.

ALL the Innovations *Paulus Æmilius* introduced into the *Roman* Soldiery were approved of; and his Orders were obeyed with Joy. The Soldiers no longer assembled together, and lost time in idle Speculations about the Operations of the Campaign, or Murmurs about the Conduct of the General. Every one made it his whole Business to sharpen his Arms, polish his Buckler, *Cuirass*, and Helmet, habituate himself to the Use of his Armour, and husband his Provisions so as to be ready on any sudden Commands. So that by the good Order which was observed in his Camp, it was reasonable to judge, That when *Paulus Æmilius* came into the Field, he would be no less careful to take proper Precautions not to run any Hazard thro' Levity, and not to put his Troops in Motion till a proper time, when all Things were come to Maturity for it. The Confidence of the Soldiers in their General daily increased; and their Esteem was a reasonable Presumption of Victory. Some indeed pretend, That this Hero's great Successes were as much owing to Fortune, as to his Experience and Valour. But it must be owned, that if Fortune did favour him, he knew how to improve her Favours prudently. His Steps were always settled with Prudence; there was not one of his Enterprizes, which was rashly undertaken, or which happened to succeed contrary to Rule.

§. XIII. THIS



Year of  
ROM E  
DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

Plut. Life of  
Paulus.

Livy B. 44.  
c. 35.

§. XIII. THIS Reform in the *Roman* Army, which was perceived by the Enemy, doubled the Anxiety and Care of *Perfes*. He expected a new kind of War with the new General. And therefore took more Precautions than formerly, to guard against this more formidable Aggressor. He left his Camp at <sup>41</sup> *Phila*, which he had fortified, to come and watch *Paulus Æmilius*, who was encamped on the *Enipeus* in *Theffaly*. The *Roman* Army, as has been already observed, had left *Macedon*, into which it had entered, and had returned to *Theffaly*, for Provisions. So that the Affairs of the *Romans* here were in no greater Forwardness, after three Years, than the first Day they came to make War with *Macedon*. They were still to penetrate into this inaccessible Kingdom, and make themselves a Way, which had been so long sought for, and had been found at last, but with little Success, since they had been forced to return back again. *Perfes* was very sensible that *Paulus Æmilius* would make it his whole Business to enter *Macedon*; and therefore made it his, to guard the Passes, and render the Attempts of the new Consul fruitless. To this End, he came and encamped over against the *Roman* Army, to watch it the more narrowly; but he took Care to keep the *Enipeus* between the Enemy and himself. Nor was this all: He fortified his new Post with all the Address of a great General. He fetched Wood from the neighbouring Forest, for Stakes and Palisades for his Ramparts, and for building Towers at proper Distances. By this Means he hoped to have stopped the impetuous *Roman*, and forced him to have suffered his Year to wear away in Inaction. And indeed, two Armies were perhaps never so long in Sight of each other, without entering upon Action. Nevertheless, *Paulus Æmilius* made it his whole Business to find out an Expedient to bring his Troops into *Macedon*. This employed all his Thoughts, both Day and Night. The oldest of his Officers were for passing the *Enipeus*, attacking the Enemy's Camp, and storming their Towers. The last Year, said they, our Romans drove the Macedonians from Eminences of more difficult Access, than these Towers and Ramparts; and our Valour is not abated, since we have changed our General. Others were of Opinion, that it would be best for the *Roman* Admiral to bring his Fleet to *Theffalonica*, make a Descent there, and ravage the Coasts, in order to make the *Macedonian* Troops alter their Measures. As soon as *Perfes* shall have sent any Detachment from his Army, it will then, said they, be the more easy for us to attack his Camp, and drive him from his Entrenchments, in which he has earthed himself. But the Consul did not approve of either of these Expedients. All the Banks of the *Enipeus*, on the Side where the *Macedonians* were encamped, were lined with *Ballistæ* and *Catapultæ*; and it seemed impossible to pass the River in sight of the Enemy. Besides, the *Macedonian* Dartmen vastly excelled the *Roman*, in throwing their Darts with Skill, and striking Marks at a Distance.

WHILST the Consul was yet undetermined what Method to take, there arrived in his Camp an Embassy from the *Rhodians*. Their Republick thought this a proper time to negotiate a Peace between *Rome* and *Macedon*. The Proposals the Ambassadors came to make had already been rejected with Disdain, by the *Roman* Senate; and they met with still a less favourable Reception in an Army, by Officers who breathed nothing but Blood. Some were for driving the Ambassadors out of the Camp, without hearing them. But the Consul only told them, with great Haughtiness, that they should have their Answer in fifteen Days; and to shew them how little disposed he was to satisfy them, he affected to talk in their Presence, of the several Ways of attacking the Enemy. During these Transactions, the unexpected News of the Captivity of the King of *Illyricum*, and the taking of *Scodra*, came to both Camps, at the same time. But it was received in a very different Manner, on the two Banks of the *Enipeus*. The *Romans* leaped for Joy, and thought it a favourable Omen of an equal Success against *Perfes*. And it is easy to judge, that the *Rhodian* Ambassadors felt it recoil upon them; and were from that time grieved, to see their Republick embarked in a Cause which was already tottering and half ruined. As to *Perfes*, he trembled with Rage at it. But he dissembled his Concern; and endeavoured to conceal the News from the Know-

<sup>41</sup> According to *Stephen of Byantium*, the City of *Phila* was built by the Orders of *Demetrius*, the Son of *Antigonus*, surnamed *Gonatas*; and the Founder gave it his Mother's Name. This City stood in

*Macedon*, towards the Confines of *Theffaly*, to the North of the River *Peneus*, between *Dium*, and *The Valley of Tempe*. It is now called *Pello*, according to *Nardus*.



ledge of his Troops, for fear of discouraging them. He sent to forbid *Pantauchus* entering into his Camp. This *Macedonian* Officer, who had escaped from the Defeat of the King of *Illyricum*, and was coming to bring an Account of this Misfortune, was stopped by the Way. But the Precaution was vain. The Courtiers had Penetration enough to discover the King's Secret, and Indiscretion enough to divulge it among the Soldiers. Besides, the young Children which *Perfes* had given King *Gentius* in Hostage, soon arrived. Who then can describe the Consternation of the Soldiers, and their Commanders? They concluded, from the Misfortunes of *Illyricum*, that *Macedon*, which was so much threatened, would fare no better.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

§. XIV. ON the other hand, *Paulus Æmilius* was piqued with Emulation, at the Account he received of the complete Victory *Anicius* had just gained. The Consul had scarce begun the Campaign; and already heard that a *Prætor* had finished his, with Glory. This he made use of as a proper Motive to increase the Courage of his Troops, and all these brave Men pressed him to lead them on to Victory. But the flegmatick General moderated the Ardour of his Soldiers. As his only Point in view was to find out a good Place to penetrate into *Macedon*, he examined all those who could give him any Light proper for his Design. To this End, he had two *Theſſalian* Merchants brought to him, who were continually carrying their Merchandizes into *Macedon*. These Men were both devoted to the *Romans*, and the General could depend on their Probity and Fidelity. He enquired, of them, into the Nature of the Roads of <sup>42</sup> *Perræbia*, a Province of *Theſſaly*, which he must cross, before he could come to the Place desired; and they said, *These Roads are only difficult, because they are guarded by Macedonian Troops; they are passable enough in themselves.* From thence the Consul inferred, that he could make his Way thro' this first Province; and resolved, that a great Detachment of *Romans* should attack these Guards on a sudden, and in the Night. He concluded, *That by this Means they would easily be defeated; That the Darkness would deprive the Macedonians of the only Superiority they had over his Troops; and That when they came to fight, not at a Distance with Darts, but Man to Man, his Romans would have all the Advantage.* In order therefore to pursue this Scheme, he ordered the Admiral *Octavius* to set sail, as soon as he had baked Biscuit enough for a thousand Land-Forces for ten Days, and go and wait for him in the Port of *Heraclea*. *Octavius* obeyed the Orders of the General, without penetrating into his Designs; which *Paulus Æmilius* likewise concealed, both from *Scipio Nasica* his Son-in-law, and from *Fabius Æmilianus*, his eldest Son. He put them at the Head of five thousand *Legionaries*, three thousand auxiliary Foot, and three hundred and twenty Horse; and then ordered them what Rout to take. *March directly to Heraclea, said he, where you will find the Provisions I have prepared for you; and be in a Readiness to embark there upon the first Orders, to go into Theſſalonica, and ravage the inner Coasts of Macedon.*

Plut. Life of  
Paulus.  
Livy, B. 44.  
c. 35.

THE two young Officers did not suspect that the General concealed his real Designs. They knew that the Project of making a Descent near *Theſſalonica* had been proposed in the Council of War; and Dissimulation was not yet practised in the Roman Camps. Before *Æmilius's* time, all Resolutions were taken in publick, with the Consent of those who were employed in the Execution of them. An Abuse which this wise Consul had reformed. *Nasica* and *Fabius* therefore set out from the Camp, fully persuaded that they were going to embark. In the meantime, in order to conceal from the Enemy the Departure of so considerable a Detachment, the General contrived this masterly Stratagem. Tho' he had continued quiet in his Camp, ever since his Arrival in it, he now pretended to attack that of *Perfes*. At Break of Day, the *Romans* crossed a Part of the River, and attacked the *Macedonian* Guards, which were set to watch it, where it was fordable. The light-armed Troops only were ordered upon this Attack, in which scarce any Arms but Darts were to be used. The Distance was too great, and the Banks too steep, for them to be able to join the Enemy, and fight Man to Man, so that the *Legionaries*, with the Consul, on one Side, and the King and his *Pha-*

Livy, B. 44.  
c. 35.

<sup>42</sup> We have already spoken of *Perræbia*, a County of *Theſſaly*, near Mount *Olympus*, and the Banks of the *Penens*. There was also a little Province of this Name in *Ætolia*, near Mount *Pindus*, according to *Pliny*.



Year of *langites* on the other, were only Spectators of the Skirmish. The Macedo-  
**R O M E** *nians* threw their Darts with more Certainty than the *Romans*; but in close  
 fighting the *Romans* had all the Advantage. The Battel ended about Noon; and  
 the next Day, after Sun-rising, it was renewed. And then the Action was  
 the more fierce, because the Soldiers were more enraged. However, it must be  
 owned, that this second Attack was more to the Disadvantage of the *Romans*.  
 The *Ballistæ* and *Catapultæ* upon the Ramparts and Towers of the *Macedonian*  
 Camp were played upon them, and overwhelmed them with Showers of Darts.  
 But after all, the *Consul* was little concerned at his Loss: He had gained his Point;  
 which was to divert *Perfes* from opposing the March of the *Roman* Detachment,  
 which was gone for *Heraclea*. Accordingly, *Nasica* and young *Fabius* led on the  
 Troops they commanded without Opposition; and when they came to *Heraclea*,  
 they halted till Sun-set. When the Night was closed, *Nasica* opened the General's  
 Packet, and there found these new Orders. *When you are come to* <sup>43</sup> *Heraclea*,  
*you shall divide your Detachment into two Bodies; and each shall march thro' diffe-*  
*rent Ways to Pythium* <sup>44</sup>; *which you shall attack when united again.*

DLXXXV.  
 L. ÆMILIUS  
 PAULUS, C.  
 LICINIUS  
 CRASSUS,  
 Consuls.

*Polyb. and Na-*  
*sica himself, in*  
*a Letter in*  
*Plutarch.*

§. XV. IMMEDIATELY therefore, without waiting for the Return of Day, *Nasica* and *Fabius* left *Heraclea*, and advanced towards *Pythium*. They marched on silently in the Night, cross Mountains and Rocks; and when they were come near the Place, they halted for some Hours. The People there were not upon their Guard; and the City would have been taken by Assault, if the *Consul's* Design had not been treacherously discovered. But a Deserter of the *Roman* Detachment, a *Cretan* by Nation, and as perfidious as his Countrymen generally were, guessed by its March, that it was designed for *Pythium*, and went and carried the News to the King of *Macedon*. *Perfes* was extremely embarrassed to know what Part to chuse. To hasten with all his Army to the Defence of so important a Post, was the best thing to be done; but that, in his present Circumstances, was impracticable. He must, in that Case, have left the Banks of the *Enipeus* unguarded, and given the *Romans* a free Passage into *Macedon*. He therefore chose a middle Way; which was, to continue in his Camp himself, with the Bulk of his Army, and to send away a Detachment, superior in Number, to that of the *Consul*. He chose out twelve thousand Men, and put at the Head of them one of his Generals, named *Milo*, who was a Man of Steadiness and Resolution, with Orders to seize an Eminence over which the *Romans* were to pass, before they could come to *Pythium*. The General did so, with incredible Expedition; and when he came to the Top of the Mountain, gave his Soldiers some Rest. And then, say some, they were so much fatigued, and slept so soundly, that the *Romans* surprized them in their first Sleep, and cut them to Pieces. But others affirm, that on the Summit itself a disorderly Battel was fought, in which *Nasica* had like to have been killed by a *Thracian* Trooper. However, add they, the brave *Roman* at length disengaged himself from him, run him thro' with his Sword, and left him dead upon the Place. Then this vigorous Action was followed by the entire Rout of the *Macedonian* Detachment. *Milo* fled; and the News of his Rout threw *Perfes* into fresh Perplexity. He foresaw that the *Romans* would enter into his Dominions, thro' the Way that this Victory would open for them; and found it would be necessary for him to leave formidable Entrenchments on the *Enipeus*, and hasten to the Defence of his own Territories. But, which Way should he go thither? He was divided between two Points, which kept him in Uncertainty. The first was, whether he should retire as far as to <sup>45</sup> *Pydna*, in the Heart of *Macedon*, and wait for the Enemy there; where he might hope, under the Walls of a large maritime City, to be able to give Battel to Advantage; or at least the better to secure a Retreat. And the second Question was, whether he should canton his Troops on the Frontiers of his Dominions, put them in Garrison in the fortified Towns, and thereby defend his Towns, keep his Subjects in their Duty, remove his Corn into Places of Safety,

<sup>43</sup> The City of *Heraclea*, here spoken of, stood on the Frontiers of *Macedon* and *Thessaly*, near The Gulf of *Salonichi*.

<sup>44</sup> *Pythium*, or *Pytheum*, belonged to *Pelagonia Tripolitica*, a little Canton of *Thessaly*. There are now no Footsteps of it remaining.

<sup>45</sup> *Pydna* was a City of *Macedon*, anciently called *Citron*, according to the Abridger of *Strabo*. It stood near the Mouth of the River *Haliacmon*, on the Coast of The *Thermaic Gulf*. *Sophian* calls it *Chitro*. *Nardus* will have it to be the present *Platon*.



leave the *Romans* only desolate Fields, terrify them with continual Skirmishes, and destroy them with Hunger and Want. Both Schemes had their Difficulties; but the last seemed most impracticable. To divide a great Army was to weaken exceedingly the Forces of a great Kingdom. Besides, to send his Troops in small Bodies to so many different Places, was not the Work of one Day. And what would be the Consequence? When the *Romans* found themselves on desolate Frontiers, they would leave them, and march into the Heart of *Macedon*. There they would destroy every thing with Fire and Sword, and force his Subjects to join with the strongest Party. *Perfes* and his Council therefore were all for keeping the Army entire. If they should be under a Necessity of coming to a Battel, it was probable the *Macedonians* would make powerful Efforts to defend their Wives, Children, and their domestick Gods. For these Reasons, the King left *Theffaly*, returned to *Macedon*, and came and encamped under *Pydna*. There he made all his Dispositions at Leisure, kept his Troops continually in Exercise, and taught them all military Evolutions. He had great Dependence on two Rivers, or rather Torrents, which divided the Plain where he encamped. Indeed there was not a great deal of Water in them; but their Banks were steep.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.

L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

WHEN *Paulus Æmilius* saw the Banks of the *Enipeus* deserted, he passed that River without Opposition, and went to join his Detachment towards *Pythium*. This Fortrefs stood on the highest Summit of Mount *Olympus*, which, according to an able Geometrician of that time, who had measured it from the Foot to the Top, was ten <sup>46</sup> *Stadia* high. So that the ancient *Greeks* <sup>47</sup> thought *Olympus* as high a Mountain as any they knew in the World. At the Foot of this strong Barrier to *Macedon*, *Paulus Æmilius* first encamped with the Remains of his Army. He posted himself in a Valley, almost on the Sea-shore. His Camp was plentifully supplied with Provisions. But both the Men and Horses wanted Water. They found only some little Rivulets of Water, which was brackish, of a bad Taste, and unwholsome. But the *Consul*, who could judge well of natural Causes by Appearances, at the sight of some Trees on the Mountain that looked very green and bushy, concluded that there must be in the Cavities of it some little Springs of Water, which were filtrated thro' the Ground. He therefore ordered his Soldiers to dig at the Foot of Mount *Olympus*; and immediately some very fresh Water burst out, which was fit for the Use both of the Men and Cattel. This Discovery increased the Esteem the Soldiers had for their General. They looked on him as the Favourite of the Gods, a Man whom they entrusted with their Secrets.

Plat. Life of  
Paulus.

AND being thus prepossessed in his Favour, the Army did not refuse to follow the *Consul* to the Top of Mount *Olympus*. But if the flying Corps of *Nasica* and *Fabius* could not surmount it without great Difficulty, what must have been the Fatigue and Confusion of marching up a great Army, with all the necessary Carriages for removing Provisions and Machines of War? They marched only by Night, and with exceeding great Precaution. As they knew not the Place to which *Perfes* was retired, they had Reason to be under continual Apprehensions that he had laid Ambushes for them in the Copices, and Hollows of the Mountain. But at last, *Paulus Æmilius* arrived at *Pythium*, without any Accident, and joined his Detachment. The *Romans* were already Masters of this Post, which they had taken without any Resistance. *Perfes* had left only a weak Garrison in it. He had taken it for granted, That a few Soldiers would be sufficient to guard a Fortrefs which was accessible only to Birds. By this Conquest, the *Consular* Army was now in the Enemy's Country, since *Macedon* began at the North Side of Mount *Olympus*. They came down from the Mountain without any Opposition. *Perfes* did not wait in the Valley for the *Consul*, who would there have fought him from the upper Ground, and have fallen down upon him like a Torrent.

Zonaras, B. 9.  
c. 23.

§. XVI. As soon as *Paulus Æmilius* had gained the Plain, he was informed that the Enemy were entrenched under the Walls of *Pydna*. Without Hesitation therefore, he marched to them, keeping along the Sea-Coast, by the *Roman* Fleet, which advanced no faster than the Land-Army; the former supplying the lat-

<sup>46</sup> Ten *Stadia* make twelve hundred and fifty geometrical Paces, or six thousand two hundred and fifty Feet.

<sup>47</sup> The ancient *Greeks* would have been of a ve-

ry different Opinion, if they had measured some of the *Pyrenees*, which are above twelve hundred Fathom in Height, perpendicular.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.

L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

Liv. B. 44.  
c. 36.

Plut. Life of  
Paulus.  
Livy, B. 44.  
c. 36.

ter with Provisions, which were brought to it in Barks. Of all the *Roman* Generals, perhaps none made War with more Coolness and Reflection than *Paulus Æmilius*. During the March he was very thoughtful; wholly intent on finding out Means to deprive *Perses* of the Advantages of the Place where he was posted; and tho' ardently desirous of coming into the Enemy's Presence, and finishing the War as soon as possible, by a decisive Action, he did not march fast. The Season of the Year would not admit of it. It is easy to imagine how great the Heats must be in *Macedon*, about the Summer Solstice. The *Romans* were quite oppressed with Thirst and Fatigue, as much inured as they were to Labour. However, at length the *Roman* Army appeared in sight of the Enemy, and was drawn up in Battalia. But the *Roman* General was fully resolved not to fight that Day, tho' *Perses* expected it, and appeared in good Order to begin the Action. The prudent *Consul* had private Views of his own, which he had not communicated to any Body; not even to *Attalus*, his chief Confidant, or his Son-in-law, or his Son. He thought it rash to attack suddenly, and without some Refreshment, Enemies who were fresh, had had a great deal of Rest, and Time to look about them, and take their Advantages. Besides, if he had been worsted, what Hazard would he have run of being entirely defeated? Where could the Remains of his Army fly for Refuge, in an Enemy's Country, which was surrounded on all Sides with Mountains? He at least ought to have a Camp, to be an *Asylum* for the Remains of an Army. These were Reflections worthy of a Great General; but they did not enter into the Thoughts of the Soldiers, or subaltern Officers. Their Valour inclined them to hazard every thing, the first Moment they came. And the *Consul* seemed willing to gratify them; but at the same time took a Step, which shewed the Superiority of his Genius. He drew up his Troops in three Lines, after the usual Method of the *Romans*; the *Hastati* in the first, the *Principes* in the second, and the *Triarii* in the third. This Army, which faced that of the King, covered some Pioneers, which were busy in forming a Camp. By the Diligence of these Workmen, the Ditch which was next to the Enemy was soon dug, and the *Courtine* of the Rampart thrown up, and as fast as this Entrenchment was finished, the *Triarii* of the first Line entered into it, and the two other Lines drew backwards towards it. When the whole Line of the Camp was finished, the whole Army retired into it, by degrees, and in small Parties; even to the light-armed Soldiers, who used to throw Darts at the Head of the *Legions*. The Cavalry only continued longer exposed in the Plain, because they served to cover the Infantry, during this prudent Retreat. And then the whole *Consular* Army found themselves, in a manner without knowing it, surrounded with a Camp, which was sufficiently well fortified, for them to pass the Night with Safety in their Tents.

BUT before the General secured his Soldiers behind his Lines, he made them dearly purchase, and greatly desire, the Repose he procured for them. He exposed them to the Heat of the Sun all the middle of the Day, and suffered them to be quite worn out with Fatigue. Most of them, tired with being so long upon their Feet, and without Motion, began to rest themselves upon their Bucklers, or Javelins. By that means, their Impatience to fight a Battel that Day was much abated. Nevertheless, the young Officers of the *Roman* Army were extremely impatient to fight immediately. The *Consul* had not communicated his Design to them; and none of them expected to pass the Night in any Camp, but that of the Enemy. *Attalus* therefore, *Nasica*, and *Fabius*, were much surpris'd, to see the Army slip off backwards, and get behind Ramparts, which seemed to be started up out of the Ground. And *Nasica*, in his Surprize, came to the General, his Father-in-law, and made the following Remonstrance; which shewed both his Courage, and his Want of Experience. Our *Legions*, said he, *are retiring, and we are going to suffer the Enemy to escape us, which has so often escaped out of the Hands of our Predecessors. Perhaps the Night will favour their Retreat. And then, with what Fatigue and Danger shall we be forced to follow them into the Heart of Macedon? For the sake of your own Glory, therefore, and ours, let us attack the Enemy, my Lord; let us give Battel this Moment. Let it not be cast as a Reproach upon us, that we let slip an Opportunity of Conquering.* Nay, the Birth, Merit, and last Exploit of *Nasica*, authorised him also to mix a little Fierceness with his Reproof to the *Consul*. To which the latter only replied, in very few Words, but such as made



the young General look a little into himself. *At your Age, said Paulus, I talked as You do; and you at mine, will act as I do.* This struck his Son-in-Law dumb. It made him sensible, that Generals of Armies often have superior Views, to those of the Subalterns.

§. XVII. *PERSES* retired into his Camp, when the *Romans* had left the Plain; and the *Macedonians* triumphed to have seen a *Consul* decline a Battel. They resolved to continue in their present Post, which they thought formidable to the Enemy; and in the Night, when all seemed very quiet, a natural Event, but such a one as might well terrify weak and ignorant Men, troubled their Repose. About seven a Clock in the Evening the Moon changed Colour, was eclipsed, and the Eclipse lasted till nine at Night; and this *Phænomenon* produced very different Effects in the two Camps. Among the *Romans*, that *Sulpicius Galbus*, who had been *Prætor* the last Year, and now attended *Paulus Æmilius*, only in quality of *Legionary Tribune*, had calculated the Eclipse by the Rules of Astronomy; and for fear the Soldiers should be discouraged by it, he desired the *Consul's* Leave, to declare to the Army, the Eclipse he had foretold. Accordingly the Soldiers were assembled before the *Prætorium*, and the Astronomer spoke thus. *This Night you will see one of those natural Effects, which are very surprizing to those, who are ignorant of the Causes of them. At seven a Clock the Moon will lose her Light, and not recover it till nine. You may therefore plainly see, that what can be foretold by a Knowledge of the Heavens, is not supernatural. You don't at all wonder that the Sun should rise and set, sooner and later, according to the Seasons. Nor are you surprized at the different Phases of the Moon. She is sometimes full, and sometimes only a Crescent. And you may depend upon it, that there is nothing more wonderful in her Eclipses, than in her Fulness, or Decline. All come equally at certain times, but at different Periods.*

ACCORDINGLY, the Night <sup>48</sup> before *The Nones of September*, the Moon was eclipsed at the Hour *Sulpicius* had foretold; and the *Phænomenon* made but slight <sup>49</sup> Impressions on the Minds of the *Romans*. Indeed, they beat their Pots, and Basons, and lighted <sup>50</sup> Torches; but more to keep up old Customs, than out of Superstition. Whereas, the *Macedonian* Camp was affected in a very different manner. At first there was a mournful Silence throughout the whole Camp; (a plain Proof of their Consternation) and afterwards this Silence was changed into terrible Shouts and Howlings. Their Diviners told them, that the Eclipse presaged the Ruin of the King, and the Destruction of the State. And indeed these Calamities were near at Hand; but the Moon was not conscious of it. As for *Paulus Æmilius*, he prepared to give Battel the next Day. However, on account of the Eclipse, he thought it necessary to appease the Gods; *But not*, says an ancient Author, *because he did not understand the Nature of Eclipses, and that in certain Revolutions of*

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.

L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

Plut. Life of  
Paulus.

<sup>48</sup> *Livy* seems here to contradict himself. He places the famous Eclipse, which preceded the Battel of *Pydna* with *Perses*, on the Day, or rather the Night before *The Nones of September*, that is, the third Day of that Month. Whereas he says, almost in the same Place, that the Troops could then scarce bear the Heat of the Sun, which had just entered into the *Solstitial Point*. But what others think a Mistake of the Historian, is really a Proof of his Fidelity, in following the Order of the Events he relates. In order to be convinced of this, it is necessary to know, that in the Order of Years, Months, Festivals, and Seasons, the *Romans*, till *Julius Caesar's* time, followed no other Rule, but the Calendar of *Numa Pompilius*: The Faults of which we have shewn in the first Volume. This Legislator did not exactly know the length of each Course of the Moon, or Sun; and consequently could not exactly adjust the *Roman* Year, to the Motions of the heavenly Bodies. Besides, the Negligence of the *Pontifices*, whose Business it was to insert the intercalary Days and Months, had made monstrous irregularities in the order of time: So that it is not at all surprizing, that in *Paulus Æmilius's* time, the Errors of the old Calendar should be so sensible. The Seasons had long since began to be confounded. And in the Year of *Rome* 585, there was a

Difference of above two Months, between the solar Year, or rather the true Place of the Sun, and the civil Year, which we shall have occasion to observe, when we come to give an Account of the Corrections which were made in the Calendar by *Sisigenes*, at the Command of *Julius Caesar*. Add to this, that it is certain, by the Calculations of the most able Astronomers, that the Eclipse here mentioned, did happen in the Night between the twenty first and twenty second Day of *June*, according to the *Julian* Year. It lasted four Hours, six Minutes, or from fifty nine Minutes after six, to five Minutes after eleven. Its Bigness was almost sixteen Digits, or sixteen twelfth Parts of the Diameter of the Moon. So that it was total, and the Moon was wholly swallowed up in the Shadow of the Earth.

<sup>49</sup> According to *Livy*, when the *Roman* Soldiers saw that the *Phænomenon* answered so exactly to the Prediction, they were full of Admiration. Nay, says he, they had like to have taken *Caius Galbus* for a God, who gave Law to the heavenly Bodies, and the Firmament. *Romans militibus Galli sapientia prope divina videri.* *Pliny* says, that *Sulpicius* wrote a Treatise upon Eclipses.

<sup>50</sup> We have spoken of the superstitious Practices of the *Romans*, at the time of an Eclipse, in the preceding Volumes.



Year of *time the Moon is hid by the Shadow of the Earth.* The Romans had conversed too much with the Greeks to be ignorant of those things. Is it not then surprizing, that the *Macedonians* should be more ignorant than they, of the Nature of Eclipses? But be that as it will, the *Roman* General made several good Uses of this Accident. 1. He gave the Enemy Battel before they were recovered from their Fright. And 2<sup>dly</sup>, He took away all manner of Scruple from his own People, by appeasing the Gods with Sacrifices. As soon as the Moon had recovered her former Brightness, he offered eleven young Bulls to her Honour; and the next Morning, before he gave Battel, sacrificed a greater Number of Oxen to *Hercules*. The Entrails of twenty of these Victims were consulted before the *Aruspices* found a favourable Answer. But upon seeing those of the twenty first, they, either upon their own trifling Conjectures, or as directed by the *Consul*, promised the *Romans* the Victory, if they waited for the Enemy to begin the Attack. Without doubt *Paulus Æmilius* foresaw, that the usual way of beginning Battels with throwing Darts, would not be advantageous to him. He had a greater Dependence on a close Fight, Sword in Hand. And after he had vowed a Sacrifice of a hundred Oxen to *Hercules*, and promised to celebrate Games to his Honour; he was seen in deep Contemplation about the Ground he should choose, and the Orders he should give his Troops.

R O M E  
DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

Livy, B. 44.  
c. 38.

§. XVIII. PERHAPS *Rome* never had a more circumspect General. He now considered, that if he formed his Troops early, on the Ground on which he designed to post them, the Sun would rise in their Faces, and dazzle their Eyes, during the Action: And therefore he did not draw them up in Battalia, till the Sun began to decline. In the mean time he assembled his chief Officers, more to amuse them, than to hold a Council; and with a familiar Air (for *Paulus Æmilius* was no Declaimer) addressed himself to them thus. *Yesterday my Son-in-law Nasica ventured to reproach me for not attacking the Enemy, as soon as we came into their Presence. I gave him a rambling Answer, which reduced him to Silence. But after all, I have not so much Reason to complain of his Frankness, as of the secret Murmurs of some Tribunes, who have taken the Liberty to blame my Conduct. I am accountable for it to no Body. Nevertheless, in order to undeceive or confound these imprudent Censors, I will tell you the Reasons that induced me to delay the Battel. I am so far from repenting of this Delay, that I impute the Safety of the Roman Army to it. When we first appeared here at Noon, every thing was disposed to the Advantage of the Macedonian, and the Disadvantage of his Adversaries. Upon the first Glance I saw how much the Enemy surpassed us in Number. Besides, as we had no Camp, I must have left the best Troops I had, to guard the Baggage. Were then the few I should have had left, in a Condition to sustain the Attack of an Army, who had recovered their Strength by their Repose? We were tired with a long March, covered with Dust, and Sweat, and ready to perish with Thirst. Could we then have held out against the Enemy? Besides, what time had I to choose my Ground, and assign their Posts to Troops, which could move but slowly? What would have become of us, if we had been attacked, at the instant that our Ranks had been disordered? Had we a Camp to serve us for a Retreat? Were we near any Stream, wherein we might have quenched our Thirst, and watered our Horses? Had we examined the Field of Battel, and neighbouring Places, to guard against Ambuscades? There was no Place to retire to but an open Plain, surrounded with high Mountains. Did our illustrious Ancestors hazard Battels in that manner, without securing themselves a Retreat? Their Camp was a Place of Safety for them, where they might refresh themselves after a Victory, or recover themselves after a Rout. In these fortified Entrenchments they found in a manner a new Country, and their Penates safe in their Tents. Armies, after they have been driven back into their Camp, have often made Sallies from thence, and thereby recovered the Advantages they had lost. Judge then, whether it was not necessary to pitch a Camp, before I gave Battel. But you lost time, say some, and Perses might have escaped from you in the Night. Could then any Man think this, without calling his own Understanding in Question? Pydna is the Post which the Macedonian has chosen preferably to all others. It is what he most desired; and he left Thessaly, on purpose to take Possession of it. He has made it his Magazine of Arms. Could it then be imagined that he would abandon it, to draw us into any other Place? If he had had any Thoughts of*



of leaving it, would he not have done it, when we were marching over the Olym-  
pus, or crossing the Plains to join him? Would he have waited for our coming up  
with him, before he decamped? Besides, were not we near enough to watch him all  
Night! Without doubt, Perſes is determined to continue under the Walls of Pydna.  
We ſhall there find him always ready to receive us; whether to Day, or to Morrow,  
or whenever I ſhall think fit to attack him.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Conſuls.

By theſe laſt Words *Paulus Æmilius* concealed his Deſign from his Officers,  
and kept them in ſuſpence; by not abſolutely determining to come to a Battel  
that Day. Nevertheless he marched his Troops out of his Camp, at nine in the  
Morning; and though no Body could gueſs at the time when the *Conſul* would  
choſe to attack the Enemy, yet this myſterious Air in the General was not imputed  
to Pride. It was believed, that his only Deſign was to rectify that Openneſs, and  
Want of Secrecy, which former *Conſuls* had introduced into their Camps, out of an  
Affectation of Popularity. They had communicated their Deſigns to their *Legionaries*,  
in order to get their Good-will, and obtain their Suffrages in the *Comitia*, after  
their return to *Rome*. Whereas it was well known, that *Paulus Æmilius* was  
above all ambitious Views, and had no Regard, but to the publick Good. His  
Army were therefore exceeding ready to obey his Orders, and his Officers ſeemed  
inclined to follow the Inclinations of ſo prudent a General: So that the two Ar-  
mies were drawn out, but not ſo much to fight, as to look at one another.  
*Perſes* found his Troops in a little Conſternation about the Eclipse; and obſerved  
an Air of Cheerfulneſs in the *Roman Legions*, which is not to be deſcribed, and  
which ſeemed to preſage their Succeſs. And the *Conſul* was not for hazarding a  
Battel, before he had furniſhed his Camp with all things neceſſary. He wanted  
Wood and Forage there; and had been forced to ſend out large Detachments, to the  
neighbouring Foreſts and Plains; and therefore he drew out his Army in ſight of  
the Enemy, for no other Reaſon, but that he might not ſeem to have declined a  
Battel two Days together.

So that the Action would have been poſtponed by the Prudence of the two Ge-  
nerals, if an Accident had not brought it on. There was a narrow, and ſhallow  
River between the two Camps, but nearer to the *Macedonian*. Both Parties fetched  
their Water from thence, and watered their Horſes there. So that the *Roman* and  
*Macedonian* had both poſted Guards, each on his Bank, to defend thoſe who came  
to the River on theſe Occaſions. And it happened, that a Horſe got out of the  
Hand of a *Roman* who was leading it, and went pretty far into the River. Two  
*Thracians* of the Enemy's Guard immediately went into the Water, up to their  
Waſtes, to get out the Horſe; but three *Roman* Soldiers at the ſame time, ran into  
the River on their ſide, killed one of the *Thracians*, and recovered the Beaſt. And  
this was enough to ſay, that the *Macedonians* had committed the firſt Act of Ho-  
ſtility, and that the *Romans* had not been the firſt Aggreſſors; and conſequently  
the *Conſul* could depend on the Victory, according to the Answer of the *Arufpi-*  
*ces*. Some Authors indeed affirm, that the *Macedonians* attacked the *Romans* in  
a more ſenſible manner, than barely by endeavouring to take a Horſe from them.  
They ſay, That a Party of the King's Men attacked ſome Forragers of the *Conſular*  
Army; and That the Action was begun that Way. But as this laſt Account has  
all the Air of a Fiction, invented purely to give Credit to the Art of *Augury*, we  
ſhall adhere to the relation of the greateſt Number of the beſt Hiſtorians.

Plut. Life of  
Paulus.

§. XIX. THE River between the two Camps having been ſtained with the Blood  
of the *Thracian* Soldier, who had been killed; this was enough to exaſperate  
the whole Body of eight hundred *Thracians*, who were guarding the Bank. The  
*Romans* upon Guard on the oppoſite ſide ſaw them paſſing the River, and coming  
to them; and then they likewiſe began to move. And this Motion was followed  
by that of all the *Roman* and *Macedonian* Troops, which were poſted on the two  
banks. The *Conſul* had placed two Battalions of auxiliary Foot, and two Squadrons  
of Horſe there. Theſe brave Men ſuſtained the Attack with Courage; and the  
Noiſe of the Fight was heard at a great Diſtance. *Paulus Æmilius* was then  
repoſing himſelf in his Tent, and did not expect to be rouzed by a ſudden Attack.  
but he was awakened by the Noiſe, went out in an inſtant, ran through all the  
Ranks of his Army, exhorted his Men to behave themſelves well, and reſolved to  
turn this ſudden Alarm into a more ſerious Affair. In the mean time, that he  
might

Livy, B. 44.  
c. 40.



Year of might not do any thing inconsiderately, he sent his Son-in-Law *Nasica*, who com-  
 R O M E manded a Body of Troops on the Sea-shore, to discover the Enemy. And upon  
 DLXXXV. the Report of this prudent *Aid-de-Camp*, who was himself capable of command-  
 ing an Army, the *Consul* advanced with his *Legions*, resolving to come to a general  
 Engagement. *Nasica* had informed him, That *Perfes* was upon full March on the  
 other side of the River, at the Head of all his Troops, and would soon appear  
 the Plain near the *Roman* Camp. It is a Misfortune, that the Description of the  
 Order in which *Perfes* drew up his Troops, is lost in *Livy*; and That we have no  
 relation of it but in *Plutarch*, who was no Soldier, and has given us but a con-  
 fused Account of it, And it is still a greater Misfortune, that *Polybius*, who has  
 described it like a Man skilful in military Affairs, is defective in this Particular.  
 However, we will collect what Accounts we have of this memorable Battel, and  
 lay them together before the Reader.

*Plut. Life of  
 Paulus.*

It seems certain, that the King of *Macedon* commanded at the Battel of *Pydna*  
 between forty four and forty five thousand Men of the finest Troops that had been  
 seen in *Macedon*, since the time of *Alexander*. But the *Roman* Army was much infe-  
 rior in Number. At first the *Macedonian* had posted in his first Line, the Battalions  
 and Squadrons which *Cotys* had brought him from *Thrace*. These were, in Ap-  
 pearance, the fiercest, and finest Soldiers in the World. Their Stature, their wit-  
 Air, the Glitter of their Bucklers, and the Weight of their Sabres, would have af-  
 frightened any Enemies but *Romans*. There was something inexpressibly terrible  
 even in their Dress. They had on their Shoulders a sort of black Mantle which  
 covered their Breasts, and hung down to the Small of their Backs. Their Legs were  
 covered with black *Cuissarts*, but their Arms were very bright; and this Mixture of  
 shining Metal, and dark Stuffs, made them look like so many infernal Monsters.  
 After the *Thracians*, came the Mercenaries of different Nations. All these were  
 differently armed, and dressed after the Fashion of their respective Countries.  
 Among the rest there were some mountaineers of *Pæonia*, a fierce and almost sa-  
 vage People, whose very Looks were frightful. And lastly, behind them there  
 appeared, drawn up in the Plain, a complete *Phalanx* of sixteen thousand *Mace-*  
*donians*, all armed with long Pikes, and advancing slowly, in close Order. In this  
 third Line consisted the whole Strength of the King's Army; and tho' this *Phalanx*  
 was but one entire Body, the different Parts of it were distinguished from one an-  
 other, by Bucklers of different Colours, or different Metals. Some of these Di-  
 visions were called *Leucaspides*, because their Bucklers were silvered; others *Cha-*  
*caspides*, or *Aglaspidés*, because theirs were of Brass. All these Arms strongly re-  
 flected the Rays of the Sun, and filled the Plain with Gleams of Light. The  
 whole Plain shined with the Brightness of their Arms; and the Mountains rang  
 with their Noises and Shouts, and made them the more terrible.

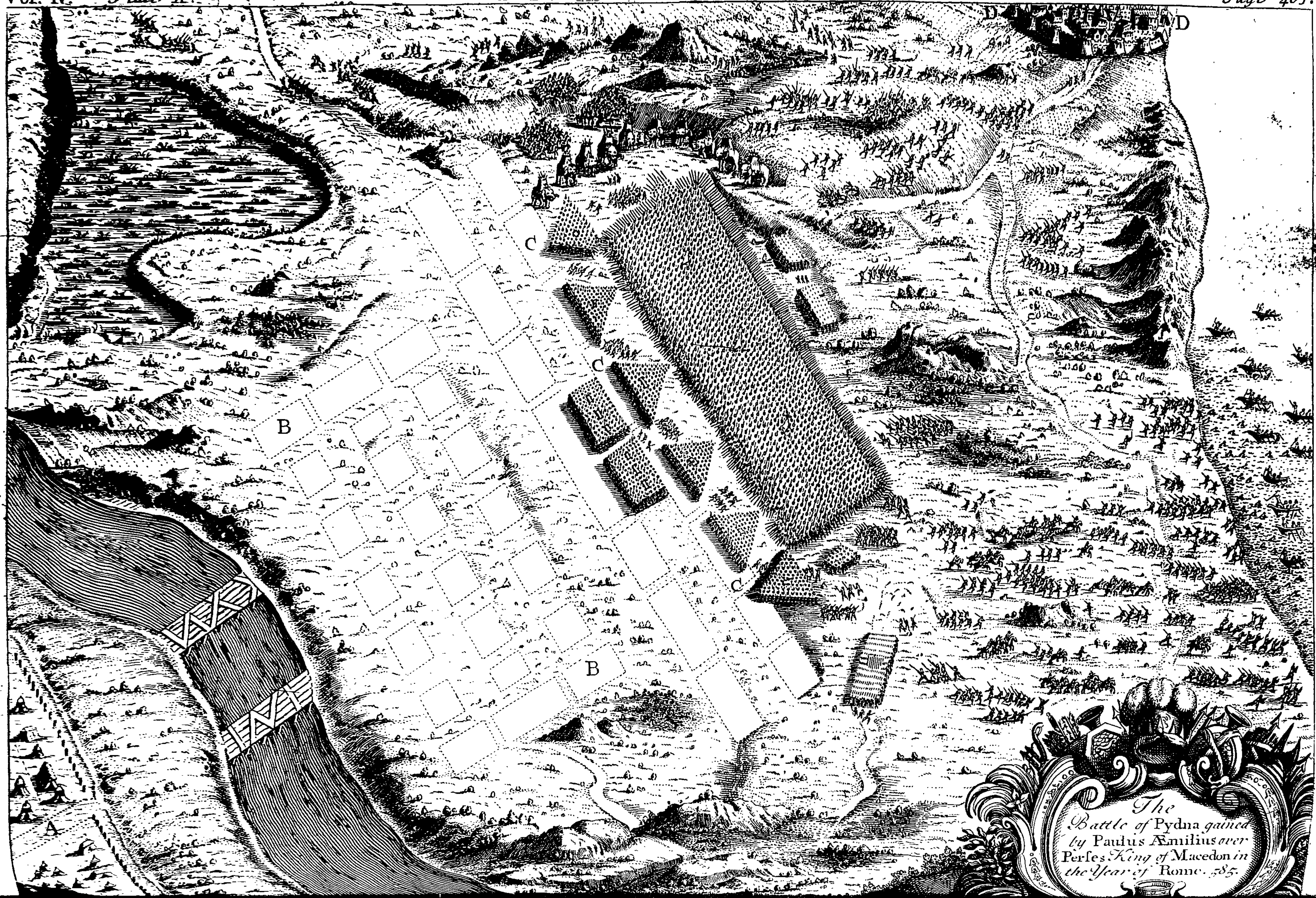
*Ibid.*

On the other hand, the *Consul* advanced slowly in the middle of his *Legions*.  
 It is to be presumed, that he drew up his Troops after the usual manner of the *R-*  
*mans*. The Allies were posted in the Wings, the *Legionaries* in the Center, and  
 the Cavalry flanked both, to the right and left. The Attack was begun by the  
*Latin* Auxiliaries; and these brave Men had soon repulsed the strange Troops of  
 the Enemy's two first Lines. They seem to have been brought more for Show  
 and to strike Terror into the Enemy with their Looks, than to support a tottering  
 Crown. All the Difficulty the *Romans* had, was to break the *Macedonian Ph-*  
*lanx*. At first the *Phalangites* made themselves a sort of Parapet with their Buck-  
 lers, which they rested upon the Ground, and a strong Barrier with their Pike  
 which they levelled against the Enemy; and the *Consul* reserved the Attack of the  
*Phalanx* for the *Legions*. But how could they break into this inaccessible Body?  
 The *Legionaries* could not reach the *Phalangites* with their Swords, or come near  
 enough to fight Man to Man. As soon as they drew near, they were either ki-  
 led, or wounded, and repulsed. Nevertheless the *Consul* ran through the Rank  
 and encouraged his Soldiers. He was himself without Helmet, or *Cuirass*, ca-  
 nestly pressed his Men to behave themselves well, and animated them by his own  
 Example.

*Polybius a-  
 pud Plut.*

The King of *Macedon*, in the mean time was seized with a sudden Terror, and in  
 the midst of the Battel abandoned his *Phalanx*. Despairing of Success, at the very  
 time when his faithful *Macedonians* were making it doubtful, he returned to *Pydna*  
 and





*The  
Battle of Pydna gained  
by Paulus Aemilius over  
Perseus King of Macedon in  
the Year of Rome 585.*



under Pretence of being obliged to offer up Sacrifice there, to *Hercules*. But how ill did he imitate the Valour of the pretended Demi-God, which he honoured! Nevertheless, one <sup>51</sup> who is rather a Panegyrist of *Perses*, than an Historian, affirms, That the King, though wounded in the Leg, the Evening before, by a Kick from an Horse, put himself at the Head of his *Phalanx*, and fought with Courage. According to him, *Perses* did not leave the Fight, till after he had received a painful Contusion, which forced him to retire into the City, to get it dressed. After the Retreat of the King, the Attack of the *Legionaries* was the more vigorous; but still the *Macedonians* were impenetrable. Then the Auxiliaries being come to the Assistance of the *Legionaries*, the whole *Roman* Army attacked them; and a brave *Centurion* named *Salus*, who commanded a Battalion of *Peligni*, threw a *Colour* of his Battalion, into the middle of the *Phalangites* before him. It is well known to how great a Degree the Companies of the *Roman* Armies thought themselves dishonoured by the Loss of their *Colours*; and that they at any time readily hazarded their Lives to prevent this Indignity. And now, the Fury with which the *Peligni* ran against this Rampart of Bucklers and Pikes, is not to be expressed. Lions don't shew more Fury in breaking their Way through the Spears of the Hunters that surround them. The Soldiers of the first Rank endeavoured to turn aside the long iron-headed Poles which were levelled against them with their Hands and Bucklers. But nevertheless they were forced to give Way, being run through with these murdering Weapons; and throughout the whole Battel, the *Romans* did not lose more Men in any Attack, than in this of the *Peligni*.

THE *Phalanx* still kept its Ground on all sides, whilst the *Pelignian* Battalion, after being repulsed, retired towards Mount <sup>52</sup> *Olocrus*; and upon seeing this Attempt prove fruitless, *Paulus Æmilius* almost sunk into Despair. He rent his Clothes, and shewed great Vexation at not being able to break this single Body, which alone obstructed his Victory. But the *Consul* soon recovered from this Fit of Rage, and regained his usual Serenity. He considered, that it was not possible, but that these *Phalangites*, which were so well closed, must at last disunite in several Places, and leave Spaces for his *Legionaries* to enter. Constancy was the chief Virtue of the *Romans*; and their General, without quitting the Enterprize, now kept himself upon the Watch, to find out some Space, through which he might penetrate into the *Phalanx*. Till at length he perceived, that upon repeating the Attacks on different sides, the first Ranks of the Enemy began to make some little Motions, and consequently that the Union of this impenetrable Body would soon be broken. And in order to take Advantage of this Opportunity, which he foresaw, *Paulus Æmilius* divided his Troops into small Platoons, and ordered them to slip into the first Openings that should be made in the *Phalanx*. Accordingly the *Consul* was obeyed; and the *Romans* formed themselves into several pointed Battalions, and multiplied their Attacks all along the Front of the Enemy. After some time the *Phalangites* disunited and divided themselves into several Bodies. Upon which the *Legionaries* instantly slipped into the Spaces, and were in a Condition to fight Man to Man. And then how great was the Difference between the *Romans* armed with strong Swords, and large Bucklers, and the *Macedonians*, who were forced to quit their long Pikes, and fight with unequal Weapons! And the Inequality was yet greater between the Courage of one and the other, than between their Shields and Swords. The more Enemies the *Romans* killed, the wider they made the Openings; and the Son of *Cato*, the Son-in-Law of *Paulus Æmilius*, was one of the Officers who penetrated farthest in this Attack. He performed such Acts of Valour, as were worthy of the Father from whom he descended. Nevertheless, an Inundation of *Phalangites* fell upon the Company he commanded, and forced it to retire; and in this Retreat he perceived that he had dropped his Sword. Ashamed therefore of having left on the Field of Battel the chief Instru-

<sup>51</sup> This Writer called himself *Possidonius*, according to *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Paulus Æmilius*. If he was really Cotemporary with *Perses*, he was a different Person from that *Possidonius*, the Philosopher and Historian, who was a Native of *Apamea*. The latter carried on the History of *Polybius*,

and made a Voyage to *Rome*, in the Consulship of *Marcellus*, a hundred and eighteen Years after the Battel of *Pydna*.

<sup>52</sup> Mount *Olocrus* was probably a part of Mount *Olympus*, and bounded the Plain, which was the Field of Battel.



Year of  
RO ME  
DLXXXV.

L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

ment of his Valour, he assembled some of his Friends, and returned to the Charge. This Company of brave Men followed him stooping; broke their Way with Fury through the Enemy; and killed so many of the *Macedonians*, as to make so great a Void round *Cato*, that he had room and time to look for his Sword, and found it. A memorable <sup>53</sup> Action, and very pleasing to *Paulus Æmilius*, whose Daughter the young Hero had <sup>54</sup> married!

Liv. B. 44.  
c. 41.

As soon as the *Consul* saw the *Phalangites* broken, he no longer doubted of the Victory. Nevertheless, he was yet to engage the divided Parts of it, which still kept their Ground. The brave General therefore put himself at the Head of the first *Legion*, which had not engaged, and led it up to the Enemy. These *Legionaries* were proud of following their General, and receiving their Orders immediately from himself; and they with Admiration saw him discharge the Duty of a young Officer, though advanced in Age, and expose himself to Danger like a private Soldier. They entered into the Space which divided the *Phalanx*, as it were, into two Bodies, and made Head against the *Aglaespides*; that is, that part of the *Phalangites* which had brass Bucklers. At the same time the second *Legion*, commanded by the Lieutenant General *L. Albinus*, a Man of great Experience in War, who had been *Consul*, faced the *Leucaspides*; that is, those *Phalangites* whose Bucklers were silvered. And as it was foreseen that the Enemy would first be routed on the side of the right Wing where the Battel had begun, the Elephants and auxiliary Horse were ordered to advance that Way. As to the Elephants, no use had been made of them in the Battel. The *Romans* were now undeceived as to their Usefulness in Battels. The bringing them into Armies, was one of those Inventions which mightily please at first sight; but upon Experience are found to be of no Value. They were only employed in pursuing the *Aglaespides*, when the first *Legion* had routed them. The second *Legion* also did the same by the *Leucaspides*; and then almost the whole *Phalanx* was put into Confusion. All things considered, nothing contributed more towards gaining the *Romans* this Victory, than the Platoons, which attacked the *Phalanx* in many different Places at once; a way of Fighting first invented by *Paulus Æmilius*. Without this Expedient, till then unheard of, it would have been as difficult to have broken the *Phalangites*, as to have beaten down the Walls of a City, defended by a strong Garrison, without *Rams*.

Plut. Life of  
Paulus.

Livy, B. 44.  
c. 42.

Nevertheless one part of the *Phalanx*, consisting of about three thousand Men, still kept their Ground for a little time; and they were all cut in pieces. Not one of them escaped. After this terrible Slaughter, the *Romans* had nothing to do but pursue the Fugitives. From the Field of Battel to *Pydna*, the whole Plain was covered with dead Bodies; and it is said, that till the next Day the Waters of the River <sup>55</sup> *Leucus* were stained with Blood. The Slaughter lasted for several Hours. Some of the Vanquished gained the Tops of the Mountains, others rambled about the Sea-shore, and others leaped up to the Middle in the Water, and lifting up their Hands to Heaven, implored the Assistance of the *Roman* Fleet. They begged for Quarter; and desired Life and Slavery. Accordingly Boats were sent out to them; and these terrified Men swam towards them, to reach them the sooner. But the merciless Seamen killed those who desired Life, and forced the others to return to the Shore, where they met the Elephants, which trod them under their Feet. Of all the Battels the *Romans* had ever fought with the *Macedonians* this was the most bloody. The Enemy lost near twenty five thousand Men. Six thousand more were taken Captives in *Pydna*, of which the *Romans* made themselves Masters, and five thousand Fugitives in the Plain were made Prisoners of War. But the *Romans* did not lose above eighty, or at most a hundred Men. Providence seems to have reserved it for the most virtuous *Roman* of his Age, to punish the Vices of the most wicked of Kings.

<sup>53</sup> *Plutarch* says there was a Letter extant in his time which *Cato* wrote to his Son; and wherein the Father, in the Joy of his Heart, was very lavish of his Praises, of the Intrepidity young *Porcius* had shewn, when he was endeavouring to recover his Sword.

<sup>54</sup> *Plutarch* tells us, that young *Cato* did not

marry the Daughter of *Paulus Æmilius*, till after the Conquest of *Macedon*.

<sup>55</sup> We cannot discover what River this was. But it is conjectured, that the Historians mean by it one of the little Rivulets that ran into the River *Haliacmon*; which is now the *Pelaca*, according to *Sophian*, or the *Platamona*, according to *Morcart*.



§. XX. AFTER this fatiguing and glorious Day, *Paulus Æmilius* refreshed himself a little in his Tent, and waited for the return of those, who were still pursuing the Vanquished. He had brought into *Macedon* with him his two eldest Sons, whom he had transplanted into two illustrious *Roman* Families by Adoption. The first, as we have observed, had taken the Name of *Fabius* from the *Fabian* Family, into which he was entered. The second, since his being adopted by the Son of the Great *Scipio*, had assumed the Name of *Cornelius Scipio*. He was the Darling of his Father; having by his extraordinary Virtues merited, and gained the greatest Share of his Affection. Though young *Scipio* was not above seventeen Years at most, he already discovered the first Dawnings of that Heroism, which we shall soon see equal him to the Great *Scipio Africanus*, his Grandfather; and his growing Valour now carried him too far in pursuit of the Fugitives. Night came on, and the Soldiers rejoiced exceedingly in their Victory. All the Camp was illuminated, and the Pavilions of the Officers were adorned with Garlands, and Branches of Ivy or Lawrel. But though this military Festival made all others very gay, the General's Anxiety was visible, both in his Air and Countenance. He was a Father, and thought he had lost the Son whom he loved best. The more he reflected on *Scipio's* Valour, the greater were his Fears; and his Grief increased in Proportion to his Esteem. The Domesticks of the young *Roman* in vain sought his Body on the Field of Battel, with Flambeaux; and in vain called after him by his Name, all over the Plain. No *Scipio* appeared. The *Consul* supped with a sorrowful Air, amidst the publick Joy and Acclamations; his Uneasiness spread itself through the Camp; and then the Rejoicings were turned into Grief. The Soldiers adored *Paulus Æmilius*; and he loved his younger Son very tenderly. Hence the Concern the whole Camp was under to find him. The Night was already far advanced; and the *Consul* despaired of ever seeing him more. But just as he was ready to retire to lament the Loss of him in private, young *Scipio* appeared, attended only by two or three of his Companions. Their martial Ardour had carried them quite to the Gates of *Pydna*, in pursuit of the Enemy. *Scipio's* Clothes were yet covered with the Blood which he had spilt; and the Joy the Father felt, when he embraced his Son, may better be imagined, than expressed. *Paulus Æmilius* was as thankful to the Gods for not having lost *Scipio*, as for having gained the Battel.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

AND now, the Joy of the *Romans* was complete, and the Consternation in *Macedon* general. *Perses*, after having abandoned *Pydna*, was on the Road to *Pella*, whither the Love of his Riches drew him. During his March, he had *Cotys* the King of the *Odrysians* always by his side. The *Macedonian* <sup>56</sup> Cavalry which had not suffered during the Action, escorted the two Kings. They were obliged to pass through the Forest of *Piaria*, in which there were several very different Roads. The two Kings kept before their Guards, and mutually comforted each other under their Misfortunes. And it being late in the Day, and the Sun near setting, it happened that they took one Road for another, and consequently the farther they went into the Forest, the farther they rambled out of the Way: So that they were forced to spend the Night there. But the Cavalry that were behind them, marched on the direct Road to *Pella*, and arrived there before the two Kings. Their Absence therefore emboldened these Soldiers to disband themselves; and every Horseman retired to his own Village. *Perses* found only some Squadrons of Cre-

Livy, B. 44.  
c. 43.

<sup>56</sup> *Plutarch* in his Account of the Flight of the King of *Macedon*, mentions some Circumstances which *Livy* seems to have been ignorant of, or to have neglected. *Perses*, says the *Greek* Historian, marched with great Precipitation, designing to take Refuge in *Pella*. He had been joined by his Cavalry, which had not been employed in the Action. His Infantry escaped in Disorder, and fled through any Ways that first occurred to them. Several of these dispersed Battalions saw the Cavalry which was peaceably attending the King of *Macedon*, and trembled with Rage. Though spent with Hunger and Fatigue, they ran up to these Horsemen with Fury, and loaded them with Reproaches and Curses. These, said they, are the cowardly Deserters who left us to the Mercy of the Romans, and would

not vouchsafe to assist us. And from Reproaches they come to Blows. They briskly attacked the Guard that surrounded *Perses*, and dismounted and beat all they could reach. Several of the King's Train were grievously wounded in the Fray, and Majesty could not have secured that Prince himself from the Attempts of these Madmen, if he had not escaped out of their Sight, and fled through By-Roads. The better to conceal himself in his Flight, he threw off his Royal Mantle, Diadem, and all other Marks of his Dignity. And then he soon found himself deserted by those who had attended him so far. All dreaded the Violence of a wild Prince, who in his raving Fits was guilty of the most barbarous Actions. His Ferocity and his Suspicions increased, at the sight of his Misfortunes.



Year of *tan* Horse there; and in his Palace, he found no Body to attend him, but only *R O M E* his Master of the Household, and a few Pages. Then the two Guardians of the *DLXXXV.* King's Treasure, *Euctus* and *Eudeus* appeared before him; and with the wholesome Advice which these faithful Ministers gave him, for the future, they seemed to mix some Reproaches for what was past. Upon this the King was seized with a Fit of Rage, drew his Sword, stabbed them, and left them dead upon the Place. This barbarous Action alienated from him all his Friends who had escaped out of the Battel; and though invited to come to Court, they would not appear. Three Strangers only continued about his Person. One was a *Cretan* named *Evander*, another a *Bæotian* named *Neo*, and the third an *Ætolian* named *Archidamus*. This Solitude was an obvious Prefage to *Perses* of approaching Ruin; and he no longer thought it safe for him to continue in *Pella*. Besides, the Palace of his Ancestors seemed to reproach him with his Crimes; and the City, which gave Birth to the Conqueror of *Asia*, insulted him for his Defeat.

*Livy, B. 44.  
c. 43.*

*PERSES* therefore packed up his Gold, Silver, Vases of valuable Stone, and rich Metal, and in short, all the fine Furniture of his Palace, in Waggon; and at four in the Morning left his Capital, attended by the Princes his Children, and guarded by only five hundred *Cretan* Horse, and King *Cotys*. Not that the *Cretan* Soldiers had any particular Affection for the fugitive King. His Treasures were the Charm that drew them after him. They hoped for a favourable Opportunity to plunder him. In this Condition *Perses* marched on towards *Amphipolis* in great haste; and was very desirous to get the River *Axius* <sup>57</sup> between him and the *Romans*, whom he thought continually at his Heels. This River was broad and deep, and the King did not think himself safe till he had passed it. During his March, the News of his Defeat, and of the entire Rout of his Army came to *Amphipolis*. The Terror of the People was exceeding great upon it; and the Ladies of the City fled for Refuge to a Temple of *Diana Tauropolos* <sup>58</sup>, hoping to find an Asylum at the Feet of the chaste Goddess. The Town was guarded by a thousand *Thracians* only, Men greedy of Booty; but *Diodorus* the *Macedonian* was Governor. He was an able Man, watchful of the Interests of his Country, afraid that in this sudden Alarm the foreign Garrison would plunder the Temples and Houses in *Amphipolis*, and in order to prevent it, invented a Stratagem, which succeeded. He hired a Man, who dressed himself like a Courier, and brought forged Letters to the Governor and Garrison. The Purport of them was, that the *Roman* Fleet had made a Descent on the Coasts of *Emathia*, and pillaged them; and the Garrison of *Amphipolis* were therefore intreated to hasten to the Defence of the Province, and come and reap the Spoils of a good Number of *Romans*, who were dispersed in Confusion all over the Country. *Diodorus* also had the Address, to lessen the Disadvantages of the Rout of *Perses*, in the Opinions of the *Amphipolitans*. *These are false Reports*, said he. *If the News was true, how many Fugitives should we have had fled hither, to confirm it!* Upon the Assurances of the Governor, the *Thracians* marched out of *Amphipolis*; and as soon as they had passed the *Strymon* <sup>59</sup>, the Gates of the City were shut against them. Thus *Diodorus* became Master of the City, and waited for an Opportunity to declare himself for the victorious Party.

§. XXI. WHILST the vanquished King was advancing towards *Amphipolis*, the Consul was intent on making the best use of his Victory, and rendring it complete. In the first Place, the chief Commanders of the *Macedonian* Army, *Hippias*, *Milo*, and *Pantauchus*, came and surrendered themselves up to him, and offered the *Romans* their Services. At the same time they delivered up the City of <sup>60</sup> *Berea*;

<sup>57</sup> The River *Axius* is the most considerable River in *Macedon*. It rises at Mount *Scardus* in *Illyricum*, and after it has run through several Provinces of that Country, discharges itself into *The Thermaic Gulph*. *Sophian* and *Tzetzes* call it the *Vardari*. *Zonaras* had before given it the Name of *Bardarius*; whence perhaps its modern Name came.

<sup>58</sup> The Surname of *Tauropolos* was given to *Diana*, because she was revered in a particular manner at *Tauris*, a City of *Scythia*.

<sup>59</sup> The River *Strymon* rises at Mount *Orbelus* in *Macedon*, and falls into the *Ægean* Sea. According to *Bellonius* it is at present the *Marmara*. *Lazius* gives it the Name of *Ischar*; *Nardus*, that of *Radiwi*; and *Sophian*, that of *Stromona*.

<sup>60</sup> *Berea* was one of the chief Cities of *Emathia*, a Province of *Macedon*. *Holstenius* places it at the Foot of Mount *Berminus*, in a Country covered with Forests.



and many other Cities followed the Example of this important Place. First *Pydna*, Year of then *Thessalonica*, and then *Pella*, opened their Gates to the *Romans*. It may be affirmed, that soon after the gaining of the Battel, almost all *Macedon* submitted to the Conqueror; and then *Paulus Æmilius* took care to reward his Soldiers. He gave them Leave to plunder *Pydna*, and strip the Dead which were left on the Field of Battel. He also suffered his Cavalry to go and get what Booty they could round the Plain, for two Days together; but commanded them to repair to the Camp, immediately after that time. In the mean while he sent to *Rome* his Son *Fabius*, with two Officers of Distinction, to give the Senate and People an account of the great Victory he had just gained; and when these Messengers had taken their Leave, he proceeded to finish his Expedition.

R O M E  
DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

He was yet a great Way off, when *Perfes* advanced towards *Amphipolis*. This City was in his Dominions; but nevertheless seems to have been the Capital of a free People called <sup>61</sup> *Bisaltæ*, who had spread themselves along the Banks of the River *Strymon*. The Gates of *Amphipolis* were opened to the King of *Macedon*, who had depended on the Reinforcements which the *Bisaltæ* would furnish him with; and in order to induce them to assist him, he assembled the *Citizens* of *Amphipolis* in the Market-place. The King came thither, attended by *Philip* his eldest Son; and his Pretence for making a Speech, was that of exhorting the few Troops that had followed him, or that had come to *Amphipolis* since the Rout, to do their Duty. So that *Perfes* mounted *A Tribune of Harangues*, and began a Speech; but was so often interrupted in his Discourse by his Tears, that he was obliged to come down, and return home. And then *Evander* the *Cretan*, who was always faithful to the King, even in his Misfortunes, by his Order took his Place, and continued the Harangue; but with very different Success. The Presence of an unfortunate Prince, and especially his Tears, had moved the *Amphipolitans*. But they despised the Speech, and the Person of the foreign Officer. Voices were heard among the People interrupting him, and crying out; *Come down from the Tribune, and march out of the City with your Cretans, as soon as possible. Shall we, for the sake of defending you, involve ourselves in all these Calamities, from which you could not deliver Macedon?*

THIS was giving both the King and his *Cretans* warning to be soon gone from *Amphipolis*. *Perfes* therefore put his Family, Treasures, and *Cretans*, on board some Barks, which were in the River *Strymon*; and when he was come on board himself, followed the Course of the River. Then *Cotys* and his <sup>62</sup> *Odrysiens* deserted him, and returned into their own Country; but the *Cretans* still adhered to him, because they daily expected the happy Minute when they should get some of his Treasures. And indeed *Perfes* designed to satisfy these greedy Men, whose Intentions he foresaw. But he was sensible, that if he made a Distribution among them with his own Hands, he should raise great Discontents; and therefore, in order to satisfy them, he chose to let them get a Booty of about the Value of fifty *Talents* †, which he caused to be laid for them on the Shore. The Effects which he left to gratify their Avarice, were Vases of Gold and Silver, and other Utensils, of which every one seized as much as he could; and when they were loaded with the Booty, they instantly reembarked, for fear of being left on the Shore, to the Mercy of the *Romans*, who were already all over *Macedon*. Their Hurry was so great to get to their Boats, that they sunk one of them. In the mean time the King continued his Course, and the same Day arrived at *Galepsos* <sup>63</sup>,

† 9687 l. 10 s.  
Arbutnot.

<sup>61</sup> The *Bisaltæ* possessed one of the Mountains of *Macedon*, which was next to the Mouth of the *Strymon*. *Stephen of Byzantium* is the only Author who affirms, without Proof, that the Names of *Bisaltia* and *Bisaltus*, were given to a City and River of this Canton. *Livy* says, B. 45. that the *Bisaltæ* lived near the River *Strymon*. And in another Place, he makes them to have settled beyond the River which divides *Thrace* from *Macedon*; which Passages are not irreconcilable. *Athenæus* says, that these People had formerly spread themselves beyond the Bounds, which most of the ancient Geographers have given them.

<sup>62</sup> The Ancients give the Name of *Odryse* to a People of *Thrace*, who lived near the River *Hebrus*. The Territory of *Didimotica* belonged to them. *Thucydides* says, B. 2. that they were the most powerful Nation in *Thrace*. He affirms, that they extended their Dominion from the City of *Abdera* on the Borders of *Macedon*, to the *Euxin* Sea, near the Mouth of the *Danube*.

<sup>63</sup> As far as we can judge of it by the Course *Perfes* took to go to the Island of *Samothrace*, *Galepsos* must have stood beyond the *Strymon*, towards the Mouth of the River *Nessus*, and on this side the *Hebrus*.



Year of a little maritime City, between the Mouths of the *Strymon*, and the <sup>64</sup> *He-*  
*ROM E brus.*

DLXXXV.

L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,

How difficult is it, under any change of Circumstances, for Men ever to conquer a Passion, which they have once suffered to get the Dominion over them! Avarice had always been the capital Vice of *Perses*, and now when he came to *Galepsos*, he repented of that single Act of Liberality on the Road. The fifty *Talents* he had squandered away among the *Cretans* came into his Thoughts; and he was wholly bent on recovering part of them at least, though by Lies, and Deceit. He made use of one of those Artifices, with which the *Cretans* are so often reproached, to cheat them. He declared, That among the Cups and Urns which he had given up to them, there had, by mistake, been some, which had belonged to *Alexander the Great*; That as he had vast Respect for the Memory of that Hero, it was Matter of the greatest Grief to him, to have lost the least thing that had belonged to him; and That he would give double the Value for any of these Vases, which were more dear to him, on account of *Alexander's* Name, than their intrinsic Worth: and the King, by these Declarations, imposed on the *Cretans*. They brought him their Vases again; *Perses* seized them; and said no more of giving them any Reward for them. By this base Artifice he recovered at least thirty \* *Talents*.

\* 5812 l. 10 s.  
*Arbutnot.*

His very Guard therefore loaded him with Curses; and he was wholly bent on leaving them, retiring from the Continent, and taking Refuge in the Island of *Samothrace*. This was an *Asylum* <sup>65</sup> consecrated by Religion, and revered by all Nations in the World. The Worship that was there paid to *Cybele*, made it venerable; and the Remembrance of *The Mother of the Gods*, who had dwelt there, made it more respected, than even the Temple of *Delphi*, or the Island of *Delos*. The fugitive King therefore hoping that the *Romans* would not prophane this Sanctuary, by staining it with his Blood, went thither with his Family, and carried with him the Remains of his dear Treasure, which yet amounted to <sup>66</sup> two thousand *Talents* †. *Evander*, the faithful Friend, whom he had so often employed in Assassinations, was almost the only Person who followed him into this Place of Banishment; and the King, to whom this whole Island of *Samothrace* was subject (tho' all the Nations in the World were at full Liberty to come and pay their Devotions there) took up his Habitation in a Temple dedicated to *Castor* and *Pollux*. There he waited for the Departure of the *Romans*, or some favourable turn of Fortune.

† 387500 l.  
*Arbutnot.*

§. XXII. As for *Paulus Æmilius*, he was not idle during these Attempts of *Perses* to escape from him. He was sensible that his Land Forces could be of no use to him, to surround the fugitive King in his Retreat; and to prevent his Escape, he sent Orders to the *Prætor Octavius*, to go and invest the Island of *Samothrace* with his Fleet. In the mean time, the *Consul* himself marched with his *Legions* into the Heart of *Macedon*. *Theffalonica* and *Pella* were taken in two Days; and almost all the rest of the Cities surrendered as soon. Though the *Macedonians* were the best affected to their Kings of any Nation in the World,

<sup>64</sup> The River *Hebrus*, which rises by Mount *Hæmus*, towards the Confines of *Macedon*, falls into the *Ægean* Sea, after it has run through a part of *Thrace*.

<sup>65</sup> *Samothrace* was an Island in the *Archipelago*, lying near *Thrace*, between the Islands of *Imbros*, and *Lemnos*. In the most early Ages it was called *Dardania*, because *Dardanus* retired thither, according to *Pliny* and *Pausanias*. These two Authors add, that it changed its first Name into that of *Samothrace*, from the time that it became inhabited by a Colony of *Thracians*, and some Fugitives from *Samos*, an Island in the *Ionian* Sea. But *Diodorus Siculus* pretends, B. 4. that the *Amazon, Myrina*, in the Course of her Conquests, on the Coasts of the *Ægean* Sea, consecrated this Island to *Cybele*, under the Name of *Samothrace*; a Term, says he, then used to signify a consecrated Place. The Goddess, continues he, was charmed with the Loveliness of the Climate, and pitched on that Place for the Celebration of her Mysteries, which was committed to the Care of the *Corybantes*. The Place appointed for the Assemblies

of the Initiated was in a Wood, which soon after became a Place of Refuge to all that fled thither. The Worship of the Goddess was afterwards extended to the *Corybantes* her Sons, which some have taken for the *Cabiri*. The Pagans carried their Prejudices so far, in favour of these pretended Gods, in the Countries of *Asia* and *Greece*, that the People were struck with an awful Dread upon the bare mention of their Names. Of all the Oaths that were in use among the Pagans, that by the Gods of *Samothrace* was deemed the most inviolable. They who were perjured by this Oath, were the Curse of Mankind, and considered as prophane Wretches, devoted to Destruction. See what we have said of the *Cabiri*, in the third Volume.

Add to this, that this Island, which was sometimes called *Melita*, sometimes *Leucasia* and *Lencania*, and sometimes *Eletria*, is now called *Samandraci*. It is said to be about twenty Miles in Circumference.

<sup>66</sup> Two thousand *Talents*, at the Rate of a thousand *French Crowns per Talent*, amount to six Millions of *Livres*.



yet having no Defence left, they swam with the Stream. In short, never was Conquest more rapid. Indeed *Eginium* <sup>67</sup>, which had not received the News of the King's Defeat, made some Resistance to a Detachment of *Romans*, commanded by Lieutenant General *Anicius*; but after the Inhabitants had lost two hundred Men in a Sally, they surrendered. The *Consul* himself advanced towards *Pella*, and encamped near it for some Days; and there *Paulus Æmilius* was charmed with the fine Conquest he had made. He thought the City which surrendered to him without Opposition, impregnable. It rose up like an Amphitheatre in the middle of a Marsh, made by the Overflowings of several Lakes, and was not accessible any Way but over a Bridge, which was easy to be broken down. Art had also been added to the Works of Nature, in guarding this Fortress. It was surrounded on all sides with a Wall, and a strong Rampart, which seemed to join to the City, but was separated from it by a River, which surrounded it on the inside of the Wall, and was a sort of natural Ditch of running Water. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that a Prince, who idolized his Treasures, should chuse to deposite them in a Place so well fortified. Nevertheless, when *Paulus Æmilius* entered it, he found there only the three hundred *Talents* \* which were for King *Gentius*, and of which *Perses* had defrauded him. They seem to have been laid up only for a Prey for the *Romans*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

\* 58125 l.  
Sterling.  
Arbutnot.

DURING the *Consul's* Stay at *Pella*, Embassies were daily coming to him from all Parts of *Greece*, to congratulate him on his Victory. The *Thessalians* especially distinguished themselves. They were the faithful Province. No other had furnished the victorious Army with more Provisions and Men. From *Pella*, *Paulus Æmilius* set out for *Amphipolis*; and was better received there, Sword in Hand, than the disarmed and fugitive *Perses*. However, the *Consul* had the Precaution to send thither before him his Son-in-Law *Nasica*, with some Horse and Foot; and he himself entered this Capital of the *Bisaltæ*, as it were in Triumph. It is said that an Event, which if true was fortuitous, increased the Admiration of the People of *Amphipolis* for the *Consul*. Whilst he was sacrificing in the Temple, say they, and the Entrails of the Victims were laying upon the Wood, there fell down on a sudden a Fire from Heaven, which consumed them; as if *Jupiter* had been thereby pleased to ratify the Victory of the *Consul*, and the Punishment of an unworthy Monarch. From thence *Æmilius* passed on, in a victorious manner, through all the Provinces of *Macedon*, quite to the Coast of *Thrace*; *Nasica* still marching before him with a Detachment. He ravaged the Country of <sup>68</sup> *Sintice*; entered the Territory of the *Odomantes* <sup>69</sup>, at the Foot of Mount *Orbelus*; and tarried some Days near <sup>70</sup> *Siræ*. And there he expected to hear of the Conclusion of the Expedition, which he had committed to the Care of the Admiral *Octavius*.

Plut. Life of  
Paulus.  
Liv. B. 44.  
c. 46.

§. XXIII. *PERSES* still depended on the Safety of his Person and Family, which he promised himself from the Sanctity of the Place which he had made his *Asylum*. And in order to soften his Conqueror, he sent such an Embassy to him as was proper to move him. The Persons chosen to be sent, and their Train, were such as shewed the Misery of a King, who was reduced to the last Extremity. He had no Lord of his Court to put at the Head of the Deputation; they had all deserted him. The *Consul* received the Deputies at *Siræ*, and upon a Sight of the Condition to which this great King appeared to be reduced, could not refrain from Tears. *Is this*, said he, *that Perses, that Successor of Alexander the Great, that proud Monarch, whose Ambition knew no Bounds? Formerly, not content with Macedon, he extended his Views to Illyricum, Dardania, and in short,*

<sup>67</sup> *Eginium*, a City of *Ætiotis*, a Canton of *Thessaly*, stood in the most Northern Part of *Pelagonia Tripolitis*. Nevertheless the City here spoken of, seems by *Livy's* Story to have been situated in *Macedon*, at a little Distance from *Pella*.

<sup>68</sup> *Sintice* was one of the Eastern Provinces of *Macedon*. It reached on both sides the River *Strymon*, to the Mouth of the *Bisaltis*. The City of *Heraclea*, which was distinguished from the many others of that Name, by the Appellation of *Sintice*, was the Capital of this Country. *Castaldus* now calls it *Chefein*.

<sup>69</sup> The *Odomantes* bordered on *Sintice* to the North; and on *Bisaltia* to the South. Though their Country belonged to *Macedon*, some Geographers have taken them for a People of *Thrace*; perhaps because they bordered upon this Country, or because the Eastern Provinces of *Macedon* had formerly been Parts of *Thrace*.

<sup>70</sup> We can say nothing more of this City, than that it stood in the most Eastern Part of *Macedon*.



Year of  
ROM E  
DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

THESE Words threw the King into a Consternation. He was afraid, that this Friend, this constant Attendant upon him in his Flight, would confess his Crime. *Perhaps*, said he to himself, *Evander whom I have entrusted with all my Secrets, will be forced by Tortures to load me with new Infamy. He must therefore die by my Hand, or his own!* In Pursuit of which barbarous Scheme, *Perses* took aside the only Friend he had left, and addressed himself to him thus. *You are suspected of having made an Attempt upon the Life of the King of Pergamus, and you are cited to appear before the People of Samothrace. But I am against your running the Hazards of being tried by the People. Tho' I am a King, and Lord of Samothrace, my Power here is lost with my Fortune. Die then, Evander, Die. It is a glorious thing, for a brave Man, as you are, to dispatch himself.* The *Cretan* seemed to come into the Proposal, and answered, *I am not afraid of dying. But it is not proper to pollute this holy Island with Blood. Poison will put an End to a Life which I have long devoted to you, as effectually as a Sword.* Which said, he left the Place; but with a Design to seek for Means to escape out of the Island, and avoid this Danger. *Perses* however suspected it; sent after him, and had him murdered; and by this fresh Impiety filled up the Measure of his Iniquities. So that the Villain was ever after upon the Rack with inward Remorse. He was continually afraid that the Death of *Evander*, and the designed Assassination of *Enmenes*, would be imputed to him; which would make the *Romans* treat him with still less Regard. And in order to avoid this double Suspicion, he corrupted *Theondas*, the most considerable Man in *Samothrace*, with Money, and the latter declared to the People, that *Evander* had killed himself.

§. XXIV. BUT tho' the unfortunate King escaped the Judgment of the People, he could not escape from his own Fears. He had no Troops, no Friends, no Protectors; not even among the Gods, two of whose most sacred *Asyla* he had profaned. He therefore did his utmost to find Means to escape out of a Place where both Heaven and Earth seemed to conspire against him. He had been informed, that under a Promontory of *Samothrace*, called *Demetrium*<sup>75</sup>, there was a Merchant Ship lying at Anchor, which had come from *Crete*. The Name of the Captain who commanded her, and had freighted her on his own Account, was *Oroandes*. *Perses* got him to be brought into the Temple where he lived, and treated privately with him, about carrying himself and his Effects into *Thrace*, to King *Cotys*, his old Friend and Ally. The *Cretan* was well acquainted with the Coast of *Thrace*, and had often trafficked there. But he was as selfish as other Traders, and as deceitful as the rest of his Countrymen. The Price was agreed on, and proper Measures were taken for embarking the King and his Treasures. It was said, that in the Dusk of the Evening, *Perses* conveyed to the Port of *Demetrium* the Chests in which his Treasures were, and followed them himself before Break of Day. And indeed, as much Money was carried on Board the Ship as could be removed before it was quite dark. But *Perses* had the Caution to send only the least Part of his Treasures before him. Avarice is always suspicious.

Plut. Life of  
Paulus.  
Liv., B. 45.  
c. 6.

IN the dead of the Night, the King prepared every thing for his own Departure. He took with him only Prince *Philip*, his eldest Son, and three Men, in whom he could confide. The rest of his Household, that is, his other Children, Pages, and all his Retinue, were left behind him. He escaped out of the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*<sup>76</sup>, thro' a narrow Window, into an adjoining Garden. From thence he entered into the Plain, thro' an Hole which he found in the Wall, and made the best of his Way to *Demetrium*. The rest of his Treasure was following him thro' different Roads. But when he came to the Sea-shore, he, to his great Surprise, found no Ship there. The perfidious *Cretan* had set sail in the Middle of the Night; and the King lost Part of his Treasures past Recovery. He was inconsolable at the Loss; and rambled about the Shore for some time, in Perplexity what to do. He was ashamed of having left his Children and Household to the Mercy of the *Romans*; and for fear of the Reproaches he had deserved from them, would not return to the Apartments within the Temple, where he had before lived. He

<sup>75</sup> *Livy* and *Plutarch* are the only Authors that mention *The Promontory of Demetrium*.

<sup>76</sup> The *Cabiri* were the tutelary Gods of *Samothrace*. *Plutarch* here follows the Opinion of those

who make them to have been the same as *Castor* and *Pollux*, whom the Pagans worshipped under the Title of *Dioscorides*. See what we have said of the Origin and Worship of the *Dii Cabiri*, Vol. 3. west



went into the Temple itself, and hid himself in a Corner of it, to prevent being discovered.

In the mean time, the *Roman* Admiral was not ignorant of the base Usage *Perfes* had shewn his Household; and in order to engage him to surrender himself up without Violence, the *Roman* made Proclamation in the City, by Sound of Trumpet, *That such of the King's Pages, and other Macedonians in the Island, as would surrender up themselves voluntarily to the Romans, should have their Lives and Liberty given them.* Express Mention was made of the King's Pages, because they were a considerable Body at the Court of the *Macedonian*. They were the chief of the young Lords of the Kingdom, whom the King kept near his Person, as Pledges for the Fidelity of their Fathers, and employed in what Offices he pleased. Upon this, the young Company of Nobles immediately surrendered themselves up to the *Prætor Octavius*. A *Tribune* took their Names; and then they were put in Possession of all the Privileges of Men of their Birth. This Example was also followed by the King's Sons, who were all, except the Eldest, put into the Hands of the *Roman* Admiral, by their 77 Governour. And this last Stroke strongly affected *Perfes*. He was like a wild Beast robbed of its Young, and gave himself up to Despair. The Time seemed to be come for him to end his Days himself, and follow the Advice he had given to *Evander*. Paganism had falsely adjudged these violent Deaths to be glorious. But *Perfes* had not Courage enough to put in Execution his own Advice to other Men; and he therefore came out of the dark Place in which he had hid himself, and demanded a Conference.

At first he declared that he would surrender himself up to no Body but *Scipio*, the youngest of the two Sons which *Æmilius* had brought with him into *Macedon*. But the young *Roman* was not at *Samothrace*. He was, doubtless, with his Father on the Continent; so that *Perfes* was at last forced to take hold of the only Resource he had left; that is, surrender himself up to *Octavius*. Indeed he saved his Life by this cowardly Surrendry; but it was only to spend the Remainder of it amidst the Reproaches of a captive State. Whereas, according to the prevailing Opinions of that time, he would at least have raised the Compassion of the Publick, if he had had Courage enough to have killed himself. But instead of that he first inveighed against the Gods, who had deserted him, and against *Fortune*, who had betrayed him; and then consented to be carried, with Prince *Philip* his eldest Son, and the rest of his Treasures, on board the *Roman* Galleys, which brought him to *Amphipolis*.

As soon as the Fleet was arrived there, the Admiral wrote to the *Consul* to come thither, to receive the Homages of the captive King of *Macedon* in Chains. *Paulus Æmilius* brought his victorious Army, and encamped near the Place; and immediately sent *Tubero* his Son-in-law to meet the King. The *Consul* never had a more numerous Court of Officers about him, than on the Day in which he received *Perfes* in his Tent. Nor had any *Roman* General (not even the Great *Scipio* himself, when *Syphax* was brought a Prisoner to him) ever seen a more glorious, or more affecting Sight. What was *Syphax* more than a petty King of *Numidia*, who had rashly come to the Assistance of *Carthage*? Whereas the King of *Macedon* was the greatest Prince in *Europe*; Great, by his Birth, his own Victories, and those of his Predecessors, his Riches, and the Extent of his Dominions. Had it not been for his vicious Passions, which he always indulged to great Excess; he had sufficient Talents of Mind and Courage to have made a Figure among the greatest of Kings. What Glory then was it to *Æmilius*, to see the most powerful Monarch in the World, the Conqueror of three *Consuls*, and the Terror of the *Romans*, groveling at his Feet! *Perfes* indeed did not bear his Misfortunes with that Magnanimity which he had shewn in his Prosperity. It was almost the peculiar Happiness of the *Romans*, to be able to surmount the greatest of Calamities by Constancy.

§. XXV. *PERSES* entered the *Roman* Camp in a mourning Habit, suitable to his Condition. He was attended by only one *Macedonian*, who might raise

77 *Perfes*, says *Plutarch*, had committed his youngest Children to the Care of *Ion of Thessalonica*, his Favourite. But this Traitor, adds the Historian, by the most infamous Act of Perfidiousness, abused

the Confidence placed in him, and surrendered them up to the *Romans* at Discretion, when he might have carried them to a Place of Safety.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

Plut. l. 1. c. 11  
Paul.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.  
Plut. Life of  
Paulus.

some Compassion for the Body of the conquered People. The Concourse was so great to see him pass, that the *Consul* was forced to keep off the Crowd with his *Littors*, from the great Street of the Camp to his Tent. As soon as the King appeared, *Paulus Æmilius* and his Officers rose up; then sat down again; and then the *Consul* advanced some Steps to meet *Perses*. *Æmilius*, as a Sign of Hospitality, reached out his Hand to him; and that Instant the King stooped down to embrace the Knees of his Conqueror. It is also said, that he fell prostrate, struck his Forehead on the Ground, and dropped Expressions unworthy of the Majesty of a King. *Æmilius* was moved with Compassion towards him, and with an Air of Sweetness, and Indignation at the same time, said, *Unfortunate King! why do you dishonour my Victory, by this Weakness? This Humiliation lessens the Value of the Advantages Rome has gained over you. Rather impute your Misfortunes to the Gods, than to your own ill-judged Proceedings. You ought not to reproach your self with being in this Condition, so much as the Decrees of the Gods.* Thus far the *Stoick*. *Æmilius* had been taught in their School<sup>78</sup> to impute all Events of Life to an inevitable Fatality; and did not consider, that he thereby took off all kind of Merit from his own Victory, and lessened the Value of it more than *Perses* had done by his Meanness and Cowardice.

AFTER this first Discourse, the *Consul* and the King began to converse more familiarly; and the *Roman* asked him, *What could have induced him to break with the Republick, and declare himself her Enemy?* Which *Perses* only answered with Tears. He kept his Eyes fixed on the Ground, and confessed his Fault by his Silence. *Indeed*, continued *Æmilius*, *you would have been somewhat excusable, if you had mounted the Throne in the Flower of your Age. In the Heat of Youth Men don't enough consider the Consequences of a dangerous Enterprize. But you, Perses, had known the Strength and Power of Rome during the Wars of your Father Philip. You was then fit to bear Arms; and thro' the whole Course of your Predecessors Reign, you might have observed with what Fidelity the Romans ever cultivated the Friendship of pacified Nations.* Upon this the unfortunate King wept afresh; held his Peace; and his Silence was more eloquent than any Words he could have uttered. The Conversation between the *Roman* and him was in the *Greek* Language; the *Consul* invited the King to dine with him; and then shut himself up in his own Tent, with only his Sons-in-law, and his Sons. There he gave a full Scope to his Reflections; and, like a *Stoick*, made the following Speech in *Latin*, to the young Warriors of his Family, whom he had ordered to come to him.

Plut. Life of  
Paulus.  
Livy B. 45.  
c. 8.

*YOU have now before your Eyes, my dear Children, a very affecting and a very instructive Instance of the Revolutions of Fortune. Ought I then to glory in my Success and Victories, upon shewing you this Sight? Can I depend on the Capriciousness of Fate for one Moment? Do I know what my future Destiny will be? Or can any one guard me from the Instability of Fortune? If in the midst of Victory and Applause the proudest Conqueror cannot promise himself a lasting Prosperity, can he be proud for a transient Advantage? One fatal Minute destroyed the Family of Alexander, and put an End to his Ambition; and here one of his most illustrious Successors is now suffering under a more deplorable Change. He survives the Loss of his Glory, his Liberty, and his Dominions. He was formerly surrounded with a numerous Army, and formidable to our Legions. But now he has no Attendant, and is condemned to the Miseries of Slavery. What then can be a stronger Preservative against Pride? Let his Fall teach you to fear the Changes of Fortune; and learn, during the Calm, to bear the Storm with Dignity.* In this manner did the wise *Paulus Æmilius* instruct his Children; whom he made all Heroes.

THIS glorious Day was concluded with a fine Entertainment which *Æmilius* gave *Perses*. He was wanting in no Instance of Honour and Respect to him. After this, the *Consul* put him under the Guard of *Q. Ælius*, till the Time he had

<sup>78</sup> The *Stoicks* destroyed the Liberty of Man, by subjecting him to the unalterable Decrees of Fate. A capital Error, which sapped the Foundations of all civil Society, and all Religion. According to this Doctrine, Virtue can be nothing but a specious Name, an idle Phantom. This monstrous Tenet opens a Door for all Impiety, by making God responsible for our Vices. Nevertheless, *Livy* makes

*Paulus Æmilius* speak like a Man undetermined, and wavering between the Opinions of the *Academicks*, *Epicureans*, and *Stoicks*. Let us not enquire, says he to *Perses*, whether you ought to impute your Misfortunes to yourself, or to Chance, or to an inevitable Fatality. *Utcunque tamen hoc, five errore humano, five casu, five necessitate inciderunt.*



fixed for carrying him to *Rome*. And now, nothing remained for the *Roman* General to do, but to give his Troops some Rest; which he did, by putting them in good Quarters, some in *Amphipolis*, and the others in the neighbouring Cities.

Year of  
*R O M E*  
DLXXXV.

THUS ended the second War with *Macedon*, which lasted four Years. This was the finishing Stroke to the *Macedonian* Monarchy; a Stroke which determined its Fate; and from which it never recovered. According to some Historians, *Perfes* was the twenty fifth King of *Macedon*. From *Caranus* 79 the first King, one and twenty, or as others say, thirty, or thirty nine Kings, successively filled that Throne, before *Perfes*. But be that as it will, it seems more certain, that *Perfes* was the seventeenth King, since the Death of *Alexander the Great*. Strictly speaking, this Monarchy did not begin to be in a flourishing Condition, till the Time of *Philip* the Son of *Amyntas*, and the Father of the Conqueror of *Asia*. It continued in Splendor for a hundred and ninety three Years, made *Greece* tremble, carried its victorious Arms beyond the *Indus*, and furnished *Egypt* and *Syria* with a Succession of Kings. The *Seleucidae* and the *Ptolomies* kept themselves longer on the Thrones which they invaded, than the Successors of *Alexander* did, on that of *Macedon*. But tho' *Rome* did not swallow up these two Monarchies, till some time after the Ruin of that of *Macedon*; the Time will come when we shall see them also conquered, and become absolutely subject to her.

L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.  
*Lucy, Diodo-  
rus, Eusebius.  
Just. B. 7 c. 1.*

79 *Caranus*, who was of the Race of *Hercules*, and descended from the Kings of *Argi*, went into *Emathia*, where he laid the Foundations of the Kingdom of *Macedon*.





T H E

# Roman History.

## B O O K XLVI.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.

L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

Plut. Life of  
Paulus.

Livy, B. 45.  
c. 1.

§. I. **R** O M E waited with Impatience for some News from *Macedon*. Notwithstanding the great Opinion both Senate and People entertained of the General they had sent thither, it was not natural to believe that he could have finished the War in so few Months, by the Conquest of so great a Kingdom. They were therefore surprized to see *Fabius*, the eldest of *Paulus Æmilius's* Sons, arrive, and hear him give, first the Senate, and afterwards the *Comitia*, an Account of the entire Defeat of the *Macedonian* Army, the Flight of *Perfes* into *Samothrace*, and the great Hopes there was Reason to entertain, that the King would speedily surrender up himself and all his Dominions. When *Fabius* left *Macedon*, *Perfes* enjoyed some Sort of Liberty in his *Asylum*. Nevertheless, there had been a Report spread in *Rome*, some time before *Fabius* arrived there, That the King of *Macedon* had been vanquished, That he was a Captive in the Hands of *Paulus Æmilius*, and That the Republick was in Possession of his Kingdom. And if we give Credit to the Fact which the *Pontifices* doubtless inserted in their Annals, from whence *Plutarch* had it, and which some Authors ascribe to the <sup>2</sup> Devil, we must think there was something supernatural in this early News. Indeed it is not possible, without a Miracle, that the People in the Center of *Italy* should have known of the Victory of *Paulus Æmilius*, so soon as four Days after it was gained. And tho' *Livy* <sup>3</sup>, relates the Prodigy, he gives us likewise a more sincere and sensible Account of the Conveyance of this News; which Account is very credible in itself,

<sup>1</sup> *Macedon* then contained that great Continent, which is bounded, to the North, by *Servia* and *Bulgaria*; to the West, by the Borders of the *Adriatic* Sea; to the South, by *Theffaly*; and to the East, by the *Ægean* Sea, and a Part of *Thrace*. *Ptolomy* makes the Length of this Kingdom to have been two thousand *Stadia*; that is, near eighty three Leagues, from Mount *Orbelus*, to Mount *Pindus*: and he gives it two thousand five hundred *Stadia*; that is, an hundred and three, or an hundred and four common Leagues, in Breadth; reckoning from *Dyrrachium*, or *Durazzo*, to Mount *Athos*, now known by the Name of *Monte Santo*. This Country now contains four great Provinces; viz. *Jamboli*, *Macedon* strictly so called, *Comenomitari*, and *Jauna*.

<sup>2</sup> We have Accounts of Facts like this in every Age. *Plutarch*, and some of the ancient Historians, have given us several Instances of them. *Grotius*, to cut the Knot at once, ascribes these wonderful Effects to the Power of the Devil, whose Interest it was to bring this early News. By this Artifice, the seducing Spirit was more sure of imposing on the Credulity of the People. The Pagans never failed to turn it to the Advantage of Polytheism; and always opposed these pretended Miracles, to the invincible Arguments brought against the Delusions of Paganism, by the Fathers of the Church. Besides, if prophane Authors have stuffed their Works full of such Prodigies, their Testimony is of no Weight. They might, out of Policy, Fear, or Deference for

the People, magnify the Events they related, and implicitly follow many fabulous Traditions, tho' they were very sensible of the Vanity of them. They often professed in Publick, the Belief of what they condemned in Private; and several of them entertained this false Notion, That it was necessary to have Recourse to Fiction, to support a Worship, which seemed to themselves to overturn the solid Foundations of Morality, and contradict the Dictates of right Reason. Upon this Principle, *Polybius*, in his 8th Book of his History, imbibed this strange Maxim, That an Historian might, without a Crime, have Recourse to Lying, and make use of the *Falſe Marvellous*, in order to inspire the stupid Multitude with a Fear of the Gods, and gain Credit to Religion. The Men of Sense among them did not run into the foolish Visions, and pompous Extravagancies which were Matters of Admiration for the Vulgar. And hence arose the Maxim which prevailed among the pretended Sages of Paganism, *That Miracles were only for Fools*.

<sup>3</sup> *Livy* and *Plutarch* have taken Care to give us all the Circumstances of this Fact; which, upon the Credit of a Tradition which had long been received in *Rome*, they relate in this Manner. Four Days after the Battel of *Pydna*, the People were assembled in the *Circus*, where they were entertaining themselves with Chariot-Races. All on a sudden a confused Rumour was heard in the chief Place of the Amphitheatre, *That Paulus Æmilius had defeated Perfes, and conquered the whole Kingdom of Macedon*.



self, and takes off the Necessity of having recourse to supernatural Powers. Thirteen Days, says he, after the gaining of the Victory over *Perfes*, a Courier arrived at *Rome*, who brought from *Macedon*, Letters for *Licinius Crassus*, *Paulus Æmilius*'s Collegue. This *Consul* was then presiding at the Celebration of *The Roman Games*. He was just ready to give the Signal for the Chariots to start, when the Courier put into his Hands Letters crowned with Laurels. It was customary at *Rome* to send Letters so adorned, which contained the News of a great Victory. *Licinius* received the Packet, gave the Signal for the Chariots, immediately got into his own, and came into the *Area* of the *Circus*, there to read his Letters. He immediately communicated the Contents of them to some Friends. They reported, that *Perfes* had been vanquished, and had fled, and left his Capital, and all the Cities in his Kingdom, a Prey to the *Romans*. This News was instantly spread from Mouth to Mouth, and all the People immediately left the Shows, and crouded round the *Consul*, to hear the Letters read. But *Licinius* did not communicate them to the People, till he had the Consent of the Senators. They were assembled there for the *Games*, and passed the Decree in the *Circus* itself. Then the People entirely left the *Games*, and returned Home, to carry the News to their Wives and Children. By this means, the News had been brought a little too early; and *Fabius* had anticipated himself, by a Courier, who came to *Rome* before him: And this gave Rise to the Fiction, which was afterwards invented, that *Castor* and *Pollux* had themselves brought the News from *Macedon* in four Days. With a fair Wind at Sea, and good Post-Horses by Land, it was easy enough to carry the News of what happened in *Macedon*, to *Rome*, in thirteen Days. And this Account entirely destroys the Miracle adopted by *Plutarch*, and clears the History of the *False Marvellous*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

UPON the Credit of the Letter, the Senate, which assembled the next Day, ordered *Supplications* in all the Temples, and made some Regulations for disbanding some of the Troops which were in *Macedon*. But the settling other Matters was delayed, till after *Fabius*, and the other Messengers sent with him, arrived. It was not long before they came; and it is incredible what Numbers of People followed them to the Door of the Hall, where the Senate was assembled. *Fabius* was much pleased with having forwarded for some Days, the Joy of the *Romans*, at his Father's Success; and he entered the Senate where he had nothing to do, but to give a more particular Account of the Circumstances of the Battel of *Pydna*. He was heard with great Attention, whilst he related the immense Labours the Army had undergone in passing Mount *Olympus*, the Difficulties they had had to break into the *Macedonian Phalanx*, the Art of *Paulus Æmilius*, in ordering his Men to engage only in Plottoons, the Rout of the Enemy, and the Flight of *Perfes* into *Samothrace*; and from the Senate he went to the *Comitia*, where the People were waiting for him. After he had made his Report, the Air rung with Acclamations; and the *Consul Licinius* ordered, That all the Temples should be opened a second time, and all the *Romans*, Men, Women, and Children flocked to them. The Festival lasted five Days, during all which time the People continued crouding to the Feet of the Altars.

§. II. IN the mean time, the Senate still went on, to make the necessary Reforms, in the Troops designed for *Macedon*. Ever since *Paulus Æmilius* had been gone from *Rome*, the Republick had kept in a readiness to sail, a certain Number of Ships to reinforce the Fleet in the *Levant*, if there should be occasion; and now they were carried back into Port, and laid up. The *Consul Licinius* had

*Macedon*. The News soon spread from Seat to Seat, and was immediately carried round the *Circus*. The *Citizens* were seized with a Sort of Enthusiasm, shewed their Joy by repeated Acclamations, and great Clappings; and the rest of the Day was spent in celebrating the Exploits of *Paulus Æmilius*. The Air rung with Shouts and the Praises of the General, in which every one laboured to exceed his Neighbour. But when this excessive Joy was a little abated, and gave way to Reflection, the *Romans* found, upon strict Enquiry, that this News was not built upon any positive Testimony, which shewed the Certainty of it. They were forced to wait for the Arrival of the Courier which *Paulus Æmilius* had sent with his Dispatches, before they

could be sure of the Fact. Upon his Arrival, the Agreement of the Fact with the first Account was Matter of Admiration to the People; and what perhaps was no more than a lucky Accident, was deemed by the Multitude a certain Miracle. But what Necessity is there for having Recourse to supernatural Things, to explain an Accident of this Nature? In all Probability, among this prodigious Number of Spectators, which filled the Amphitheatre, there were several who were openly discoursing about the War in *Macedon*; and without doubt some of their Words, which were ill pronounced, imperfectly heard, or misunderstood, gave Rise to the popular Rumours that were spread of the Victory of *Paulus Æmilius*, before the News came.

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Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

also posted Troops on the Coasts of *Italy*, in order to have gone over with them himself, to assist his Collegue; and now these were all disbanded, as well as the Rowers designed for the Fleet. The People at *Rome* looked on the Affairs of *Macedon* as finished; and a few Days after the Arrival of the Messengers of *Paulus Æmilius*, those of the *Prætor Anicius* arrived from *Illyricum*, with the News of his Victory. Indeed *Gentius* had been made Prisoner some Days before the Battel of *Pydna*, and the Surrendry of *Perfes*. But the *Prætor* had more Difficulties to conquer, in order to compleat his Conquest in *Illyricum*, than the *Consul* had in *Macedon*; and this made it so late before *Anicius* sent an Account of it to the Republick. *Licinius Nerva*, and *P. Decius*, were the Messengers the *Prætor* sent; and they made a Report to the Senate, and People, of the Advantages the Republick had gained, under the Conduct of *Anicius*. Upon which, the *Conscrip Fathers* passed a Decree, ordering that publick Prayers should be offered up for three Days, by way of Thanksgiving to the Gods. Thus by the gaining of two Battels, the Conquest of two Kingdoms, and the Captivity of two Kings, the Campaign of the Year 585 was become the most glorious of any the *Romans* had ever made since the Foundation of their City.

THEY were puffed up with this Success, to a Degree scarce to be imagined; and very unfortunately for the Republick of *Rhodes*, the Ambassadors she had sent to *Rome*, to treat for *Perfes*, were but just come thither, when the News of his Defeat was published. And the Senate maliciously chose that very time to give them Audience. But the Chief of the Embassy turned the haughty Demands he was ordered to make in favour of the King of *Macedon*, into Congratulations. *I came hither, Conscrip Fathers, said he, to represent to you, how burdensome the War in the Levant was to you, and how prejudicial to us. But your Prosperity has prevented my Representations, and left nothing for me to do but to rejoice with you, upon your great Success.* To which the Senate ordered such an Answer to be given, as was suitable to the Suspicions they had entertained of the *Rhodians*. *Neither the Interests of Greece, said they, nor your own Safety, brought you hither. It was your Attachment to the Macedonian Party, that alone induced you to cross the Seas, in order to intimidate us. Had your Concern been only for Greece, or Yourselves, you would have come and implored the Assistance of Rome, when Perfes entered Thessaly, and threatened the Continent, and your Island with a sudden Invasion. On the contrary, you knew that Paulus Æmilius had opened a Way into Macedon, your Fears were for that Kingdom, and therefore you came to treat of Peace. Go, perfidious Men, and carry back your Republick word, that her Care for the Interests of Perfes are now out of Season.* This Answer from the Victorious, much terrified the *Rhodians*; and they returned into their own Country, and exhorted their Countrymen to regain the Good-will of the *Romans*, by all kinds of Submission.

DURING the Tempests in *Macedon*, the *Romans* had also some Storms to ride out in *Spain*. We have already observed, That no Nation was ever kept in Subjection with more Difficulty, or was more jealous of her Liberty, than the *Spanish*. One *Claudius Marcellus* had been sent sole *Prætor*, to govern that large Continent; and he returned about this time. But the only Advantage he had gained over the Rebels, was that of taking from them one Place, called + *Marcolica*; and the ten Pounds Weight of Gold, and the 5 Money he brought from thence, were not sufficient to procure him the Honour of an *Ovation*. *Rome* was now grown too rich, and powerful, to reward moderate Successes with great Honours. Besides, the Republick was at present wholly taken up with keeping her populous Capital under due Regulations. Bankrupts were treated there without Mercy. It happened that a Banker, named *Q. Aufidius*, disappeared, with the Money he had in Bank; and he was pursued, cited to appear before one of the *Prætors*, and condemned to pay

Ex Diar. Lud. V. 17.

\* 8072 l. 181.  
+ d. Arbuth.  
4 The ancient Geographers have not told us any thing either of the Name or Situation of *Marcolica*. Some Moderns have conjectured, that it may be the same City as *Marcia*, or *Marciana*. It is so called in some ancient Inscriptions. But neither *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ptolomy*, *Stephen of Byantium*, or *Mela*, say one Word of it. *Antoninus* only mentions it, in his *Itinerary*. *Costaldus* places it in *Batica*, near the Place where *Marchena* now stands. *Sanson* will

have it to have been a City of *Galicia*, now called *Porto Marin*.

5 According to *Livy*, *Marcellus* brought from *Spain*, in Money, the Value of one thousand Great *Sesterces*, or a Million of Little *Sesterces*\*; which amounts to about a hundred and twenty five thousand French *Franks*, at the Rate of two *Sols* and a half per *Sesterce*. See our Dissertation on the Roman Money, Vol. 2.



the whole Sums, of which he would have cheated his Creditors. Some Butchers, who were accused of having sold Meat, which had not been inspected by the *Ediles*, were also fined, and the Fines employed in building a Chapel near the Temple of the Goddess *Tellus Laverna* <sup>6</sup>.

§. III. AND now the *Consular Year* was ready to expire, and the *Consul Licinius* was returned to *Rome*. His Campaign had been barren, for want of Enemies. Even his *Legions* had not followed him into his Province, under Pretence that some religious Observance had been omitted by him, when he took Possession of his Dignity. So that he had spent the Summer at the Foot of the *Alpes*, between *Rhegium* <sup>7</sup> and *Modena*, with only the Auxiliaries. When he came to *Rome*, he there found two Embassies, from two of the most powerful Monarchies in the East. One came from *Antiochus* King of *Syria*; and the other from the two *Ptolomies*, Kings of *Egypt*, and from *Cleopatra* their Mother. We have before observed, That *Antiochus* had so much dreaded, or respected the Orders of *Rome*, that when he was just ready to have besieged *Alexandria*, with an Army of ten thousand Men, he had abandoned that Enterprize, upon the bare Word of *Popillius*, and retired into *Phœnicia*, and *Judea*. And now this cowardly King, though ashamed of what he had done, and dissatisfied with the haughty Proceedings of the Republick, carried his Flattery so far, as to send a Deputation to the Senate, to make his Court to them. When his Ambassador was introduced into the Assembly of the *Conscript Fathers*, his Harangue was not long, but such as sufficiently shewed the Character of the *Asiatick* Princes. His Words were these. *Though Popillius communicated your Pleasure to the King my Master, at a time when all Egypt was ready to sink under his Army; yet he preferred Obedience to Victory. He thought himself as indispensably obliged to submit to the Decisions of Rome, as to fulfill the Will of the Gods.* The Answer of the Senate was in these Words. *Antiochus did wisely in putting our Orders in execution. The Senate and People of Rome are well satisfied with it.* So great an Authority did the *Romans* assume over all crowned Heads! The Humiliation of *Perses* had made them prouder than ever.

AFTER the *Syrian* Ambassadors, those of *Egypt* were introduced. The two Brothers who had contended for the Kingdom, were now reconciled by the Mediation of *Popillius*, and his Collegues. The eldest had taken Possession of *Egypt*, properly so called, for his Share; and the youngest had taken for his, *Cyrenaica* <sup>8</sup>, and

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.  
I. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

Liv. B. 45.

c. 13.

Livy. ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Among the many Surnames which were given to the Goddess *Tellus*, that of *Laverna* was one: as appears by an ancient Fragment quoted by *Ludovicus Vives*, and mentioned above, p. 440 Note II. Perhaps the Earth (which the *Romans* worshiped under the Name of *Tellus*) was so called, because it conceals the Seeds of all Plants; or rather, because Robbers used to hide themselves in subterraneous Places, and there secure the Fruits of their Thefts and Robberies. At least we know that among the Pagans, the Robbers and Thieves made themselves a tutelary Divinity, which they called *Laverna*. Her Worshipers were from thence called *Laverniones*; and one of the Gates of *Rome*, which was near a Temple, where there was an Altar erected to this Goddess, was from thence called *Porta Lavernalis*, according to *Varro*, B. 4. *De Ling. Latina*. *Hinc Porta Lavernalis ab ara Lavernæ, quod ibi ara ejus erat.* The old Commentator on *Horace* speaks of a Wood which was consecrated to her in *The Salarian Way*, without the Walls: Robbers used to meet there in the Night, to divide their Booty. Thus the Pagans, through a monstrous Blindness tolerated, and even authorized, a Worship which tended directly to overturn Morality, and destroy civil Societies. This Notion *Horace* himself gives us of it, when in his Epistle to *Quintilius*, he introduces a Thief, making this Prayer to *Laverna*.

*Pulchra Laverna*

*Da mihi fallere; da justum sanctumque videri:  
Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus obijce nubem.*

That is, O charming *Laverna*, suggest to me the pro-

per means of stealing with so much Skill, that I may escape with Impunity! Enable me to get the Reputation of an honest Man by an Appearance of Sanctity. And conceal, I beseech thee, all my Robberies, from the Knowledge of the Publick, and the Discovery of the most Sagacious. Some have confounded *Laverna* with *Proserpine*, and taken them for the same Goddess. Nevertheless it appears, that they had different Attributes. But be that as it will, *Laverna* had a Temple at *Rome* called *Lavernium*.

<sup>7</sup> *Rhegio*, or *Rhegium*, is one of the most ancient Cities in *Lombardy*. The *Latin* Authors call it *Forum Lepidi*, *Regium Lepidum*, and *Regium Lepidi*. Though we are not certain who founded it, or when, it is probable that *Æmilius Lepidus* first laid the Foundations of it, about the Year of *Rome* 564. He was then *Consul* with *Caius Flaminius Nepos*. He spent part of his *Consulship* in making the Road which led from *Placentia* to *Rimini*, and was from him called *The Æmilian Way*. And indeed this Place stood on that Road. It was situated in a fruitful Plain, which was bounded by the *Apennines*. *Ptolomy* gives it the Title of a *Colony*. Nevertheless *Strabo* says, that it was so inconsiderable in his time, that it scarce deserved the Name of a City. *Livy* calls the neighbouring Mountains *Sicimina*, and *Papinus*, and places them at the Extremity of a Plain, which he calls *Macri Campi*. This District is thought to be the same where we now see a Village, or Town, which the Natives call *Marzala*.

<sup>8</sup> *Cyrenaica* is that ancient Country of *Africa*, which *Marmol* says is now the Province of *Mesrate*, in



Year of and a part of *Lybia*. So that the Intrigues of *Cleopatra*, in favour of her youngest Son, were brought to nought, and she was forced to give way to the Justice and Authority of the *Romans*. The Head of the *Egyptian* Embassy addressed himself to *The Fathers*, in the Name of the Mother and her two Sons, in these Words. *To you, Conscript Fathers, we owe the Deliverance of Egypt, and the Concord that reigns among us. The Departure of Antiochus, and the Division of our Provinces between the two rival Princes have secured our Liberty, and restored us Peace. A double Benefaction! for which the Kings and Nations of Egypt are as much indebted to you, as Children to their Parents, or Men to Gods.* And as the Ambassadors seemed to be sincere in returning their Thanks, the Senate were as gracious in their Answer. *Rome, said they, shares your Happiness, and is affected with your Gratitude. Egypt may always depend on her Protection.* And after these Compliments were paid, the usual Presents followed.

DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
I. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

§. IV. But the People of *Rome* were still anxious about the Fate of *Perses*. Was he escaped out of his Island? Had the People ventured to take him by Force from his *Asylum*? Had *Octavius* by his Vigilance kept him in *Samothrace*; or had he taken him at Sea after his Escape? These Enquiries were the Subjects of all the Conversation of the City; and the Joy of the People was complete, when they received an Account by fresh Letters, that *Perses* had surrendered himself up to his Conqueror. All the Foreigners which were at *Rome* came to congratulate the Senate upon it; but the Person, whose Compliments were most acceptable, was the Son of *Masinissa*. His Name was *Masgaba*, or *Massagrada*. This young Prince was lately arrived, to reproach the Republick in a civil manner; and he added, of his own Head, Congratulations on the Conquest of *Macedon*, and the Destruction of *Perses*. *The King of Numidia my Father, said he, charged me only to make Complaints of your Proceedings. He was ashamed to hear your Ambassadors entreat him to furnish you with some Provisions, Troops, and Elephants, for the War with Macedon. He did not expect Entreaties, but Orders from Rome. How great then was his Confusion, when an Offer was made on your part, to pay him for the Corn which he had put on board your Ships! What, said he, were not those very Fields, which produce these plentiful Harvests, a Present made me by the Romans? Strictly speaking, only the Produce of them belongs to me; the Property belongs to Rome. Why then does she thank me for what belongs to her self? These were the Subjects of Masinissa's Complaints, who, when I left him, did not know that the Macedonian War was ended, by the most complete Victory that was ever gained. But as soon as he knew it, he ordered me, by Letter, to congratulate you upon it. And he desires you would give him Leave to come hither, to return Thanks to Jupiter Capitolinus in Person, with a pompous Sacrifice.*

In this manner did the several Nations of the World dress up their Flatteries with all the Art they could, in order to gain the Good-will of the formidable Republick, which did not at all suspect the Sincerity of the Congratulations of *Masinissa*. He had given Proofs of his Fidelity, by a constant Course of Actions, from which he had never varied; and therefore the Senate laid aside their Pride, and shewed their great Benevolence, in the Answer they gave his Son. *The King of Numidia, said they, is not content to do agreeable things, without adding to the Pleasure of them, by the polite Manner in which he does them. If we increased his Dominions, it was no more than he deserved at our Hands, by the Services he had done us in our Wars with Carthage. And with what Constancy has he sent*

in the State of *Tripoli*; though *Magin* makes it a part of the State of *Barca*. The Country we speak of, reached as far as to *The Great Syrtis*, between *Africa Propria*, which bounded it to the West, and *Marmarica*, which bounded it to the East. Most agree that it was a part of ancient *Lybia*. Some extend its Limits as far as to the *Catabathmos* of *Egypt*, and the *Nile*. Among other Provinces it comprehended *Pentapolis*, which was so called from the five Cities, which belonged to it. *Cyrene* was its Capital. *Postel* thinks this City was the same Place which is now called *Cairoan*. It was reckoned to be a hundred and twenty five thousand geometrical Paces from the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, and not four

hundred thousand, as *Pliny* pretends, B. 5. This, which was one of the greatest and most opulent Cities in *Africa*, rivalled *Carthage*, according to *Sallust*, at the time when the latter gave Law to the richest Provinces of this vast Continent. Nevertheless it is certain, that *Cyrene* stood in a sandy Plain, nine or ten Leagues from the *Mediterranean*.

9 *Caius Papirius Carbo* was ordered by the Senate to make these Presents in the Name of the Republick. He was a *Prætor*, and *Sardinia* had fallen to his Lot. But he was obliged to continue at *Rome*, to administer Justice there in the Absence of *Lucius Anicius*, and *Boipius*, who, according to *Livy*, were employed elsewhere.



us Succours against Philip, Antiochus, and Perses? We are not therefore surprized, if he takes part in our last Successes; his Son and his Troops share the Victory with us. And let him return the Gods thanks in his own Palace! It is neither for his Interest nor ours, that he should leave his Dominions, and come and offer Sacrifice in the Capitol. His Son shall perform that pious Office for him. After this the greatest Honours were paid, and many Presents made, to Masgaba at Rome. The Republick ordered a *Quæstor* to lay out to the Value of a hundred Pounds weight of Silver, in Jewels, for him. All the time that he was in *Italy* he was very splendidly entertained; and a *Quæstor* conducted him to *Puteoli*, and gave him two Gallies, to carry him back to *Africa*. And lastly, all his Retinue were new cloathed, at the Expence of the State. By such great Liberalities did *Rome* preserve the Esteem and Affection of her sincere Allies.

AND no sooner was *Masgaba* gone, but another of *Masinissa's* natural Sons landed on the Coast of *Italy*. This was <sup>10</sup> *Misagenes*; who, after having signalized himself in the Army of *Paulus Æmilius*, both by his Prudence and Valour, was returning to *Numidia* with an *African* Squadron. But his Ships were dispersed by a Storm; that on board which he was, was forced to put in at *Brundisium*; and being fatigued with the Voyage, and much disordered in point of Health, the Prince tarried there some time. Which was no sooner known at *Rome*, but the Senate dispatched the *Quæstor* *C. Stertinius* thither, with Orders to take care of the Prince's Recovery, provide him a convenient Lodging, defray his Expences during his Sickneſs, entertain him after his Recovery, make him the same Presents as had been made his Brother, and furnish him with Gallies to convoy him to *Numidia*. In this manner did the proud Republick distinguish her true Friends. She laid aside her Pride, as Times and Persons required <sup>11</sup>.

In

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.

L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.

Val. Max.  
B. 5. c. 1. §. 11

<sup>10</sup> *Valerius Maximus* gives this other Son of *Masinissa* the Name of *Musicanes*.

<sup>11</sup> Towards the end of this Year of *Rome* 585, there arose a Dispute between the Citizens of *Pisa*, and those of *Luna*. The former pretended, that the *Roman Colony* lately settled at *Luna*, had seized by Violence a part of the Territory of *Pisa*. The new-Comers on the contrary pretended, That the *Triumviri* had put them in Possession of it. Both Parties sent their Deputies to *Rome*, to plead their Cause before the Senate; and accordingly the Affair was brought before that Body. The *Conscripſt Fathers* had regard to the Complaints of the *Pisans*, who demanded the Restitution of a part of their Territory; and ordered, that five Persons should go to the Place, and there absolutely settle the Limits of the two Territories without Appeal.

At the same time the *Roman* People assembled in *Comitia*, at the Motions of their *Tribunes*, laid a pecuniary Fine on the *Triumviri*, whose Office it was to take their Rounds through all the Quarters of *Rome* in the Night, in order to prevent, or extinguish Fires. We have spoken of these Magistrates which the Ancients call *Triumviri Nocturni*, Vol. 2. Those then in that Office had come too late to the *Via Sacra*, where a Fire had done a great deal of Mischief; and for this Negligence they were fined.

*Livy* also refers to the Year 585, what passed between *Caius Popillius* and the *Rhodians*. This Ambassador, says the Historian, whose Orders were to settle a lasting Peace between *Ptolemy* and *Antiochus*, had embarked for *Egypt*. But he was forced to put in at *Delos*, to take care of the *Roman* Gallies, which were ready to sail for *Macedon*. There he learned the News of the Defeat of *Perſes*, and the Conquests of *Paulus Æmilius*. Upon this Report, which was soon spread in all Parts, the Enemy's Fleet was dispersed, and the *Romans*, who were Masters of the Seas, were no longer under any Apprehensions from a vanquished Enemy. So that *Popillius* dismissed the Ships which the City of *Rhodes* had sent to guard him. After this he continued his own Voyage, resolving to prevent the March of *Antiochus*, who was preparing to lay

Siege to *Alexandria*, the Capital of *Egypt*. The Ambassador with his two Collegues coasted along *Asia Minor*, and came to an Anchor in sight of *Loryma*, a Port over against the Island of *Rhodes*. From thence to the Capital of the Island was reckoned to be twenty thousand geometrical Paces. The *Rhodian* had been lately informed of the Success of the *Roman* Arms, and the Flight of the unfortunate *Perſes*. And they had Reason to fear the worst of Treatment from a formidable Republick, which they had provoked by base Proceedings, and by despising their old Alliance. They could not do too much to merit a Pardon. And this made them earnest to go and meet *Popillius*. The most considerable of the Citizens came to *Loryma*, and invited the Ambassador into their Island. Vouchsafe, my Lord, said they, Vouchsafe to pass over to *Rhodes*. Rome, to our great Misfortune, has suffered herself to be prejudiced against us, by the false Reports that are spread abroad to our Disadvantage. It nearly concerns us, that you should personally enquire into our past Conduct, and observe the present Dispositions of the Inhabitants of *Rhodes*, with regard to a Republick, which has honoured us with her Protection. The Deputies at length complied with the pressing Instances of the *Rhodians*, and consented to go ashore at their Capital. At the Request of the Magistrates, *Popillius* and his Attendants appeared in an Assembly of the Citizens. But their Appearance, instead of raising the Spirits of the People, only increased their Consternation. The imperious *Popillius* only appeared before the Multitude, to reproach them with their Plots, in favour of *Perſes*, and these Reproaches, uttered with a threatening Air, and magisterial Tone of Voice, doubled the Fright of the Guilty. But *Decimius*, *Popillius's* Collegue, expressed himself with more Moderation. It is not just, said he, to impute the Crimes of a few factious Men to a whole Nation. The great Fault of the People who now hear us, was their hearkening to the mad Declamations of a Cabal of factious Citizens, who were bent upon a Revolt. *Rhodians*, your Repentance disarms us. But you know the Authors of the Sedition; and don't delay



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXV.  
L. ÆMILIUS  
PAULUS, C.  
LICINIUS  
CRASSUS,  
Consuls.  
Fugit Caput.

In the mean time the *Comitia* were held for the great Elections. *Licinius* presided in them; and as there was no Glory to be obtained in the *Macedonian* Expedition, it no longer flattered the Hopes of the *Romans*; so that the Candidates did not now canvass for the *Consulate* with the same Warmth as formerly. The People by their Suffrages raised *Q. Ælius Patus*, and *M. Junius Pennus* to that Dignity; and six Persons were chosen *Prætors*, who had passed through the inferior Offices. Their Provinces were assigned them by Lot, in this manner. *Q. Cassius Longinus* was appointed to judge the Causes between *Citizens* and *Citizens*; and *Juventius Thalna*, those between *Citizens* and Foreigners. Or rather, properly speaking, the Republick seemed for some time to have given one of these *Prætors* the Inspection of all Affairs without the City, and the other that of all within it. *Claudius Nero* was appointed *Prætor*, or Governor of *Sicily*; *Manlius Torquatus* <sup>12</sup>, of *Sardinia*; *Fulvius*, of *Hither Spain*; and *Licinius Nerva*, of *Further Spain*. The Republick did not think fit any longer to commit the Care of that whole Continent to one Person only. She had found the Inconveniencies of it, during the Wars with *Perses*. As for the other Officers, *Rome* continued them in their respective Employments, some as *Pro-Consuls*; others as *Pro-Prætors*. *Paulus Æmilius* continued in *Macedon* with his *Legions*; and only changed his Title from *Consul*, to that of *Pro-Consul*, without losing any part of his Authority. *Anicius* continued *Pro-Prætor* in *Illyricum*; and *Octavius* still kept the Command of the Fleet, with the same Title as *Anicius*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVI.  
Q. ÆLIUS  
PÆTUS, JUNI-  
US PENNUS,  
Consuls.

Livy, B. 45.  
C. 15.

\* 242 l. 3. s.  
9 d. 1. s. 1. s.  
Arbucknot.

§. V. THE new *Consuls* began the Exercise of their Office, by reconciling two great Magistrates. *Tib Gracchus*, and *C. Claudius*, had been *Censors* two Years; and had hitherto kept up a perfectly good Understanding with one another. But at length they differed in Opinion, about an Affair of Importance, in relation to the good Order of the Republick; and this put them at Variance. *Gracchus* was tired with seeing the Factions of the *Freedmen* prevail in the *Comitia*; and was uneasy to find, that these vile Men got the Ascendant over the *Tribes*, by their Intrigues. They had formerly been at Liberty to inscribe their Names, either in the *City-Tribes*, or the *Country-Tribes* <sup>13</sup>, as they pleased. This Indulgence had caused Disturbances in the Assemblies, and these Incendiaries had often gained their Point in them. To remedy this Evil, they had all been recalled out of the *Country-Tribes*, and obliged to enter themselves in one of the four *Tribes* in the City of *Rome*. And the *Censor Gracchus* was of Opinion, that even this was giving too much Liberty to these vile People. They now created Disorders in the *City-Tribes*, as they had formerly done among those in the Country. *Gracchus* therefore drew up a *Censorial* Decree, by which every *Freedman*, who had not a Son above five Years of Age, or thirty thousand *Sesterces* a Year\* in Land in the Country, was denied the Privilege of being a Member of any of the four *City-Tribes*. By this means a great Number of these seditious Men would be excluded out of the *Comitia by Tribes*. But though this was in Appearance a wholesome Decree, it was an unjust one; and *Gracchus's* Collegue opposed it. *Have the Censors*, said he, *a Power to deprive any Roman Citizen of the Right of Suffrage? Every Freedman has the Right of Citizenship, by our Laws; and every Citizen has a Right to give*

*delay to wash away the Injuries done to the Roman Name in their Blood. The Republick leaves it to yourselves to punish them; but expects that this shall be done: It is upon this Condition only, that you are to expect any Favour from the Senate.* This Discourse appeased the Inhabitants, whom the Severity of *Popillius* had alarmed; and the City rung with Acclamations. The *Citizens* also immediately sought for the Offenders, and most of them were seized, and condemned to Death. Some of them indeed had been so cautious, as to secure their Escape, immediately upon the Arrival of the *Romans*. But others could no otherwise escape the Hands of the Executioner, than by executing themselves. Then the Ambassadors left *Rhodes*, where they had exercised an absolute Authority during the five Days that they tarried there; and after their Departure, these bloody Executions were still continued, and the *Rhodians* were as warm as ever in the Pursuit of those who were accused of having persuaded the

People to declare against the *Romans*. These Facts have plainly a necessary Relation to the Embassy of *Popillius*, which *Livy* places in the Year 585, tho' it ought to have been placed in the preceding Year. But this Account was thought to be a false one, and therefore it was not inserted in the Body of the History.

12 *Manlius Torquatus* could not go to his Province of *Sardinia*: He was ordered, by a Decree of the Senate, to take Informations of some capital Crimes, on the Punishment of which the good Order of the Republick in a great Measure depended.

13 According to *Dion. Hal.* King *Servius Tullius* had incorporated the *Freedmen* in the four *Tribes* in *Rome*. *Appius Claudius*, about the Year 441, dispersed them in the *Country Tribes*; and this Innovation continued till the *Censorship* of *Fabius*, who in the Year of *Rome* 449, incorporated them again into the four *City-Tribes* from which they had been disincorporated.



his Vote in the Comitia. Shall we then, of our own Authority, deprive the Freedmen of a Privilege, which the Republick gives them? The Dispute was warm, and lasted long. But at length, in the Consulship of *Ælius Pætus*, and *Junius Pennus*, an end was put to it, to the Satisfaction of both *Censors*. Each gave up his Pretensions, and a middle Way was chosen, which was very equitable, and very prudent. The *Freedmen* were all assembled, in the Court of the <sup>14</sup> Temple of *Liberty*; and there the *Censors* declared to them, That they should for the future be taken out of three of the *Tribes*, and all incorporated in one only, which should be chosen by Lot. Accordingly the Names of the four *Tribes* were thrown into an Urn; the first that came out was that of *The Tribe Esquilina*; and from that time, the *Freedmen* could not enter themselves of any other. They still preserved their Right of Suffrage; but after all, this was but one *Tribes* among many, and had but one Vote. Thus the Faction of the *Freedmen* became less formidable; which was of so great Consequence, that, according to one of the greatest Politicians *Rome* ever had, the Republican State could not have continued long, if *Gracchus* had not had the Courage to destroy their Insolence, or reduce it almost to nothing.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVI.  
Q. ÆLIUS  
PÆTUS, JU-  
NIUS PENNUS,  
Consuls.

Cicero L. 1.  
De Orat.

Fast. Capit.

Livy, B. 45.  
c. 15.

THUS Concord was re-established between the *Censors*. The Senate congratulated them upon it, and approved of their Expedient; and it appears, that the time of their Magistracy was prolonged. We have observed, that at the Establishment of the *Censorship*, the Duration of this important Office was fixed to five Years; after which it had been limited to eighteen Months. But it must have been again settled on the ancient Foot. For *Gracchus* and *Claudius* enjoyed it, from the Year of *Rome* 584, to the Year 589, which was above five Years. They had petitioned the People, that they might have Leave to continue in their Office fourteen Months after their five Years were expired. The Reason of their Petition was, that they should want all this time, to raise the Taxes that were necessary for the Repairs of the publick Buildings, and to finish the great Works they had begun. A *Tribune of the People*, named *Tremellius*, opposed their Request; but the Assembly saw, that his Opposition proceeded from personal Resentments, and therefore did not regard it. The *Censors* had refused to insert his Name in the List of Senators, which they had drawn up.

WHEN these slight Storms were blown over, the *Consuls* drew Lots for their Provinces. But whither could *Rome* send her *Consular* Armies? The East was subdued since the Defeat of *Perses*. *Carthage* did not stir in the South. In the West, *Spain* might easily be kept in her Duty, by the two *Prætors* *Rome* sent thither. And all was quiet from the *Alpes* to the *Ionian* Sea. Nevertheless it was ordered, That one of the two *Consular* Armies should enter *Liguria*, and encamp near *Pisa*; and That the other should go into *Cisalpine Gaul*. *Rome* immediately treated the *Gauls* and *Ligures* as Enemies, as soon as she had finished the War in the distant Countries. The Republick began Quarrels with them without Cause; and in this her Policy led her to offer Violence to the Laws of Justice. It was one of the Maxims of the *Roman* Senate, never to lay down their Arms, but to keep their *Legions* always in the Field, lest their Valour should degenerate through Idleness. Besides, *Rome* had already formed the Design of turning her victorious Arms, some time or other, from the East to the West, and conquering *Transalpine Gaul*, when once she should have perfectly subdued all the Nations on this side the *Alpes*. A boundless Ambition, the fatal Effects of which were already felt by her unfortunate Neighbours!

*LIGURIA* fell by Lot to the Consul, *M. Junius Pennus*; and *Cisalpine Gaul*, to *Q. Ælius Pætus*. But they were not in haste to march into their Provinces; neither were their Armies large. Only two *Legions*, of four thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse each, were assigned each Consul; and their Expedition consisted wholly in such Acts, as may justly be called inhuman, considering that they were making War in a peaceable Country, where there was no Enemy in the Field. The Territory of the *Ligures* was pillaged, and laid waste. But for

<sup>14</sup> The Temple of *Liberty* was built on the Hill *Capitinus*, according to *Livy*, B. 24. by order of the Father of *Sempronius Gracchus*, one of the most illustrious Generals of the *Roman* Republick, during the Wars with *Hannibal*. Afterwards there was added to this Temple a sort of Porch, in which the *Censors* deposited their Archives.

ing the Wars with *Hannibal*. Afterwards there was added to this Temple a sort of Porch, in which the *Censors* deposited their Archives.



Year of what Crime? unless for this, that they still preserved some Remains of Liberty; though not so much by their Arms, as their Inaction? The *Consuls*, who could have nothing of Consequence to do in their Camp, continued in the City as long as they could. And they had the Pleasure to see Princes and Ambassadors come thither from all the Nations of the *Levant*: Some to obtain Rewards; others to return their Thanks; others to make Congratulations and Presents; and lastly, others to make Apologies for their Conduct.

Q. ÆLIUS  
PÆTUS, JUNI-  
US PENNUS,  
Consuls.

§. VI. THE first foreign Prince, who then appeared at *Rome*, was received with all the Regards due to his Birth, Merit, and the Services he had done the *Consuls* in the last War. This was *Attalus*, the Brother of the King of *Pergamus*. This Prince had more Zeal and Affection for the Republick, than what were barely sufficient to render him worthy of an Alliance with her. He was become entirely *Roman*, by the frequent Conversations he had had with the *Roman* Generals and Officers, in the Armies in which he had signalized himself during the War. The ill Example of his Brother *Eumenes*, had not at all lessened his Affection for *Rome*. Before the Arrival of *Paulus Æmilius* in *Macedon*, the *Pergamian* King had been wavering in his Fidelity. He had like to have been corrupted by the Offers of *Perses*, and his political Views; and to have openly espoused the Cause of the *Macedonian*. At least, his choosing to stand neuter towards the end of the War, had much lessened the Esteem and Affection the *Romans* had had for him. But *Attalus* was an accomplished Prince. He had more Bravery and Constancy than was usual among the *Asiatics*; had constantly assisted the *Roman* Republick with his Arms and Advice, and had never deserted her. He had always refused to give the Troops he had brought out of his Country, Leave to return thither, to enjoy the Repose, in which his Brother was languishing away his Time, contrary to the Fidelity he had promised his old Allies. By this means the younger Brother gained a great Ascendant over the elder, at *Rome*. The Republick had for some time taken up a Practice of dethroning Kings, or dividing their Dominions. And now she had nothing to do, but to withdraw her Assistance; and *Eumenes*, when left to himself, would have fallen from the Dignity he possessed; and the younger Brother would have taken the Place of the elder, upon the first Orders of the Senate. Besides, *Attalus* was not unaffected with the Charms of a Crown. Every thing flattered his Ambition; and his Hopes of reigning were neither vain, nor distant. The *Gallo-Greeks* had just entered the Kingdom of *Pergamus* with an Army; and upon the least Encouragement from *Rome*, they would have assisted the younger Brother against the elder. Besides, the best part of the Provinces, of which the Dominions of *Eumenes* consisted, were Presents from the *Roman* People; so that the Senate could, with one Word, take away the Donation, and transfer it from *Eumenes* to *Attalus*. This Prince was full of these Thoughts when he came to *Rome*. Indeed he had always kept up such a Correspondence with his Brother, as served for a Model for all the Courts of *Asia*. But after all, the Glitter of a Crown might be a Temptation to a Prince, who could easily obtain, and deserved to wear, it. On the other hand, *Eumenes* was justly apprehensive of it, and took proper Precautions, before he would suffer *Attalus* to go for *Italy*. He placed about his Person one *Stratius* a Physician, a Man in whom he could confide, and a very proper Person to watch the Steps of his Brother, penetrate into his Designs, and prevent them by his Counsels. *Stratius* therefore attended the Prince, and came to *Rome* with him. As soon as *Attalus* appeared there, besides the publick Testimonies of Friendship, and Marks of Distinction which were shewn him, the Friends he had made in the Armies of the Republick caressed him exceedingly. Their Conversation with him, chiefly turned upon the Ease, with which he might obtain of the Senate a Crown, of which his Brother had rendered himself unworthy by his Unfaithfulness. And as this Prince was of an easy Temper, he complied with the Instances of his Friends; and rather accepted the Favour, than sought it. The Sollicitations of *Attalus's* Advocates with the Senators, soon shewed their Designs, which were not long hid from *Stratius*; who, though zealous in the Interests of his Master, was more troubled for the Misfortunes of his Country than for his. The worst of Consequences were to be feared from so sudden a Revolution; and a civil War was more formidable than even the *Gallo-Greeks*.



Greeks. To divert the Storm therefore, he first applied himself to the Prince, and addressed himself to him in this manner.

Remember, my Lord, that constant Friendship, the Happiness of which you and Eumenes have enjoyed from your Youth, and which the Superiority his Birth-right gave him, has not yet interrupted. Reason has yet the Ascendant in our Royal Family. Both Eumenes and You have ever been sensible, that Concord is the strongest Support of the Kingdom of Pergamus. This Monarchy is of late Date, and has not taken deep Root enough, to be immoveable. The least Storm may yet overturn it. Shall then Attalus raise one, by taking Arms against his Brother, and his King? Nay, against such a Brother, and such a King, as Eumenes? Has he ever acted a double part with you? Has not your Interest been ever more dear to him than his own? Have you not shared his Authority, and his Treasures? Have you not reigned to all Intents and Purposes, except in this, that you have not sat upon the Throne, and worn the Crown? And now the time draws nigh, even for that. Eumenes is now grown old, and declines; and as he has no male Children, he has no Body to transmit the Scepter to, but yourself. Will you then suffer your Inheritance to be invaded by the barbarous Galatians? Or will you a little beforehand hold a part of a Kingdom from the Romans, the whole of which will in a little time be your own Right? How glorious will it be for Attalus, to have maintained his Brother on the Throne! How much for his Honour, to have supported his Interests, and thereby kept his own Reputation untainted! But what Hatred, what Contempt will he draw upon himself, if by his Artifices he drives Eumenes out of his Dominions, and forces him to fly, like Perseus, to Samothrace for Refuge? Indeed, my Lord, neither Pergamus, nor Asia Minor, can imagine this from your past Virtues. And if on the contrary you preserve your Fidelity to your Brother to the last; those very People, who now advise you to break through it, and are no real Friends to You, but Enemies to Eumenes, will extol your Piety and Constancy.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVI.

Q. AELIUS  
P. PETROS, JUNI-  
US PENNUS,  
Consuls.  
Livy, B. 45.  
c. 19.

Livy ibid.

WHEN the faithful *Stratius* assured the Prince, that he would infallibly reign after *Eumenes*, he spoke his real Sentiments. The *Pergamenses* did not then know that their King had a Son, whom he concealed from the Sight of his People, and the Knowledge of his Brothers, to keep them Dependent, in hopes of succeeding him. *Attalus* was persuaded, and his Good-Nature prevailed over well grounded Pretensions, for stripping his Brother, of at least a part of his Dominions. The *Roman* Senate were disposed to revenge themselves on *Eumenes*, and reward the Fidelity of *Attalus*, by giving the one, what they took from the other; and the Prince of *Pergamus* was therefore brought into their Assembly. But to their very great Surprise, *Attalus* in his Harangue, only congratulated the Republick on her Victory, gave them a plain Narrative of the Services he had done her, commended the King his Brother, and desired that Commissioners might be appointed to make the *Galatians* put a Stop to their Hostilities. Was it natural to expect, that when it was so much in his Power to have obtained whatever he pleased, he would confine his Desires to so narrow Limits? However it must be owned, that *Rome*, how much soever displeased with *Eumenes*, and how well inclined soever to Prince *Attalus*, could not but give the latter the Praises due to his Moderation; which charmed all the Senators. They paid him great Honours, highly extolled his Virtue, and made him many Presents. After this <sup>15</sup> he left *Rome*, in greater Esteem there, for having preferred the Pursuit of Virtue to the Indulgence of his Ambition, than he would have been, had he raised himself upon the Ruins of his Brother. And why then did not the Disinterestedness and Probity of the *Asiatick* Prince deserve the same Praises from the Historians, which they often so lavishly bestow on the most virtuous *Romans*?

§. VII. AFTER *Eumenes*, the Ambassadors of *Rhodes* came, and made a very different Appearance in the City, which so narrowly watched their Steps. In the first

<sup>15</sup> According to *Polybius*, *Attalus* had demanded of the Senate the Investiture of *Aenon* and *Maronea*, two Cities of *Thrace*, situated towards the Mouth of the *Hebrus*, on the Coasts of the *Aegean* Sea. They had formerly been conquered by *Philip* King of *Macedon*, the Father of *Perseus*, when he was at War with the *Romans*. And the Senate

promised to put the Prince in Possession of these two Places. But after *Attalus* was gone, the *Conscript Fathers*, for political Reasons, thought fit to revoke that Promise. So that *Aenon* and *Maronea* were declared free and independent Cities, by a Majority of Voices in the Senate.

Place,



Year of Place, the Ceremonial embarrassed them. During the War with *Perfes*, they had  
*R O M E* declared themselves in favour of the Enemy of the *Romans*. Nevertheless their  
 DLXXXVI. Friend had been vanquished and taken. In point of Decency therefore they could  
 not appear at *Rome*, on any other Account, but to congratulate her on her Vic-  
 tory. And in what Habits could they appear in publick? They were sensible that  
 they had been guilty of Unfaithfulness, and considered in that Light, a negligent  
 Dress would best become them. But it was to be feared, that *Rome* would put an  
 ill Construction on this kind of Mourning, and interpret it as worn, on Account  
 of their Grief for the Misfortunes of *Perfes*. Besides, was it proper to make Con-  
 gratulations in a mourning Dress? In short, the *Rhodians* determined rather to con-  
 form themselves to the publick Joy that reigned in *Rome*, than appear in the Dress  
 of Criminals, who sued for Mercy. They appeared very finely dressed in the *Co-*  
*mitia*, near the Temple, where the Senate was assembled, and there waited for the  
 Answer to their Demand, of being introduced into it. The Company of the  
*Rhodians* was numerous. Their Republick had sent two Deputations to *Rome*,  
 immediately after one another. *Philocrates* was at the Head of one; and *Philo-*  
*phron* and *Astymedes*, of the other. As soon as the Senators had determin-  
 ed, that the *Rhodians* should neither be treated with Hospitality, nor admitted  
 to an Audience, the *Consul Junius* left the Assembly, to bring them the News.  
 The Ambassadors advanced some Paces towards the *Consul*, and assured him, That  
 they were come only to testify to the *Romans* their Joy at their Conquest, and  
 efface the Suspicions which might have been entertained of their Republick.  
 But *Junius* put on an Air of Severity, and addressed himself to them thus. *We*  
*desire no Congratulations from a People, whose Fidelity we suspect. Go, and*  
*condole with Perfes. We admit none within the Walls of Rome, or into the Senate,*  
*but the Ambassadors of Nations which are our Friends. And are you so? Did you*  
*even preserve the Appearances of Friendship during the last War?* The *Rhodians*  
 were Thunderstruck at these Words, fell prostrate with Tears in their Eyes, and  
 intreated the *Consul*, to have more Regard to the Services they had so long done  
*Rome*, than to the ill Conduct into which they had been seduced for some Years.  
 But *Junius* was inexorable.

THEN the *Rhodians* behaved themselves like Criminals, and changed their Ha-  
 bits. They ran from House to House, in a negligent Dress, to raise the Compas-  
 sion of the *Roman Citizens*. Though they could not be admitted into the Senate,  
 they hoped to have found some Protection among the People. They every where  
 intreated them not to condemn them without a hearing, and at length had an Op-  
 portunity of speaking in the Senate. The *Prætor Juventius Thalna* had taken  
 it into his Head, to get the assembled *Tribes* to declare War with the *Rhodians*.  
 Not that he had any personal Hatred to this unfortunate People; but his only Aim  
 was to get himself nominated by the People, General of the Expedition against the  
*Rhodian Republick*. With this View he hastily drew up his Petition in the fol-  
 lowing Words, without consulting the Senate, or *Consuls*. *Does it please the*  
*Roman People to declare War with the Rhodians; and to send to Rhodes one of the*  
*Magistrates for the time being to begin Hostilities against them?* Without doubt  
*Juventius* had privately carried on Intrigues to obtain this glorious Commission;  
 though after all, his Proceedings were contrary to Rule. But Ambition is blind.  
 He thought to have prevailed on the People to declare War, unknown to the Se-  
 nate and the *Consul*; and was much surprized to see two *Tribunes of the People*,  
*Antonius* and *Pomponius*, oppose his Motion. Indeed the Protest of the two *Tri-*  
*bunes* was as irregular as the Proceedings of *Juventius*. According to the usual  
 Forms, no Opposition was to be valid, but such as was made at the instant that  
 a Law was debated in the *Comitia*; when private Persons had Leave to speak freely  
 to the assembled People, either for, or against it. By which means it often hap-  
 pened, that they who were most bent on passing, or rejecting a Law, altered their  
 Minds. Whereas, now both the *Prætor* and the *Tribunes* had equally neglected  
 the usual Forms, through Precipitation; and their Conduct was entirely irregular  
 on all Hands. Nay, the *Tribune Pomponius* had made use of Violence. He had  
 caused the *Prætor Juventius* to be carried away by Force, from *The Tribune of*  
*Harangues*, when he was ready to harangue the People in favour of his Motion.



ALL these Disputes and Contests forced the Romans to admit the Rhodian Year of  
 Ambassadors into the Senate, and give them Leave to speak in their own Vin- R O M E  
 dication. *Astymedes* was their Mouth, and he spake thus. You now see us at your DLXXXVI.  
 Feet, Conscript Fathers, in a very different Condition from that in which we have Q. ÆLIUS  
 hitherto appeared, in this Sanctuary of Justice. We have hitherto come hither, PÆTUS, JUNI-  
 only to receive your Approbation, or Thanks, for the good Offices we had done your US PENNUS,  
 Republick. But how much is our Condition now altered! We at present appear be- Consuls.  
 fore this Tribunal, on'y as Criminals, who are indulged the Favour of being heard in  
 their own Defence. Though we do not yet know, whether we are guilty or not, we Livy, B. 45.  
 have chosen to humble our selves before our Judges, and appear only as Suppliants. C. 22.  
 We formerly were lodged in a stately Palace at your Expence, and were conducted  
 from thence in form, to receive a gracious Audience from the Senate. But now we  
 come from a poor Cottage, in the extreme Parts of the Suburbs, to bear your Re-  
 proaches, and submit to your Decisions. During the Wars with Philip and Antio-  
 chus, we were treated in Rome with a Magnificence equal to our Services. But  
 since the Defeat of Perſes, we have scarce been able to hire a miserable Lodging,  
 without the Walls, at a very great Price. There was a time, when we were suf-  
 fered to mount the Capitol, in solemn Proceſſion, to offer Sacrifice there. But now  
 we are brought to the Temple as Victims, to be sacrificed ourselves, to the Rage of  
 the People. You formerly gave us Lycia, and Caria. But you now threaten to de-  
 prive us of our own Island. Will you then, Conscript Fathers, treat us with more  
 Rigour, than the Macedonians and Illyricans, your avowed Enemies? It is said,  
 that you grant them their Liberty; and yet you would enslave us. Their Punish-  
 ment is a real Benefit to them. Yet they bore Arms against you. But Rhodes can-  
 not reproach herself with having been guilty of any Acts of Hostility; and you  
 incline to oppress her. Will you make no other Difference between a quiet People,  
 who contented themselves with standing neuter, and a vanquished Enemy, than to  
 destroy the former, and gratify the latter? Not that we envy others the Happiness  
 you grant them. We only desire to partake of your Clemency, which does you more  
 Honour than your greatest Exploits. All the Wars you have undertaken in the East  
 have been founded on Justice. Philip had sided with Hannibal, and assisted him  
 with Troops and Money. Antiochus had stirred up Ætolia against Rome. Perſes  
 had waged War with your Allies, and made himself odious by the Assassinations of  
 more Kings than one. And the Justice of your Cause was crowned with Victory.  
 But as to the Rhodians, what have they to reproach themselves with, more than  
 with being peaceable? Is then their Inaction a sufficient Reason for you to treat  
 them as Enemies? Indeed in the last War, we did not serve the Republick with  
 the same Zeal, as formerly. Our Ships did not join yours, under the Command of a  
 Roman Admiral; did not, as formerly, put the Enemy to flight, off Samos and  
 Pamphylia; nor did our Rhodians die the Sea with their own Blood, and that of  
 the vanquished Syrians. By which I would not be understood, Conscript Fathers, to  
 reproach you with our past Services; you have rewarded us for them. We only re-  
 new the Remembrance of them, to raise your Compassion. If Perſes had conquered  
 you, would the Rhodians have had any Right to have demanded a Reward of him?  
 Had we done so, his Answer would no doubt have been this. You have neither as-  
 sisted me with your Arms nor Money. What Service have your Ships or Land For-  
 ces done me? If none, what Reward have you deserved at my Hands? So that by  
 having endeavoured to reconcile Rome with Macedon, we are reduced to this Con-  
 dition, that Perſes would have had no Reason to thank us; and you have Thoughts  
 of punishing us. But after all, Perſes would have had a just Objection to us, which Liv. ib. c. 23.  
 you, Conscript Fathers, have not. You know, that in the beginning of the War,  
 Rhodes sent Ambassadors to you, to offer you all her Forces. You heard them intreat  
 you to accept of the Assistance of her Troops and Ships; and you refused it. Is it  
 just then to blame us for this? Are we responsible for your Contempt of our Offers?  
 If not, what is our Crime? Is it that we suffered some Declaimers at Rhodes to  
 inveigh against Rome? I don't deny the Fact. In the best regulated Republicks, there  
 are always some Madmen, who will abuse their Liberty of Speech, and run into great  
 Excesses. One Dino and one Polycrates took the Freedom to inveigh against the  
 Roman Republick; and their Discourses were applauded, by a small Number of bad  
 Citizens. We therefore offer to bring you these Orators, and deliver them up to Ju-  
 stici.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVI.  
Q. AELIUS  
P. AFRICANUS, JUNI-  
US BRUTUS,  
Consuls.

Livy, *ibid.*

Livy, *ibid.*

*Justice. Punish the Criminals yourselves; but don't impute their Licentiousness to the whole Nation. What Republick is entirely free from indiscreet, or seditious Men? Rome herself has brought up some. Why should it then be expected, that Rhodes should be miraculously delivered from so general a Contagion? One of our Ambassadors indeed was so audacious, as to make an haughty Speech in your august Assemblies. But every Nation has its Faults. The Athenians are bold, the Lacedæmonians slow, the Asiatics vain-glorious; and the Vice of the Rhodians is Vanity and Imperiousness. The Ascendant we had gained over our Neighbours, had accustomed us to assume such haughty Airs, as were, no doubt, very unseasonable at Rome. But then those imprudent Words were sufficiently punished by your Answers. Weak Men are offended at an arrogant Discourse; but the wise despise it, and laugh at it. Will you then destroy a whole Nation, for the imprudent Sallies of an Ambassador? Supposing his Words were Marks of Contempt, which it very ill became a Rhodian to use towards Rome; yet it is certain no body ever yet thought that the Insolence of an Inferior to a Superior, deserved to be capitally punished. Nay, we daily see some People blaspheme the Gods, and yet never heard of any one that was struck dead with Lightning for it. As then you are our Gods on Earth, imitate the Moderation of the Gods of Heaven.*

Livy, *ib.* c. 24.

*AND now what remains, but that I endeavour to efface a Prejudice, which is but too deeply rooted in your Minds? It is believed, that we were more inclined to favour Perſes, than the Roman Republick. You dive into the Secrets of our Hearts, and are divided about the manner of punishing them. Some would have us utterly destroyed for our bare Wishes for Perſes. But others are of Opinion, that bare Wishes, never put in execution, ought not to be punished with the utmost Rigour. We therefore return our Thanks to those, whose Equity inclines them to Clemency, and readily offer to submit to the Vengeance of the most severe, if it can be made appear, that all the Rhodians were well affected to the Macedonian. There is no Question, but that the greatest and most solid part of the Rhodians, not only had, but shewed, a sincere Attachment to Rome. Is it not then more just, that so great Numbers of your Friends should incline you to favour the few Guilty, than that a small Number of Offenders should involve your Friends in the same Punishment as themselves! Besides, these Friends of Perſes are now no longer among us. Some of them have killed themselves; and others have gone into voluntary Exile: So that they have punished themselves. And the few of them that are left among us, shall be delivered up to you, that you may punish them as you please. Will you then destroy us, who observed a perfect Neutrality, upon a bare Presumption, that Rhodes wished to see the Macedonian victorious? Have not all the Greek Cities in Europe and Asia wished for the same thing? Has not the Power of the Roman Republick been dreaded there? Are we the only People who have been afraid of having you for our Masters? Had not Perſes some Friends in all the Eastern Nations? Why then should we only be threatened with speedy Destruction? If it is a Crime to wish well to ones self, it is such a Crime as many others are guilty of, as well as we. Must then we only suffer Punishment for it? We, who have sent you more powerful Succours, than all Greece together? We, whose Vows have at least been divided, between You and Perſes? Not that we ask any new Favours from you. All we contend for is, that since we assisted you in the Wars with Philip and Antiochus, and only stood neuter in the third with Perſes, our Services in the two former, ought at least to induce you to forgive our Inactivity in the latter. Our Submissions, and our Repentance will, we hope, at least prevent our utter Ruin. I say utter Ruin, for as to a War we will have none with Rome. If you send any Troops, they shall enter our Dominions without Resistance; and we will submit to your Hostilities, without Opposition. Perhaps our Submission may affect you. But if that does not appease your Anger, we will all, Men, Women, and Children, go on board our Ships, embark our Money, Moveables, and other Effects with us, come to Rome, throw down all at your Feet, and surrender up our Estates, Lives, and Liberty into your Hands. Judge then whether we are your Enemies.*

Livy, B. 45.  
c. 25.

*S. VIII. THIS was a long Speech; but could Astymedes say less, to save his Country from utter Ruin? As soon as he had finished it, the Ambassadors and their Retinue all fell prostrate a second time, and held out Branches of Olive in their Hands, as a Token of their suing for Peace. Then they were raised up, and withdrew.*



withdrew; after which the *Conscript Fathers* debated about this new War, in Year of which the *Prator Juventius* would have engaged *Rome*. Such of the Senators as *R O M E* had borne Arms in *Macedon*, in quality of *Consuls*, *Prators*, or Lieutenant-Generals, voted warmly against the *Rhodians*. They had been exasperated by the *Rhodes* having refused them Succours; and this was their chief Excuse, when they were reproached with not having utterly destroyed *Perfes*. And at length, the famous *Cato* came to vote in his Turn; and notwithstanding his great Age, spoke in favour of the *Rhodians*, with all the Vivacity of a young Orator, the Authority of an old *Censor* and *Consul*, and the Eloquence of a consummate Master of the Art of Persuasion. His <sup>16</sup> Speech was in being, in the time of the Emperor *Adrian*; and we will give it the Reader as entire as we can make it, from the Fragments that now remain of it. There is nothing in it of the Artifice of a Declaimer, whose Business it is to defend his Client; but it is full of the Gravity of an old Magistrate, whose Age and Employments authorise him to speak naked Truths. *It were to be wished*, said he, *that the Affair of the Rhodians had been brought before us, at a time, when our Minds had been less warmed with the insolent Joys of Victory. We are yet intoxicated with our Success, and have forgotten even the Principles of Reason, and the first Rules of Equity. O that the Gods may therefore dispel this Stupefaction, which may in the end corrupt our Manners, and bring great Calamities upon us! How shameful a thing is it, that we ever once deliberate whether we ought to make War with the Rhodians! How mad is it in us to have ever suffered any to vote for the utter Destruction of the Rhodian Republic! Has then our Prosperity blinded us so much, as that we should suffer any Acts of Injustice to be committed in this Asylum of Equity? What are the things laid to the Rhodians Charge? These two; Secret Thoughts, and proud Words. Their most zealous Accusers bring no heavier Accusation against them. They neither charge them with any Acts of Hostility, nor with having sent any Succours of Men or Money to our Enemies. All that is said is, that these Islanders were inclined to favour Perfes; and they are condemned for the Sentiments of their Hearts. O ye immortal Gods, shall we then usurp your Rights! Shall we search into Mens Thoughts and Consciences, to condemn them as Enemies, when they have not declared themselves so? I readily grant, that the Rhodians did not very heartily rejoice, at the entire Defeat and Captivity of Perfes. And I will allow, that their Concern did not so much proceed from Compassion, as from Notions of Self-Interest. But is it then unlawful for a Man to wish for Liberty? Rome is a powerful State, and capable of swallowing up all the Eastern Countries. Macedon, the only Bulwark against her, was destroyed. The Inundation drew near them; and hence their Fears and Alarms. Did they then hate you? No; but they loved themselves. Which of us would not be uneasy to see a formidable Neighbour join his Land to ours? Would we not do any thing to get rid of such a Neighbourhood? And we know, that any Means, but those of Violence, are lawful. Which was the very Case of the Rhodians. They wished that Perfes might not be destroyed, and thereby the Mole that kept us from them, destroyed. And what is there criminal in this? If it be a Crime to desire to avoid Slavery, all the Nations of the Levant have been guilty of it. Besides, are bare Wishes punishable? Which of us has not desired to enjoy a greater Quantity of Land, than the Law allows him? Our Desires, which we offer up to the immortal Gods are not unlawful, unless we fix them upon unlawful Objects. No Infractions of the civil Laws are punishable, till they have gone from the Heart, and appeared in overt Acts. But it is also said, that the Rhodians shewed their Pride by their Words. And indeed one of their Ambassadors did drop some very arrogant and haughty Expressions. But what can be inferred from thence, more than this; that there is a Nation in the World, which are more proud and imperious than the Romans? Is a Bravado Crime enough, to deserve to have a Country, which was formerly in Friendship with us, destroyed with Fire and Sword? Is an indiscreet Expression so highly criminal, that it ought to be expiated with Rivers of Blood? This Republick, *Conscript Fathers*, has even been honoured for her Cle-*

*R O M E*  
DLXXXVI.

Q. AELIUS  
PÆTUS, JU-  
NIUS PENNUS,  
Consuls.

*Aul. Gell.*  
*No. 8. Attic.*  
B. 7. c. 3.

<sup>16</sup> *Livy* does not mention the Speech which *Cato* made in favour of the *Rhodians*. He says, it was in the fifth Book of the *Origines*, a Work then in every one's Hands. *Aulus Gellius* has collected se-

veral Fragments of this Harangue, which he defends against the Remarks made upon it by *Marcus Tullius Tiro*, *Cicero's Freedman*.



Year of ROME DLXXXVI. Q. AELIUS PÆTUS, JUNIUS PERNUS, Consuls.

*mincy; which has contributed more towards the enlarging our Limits, than our Arms. What then will be the Consequence of an unjust Severity but Insurrections, among the timorous Nations, and Revolts, or Distrusts at least, among our Allies? The Nations will fear us more, but they will love us less. The artful Geecks will privately form Plots; and we shall find it the more difficult to guard against them, in that their Fears will oblige them to take the more Care, to keep them secret. Let us not then, Conscrip Fathers, lose the Fruits of our Benefactions. The Rhodians have not carried their Ingratitude to excess. Perſes, when in his greatest Glory, could not seduce them so far, as to prevail on them to take up Arms against us: And the Ascendant the Republick has since gained, gives her less Reason to suspect their Conduct for the future. I therefore vote for rejecting the Motion of the Prætor Juventius, and leaving the Rhodians in peaceable Possession of their Island.*

THE Advice and Representations of Cato had their Effect on the Majority of the Senators, and War was not declared against Rhodes; which was the capital Point. The Senate only renewed the Decree they had formerly made; whereby the Rhodians were deprived of all Dominion over Lycia and Caria, two Provinces, which Rome had formerly given them. After which Philocrates, one of the Ambassadors, returned into his own Country; but Astymedes continued at Rome, to guard against any fresh Attempts, and give his Republick Notice of them. The News which Philocrates brought to Rhodes was received there with inexpressible Joy; inſomuch, that the Rhodians scarce thought of the Loss of Lycia and Caria.

As for Greece, she saw her Fears on all sides vanish. The Clemency of the Romans gave her Confidence. Nevertheless, most of the Greek Nations were displeased with the Speech of Astymedes. *Why did he bring us into their Quarrel? said they. What Necessity was he under, of telling the Roman Senate, that we were inclined to serve Perſes? Could not he have justified himself without accusing us?* So that the Name of Astymedes became odious in the Levant, and he had no longer any Credit, any where but at Rhodes. The Rhodians now made it their whole Business to regain the Affection of the Romans. The Alliance they had formerly entered into with Rome, was not complete; there were some Clauses in their Treaties, that weakened their Engagements to each other. Rhodes would never yet submit to be obliged to have no other Enemies or Friends but those of Rome. She had reserved to her self a Liberty to make Alliances, with any Kings or independent States that she pleased, whether in Europe, or Asia. But now the Times were changed. Since the Conquest of Macedon, there was no Power in all the East to be feared, or courted, but the Roman People. And therefore the Rhodian Republick were now desirous of entering into a stricter Alliance with Rome. In order to obtain it, a Crown of Gold was ordered to be made at Rhodes, of <sup>17</sup> great Value. It was put into the Hands of Theodotus, who commanded the Fleet, and the Admiral was ordered to carry it to Rome, and there <sup>18</sup> negotiate this new Alliance. Nevertheless, as the Rhodians were very vain-glorious, they forbade Theodotus to offer his Petition in writing. They were afraid, that in case his Request was not granted, it might be conveyed down to Posterity, and be a standing Monument of Reproach to them. The Admiral set sail, came to Rome, and made his Presents. But as for the Alliance which he desired by Word of Mouth, Rome made his Republick solicit it a great while, before it was granted. She would not honour Rhodes with it till some Years after; and took Pleasure in humbling that proud Republick. And indeed, though Rome had taken from those

<sup>17</sup> The Roman Historian fixes the Value of this rich Crown at twenty thousand of those pieces of Gold, which the Romans called AUREI. But Polybius reckons it to have been worth but ten thousand. The Aureus \* among the Romans was worth twenty five Attick Drachme, or twenty five Denarii, according to Dio Cassius, B. 45. AUREUM vero id munus quod viginti quinque Denarios valet. It weighed two Drams and an half. Supposing then that in the Ages of the Republick, the Proportion of Gold to Silver, was as ten to one, which we have Reason to infer from several Passages, this piece of Gold could not be worth less than twenty five Drams, that is, twelve Livres, ten Sols, French.

Pollux fixed the same Proportion between Gold and Silver. Add to this, that we have already observed, after Pliny the Naturalist, B. 33. that the Romans did not begin to coin Gold, till about the Year 546, under the Consulship of Caius Claudius Nero, and Marcus Livius Salinator.

<sup>18</sup> According to Polybius, the renewing this Alliance with Rome was committed to the Care of another Ambassador, whom the Greek Historian calls Rhodopho. But a little lower, he gives him the Name of Thectetes. He was eighty Years of Age, and died at Rome, before he could finish his Negotiation.

Islanders



Islanders *Lycia* and *Caria*, two Provinces on the Continent of *Asia*, they revenged themselves by open Force, on some Cities, which they again brought into Subjection to them. They seized *Caunus* <sup>19</sup>, *Mylasa* <sup>20</sup>, *Euromus* <sup>21</sup>, and *Alabanda*, whose Territory was very fruitful. How could the *Rhodians* live in a dry and <sup>22</sup> barren Island, without the Assistance they drew from the Continent? Be that as it will, the *Romans* took these <sup>23</sup> Places from them again, and forced them to draw out their Garrisons from them.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVI.  
Q. AELIUS  
PATERUS, JUNI-  
VS PANNUS,  
Consuls.

§. IX. WHEN the *Romans* had finished the Affair of the *Rhodians*, their next Business was to receive the Compliments of all the Nations of the East. There was no King, or Republick, or free City, which did not congratulate the Conquerors on their Victory. The first that appeared at *Rome*, on that Account, were the *Athenians*, whose Interest brought them thither. They demanded the Restitution of *Delos* <sup>24</sup>, and *Lemnos*, which the Republick readily gave them. These Islands had long <sup>25</sup> belonged to them. But the *Romans* were surprized to hear the *Athenians* insist on the Demolition of *Haliartus* <sup>26</sup>, one of the most ancient Cities of *Boeotia*. Did it become so wise a Senate as that of *Athens*, to demand the Destruction of a Place, which they ought to have protected? Was there any Necessity of depriving so many unhappy Citizens of the very Hopes of ever seeing their native Country? It is highly probable that *Rome* was not so merciless as to sacrifice *Haliartus* to the Ambition of the *Athenians*.

*Polyb. in Le-  
gat. N. 94, 95.  
96, 97, 98.*

AFTER them *Numenius*, the Ambassador of the two Kings of *Egypt*, was introduced into the Senate. His Commission was not confined to the complimenting *Rome* on her Success; his chief Business was to thank her for the Peace that reigned in *Egypt*, through the wise Advice of *Popilius*. This *Roman* had forced *Antiochus* to drop his Design of besieging *Alexandria*, and had reconciled the two Brothers. Nor was this all. He had also, by his Advice and Entreaties, obtained a Pardon for a *Lacedæmonian*, named *Menalcidas*, a selfish Man, who during the Troubles had imbezzled the Finances of the Kingdom, which were committed to his Care.

BUT *Prusias* carried his Flattery farther than any other of the Eastern Kings. He was not content with sending an Embassy to *Rome* to congratulate her; he came thither himself, and left his own Dominions, servilely to make Court to the prevailing Republick. Indeed he had for some <sup>27</sup> Years entrusted the *Romans* with the Education of his Son *Nicomedes*; and the Desire of seeing this Son, was the Pretence with which he covered the Shame of his Journey. He also dishonoured himself by his Conduct at *Rome*. The Republick sent the *Quæstor Scipio* <sup>28</sup> as far as *Capua* to meet the King, with Orders to defray his Expences, and conduct him to the Capitol. As soon as he appeared there with a numerous Train of Attendants, great Multitudes of People crowded about him. It was a new Sight to them. The King of *Bithynia* had shaved his Head, taken the Habit and Sandals of

*Livy. B. 45.  
C. 44.*

*Polyb. Legat.  
N. 97.*

<sup>19</sup> *Caunus* was a maritime City of *Caria*, in *Asia Minor*, near the Mouth of the River *Calydon*. *Cassiodorus* calls it *La Rossa*. It is now only a small Place, subject to the *Turks*, about twenty Miles distant from the Island of *Rhodes*.

<sup>20</sup> *Mylasa* also belonged to *Caria*. It is now *Melisso*, a little City, about twelve Miles distant from the *Ægean Sea*.

<sup>21</sup> *Euromus* likewise depended on the same Province, as well as *Alabanda*, which was one of the richest and most considerable Cities in this Country.

<sup>22</sup> *Rhodes* is indeed a sandy Soil, and surrounded with Mountains. Nevertheless it bears all sorts of Fruits.

<sup>23</sup> Besides these Places from which *Rome* forced the *Rhodesians* to withdraw their Garrisons, *Polybius* tells us, that the Senate also took from them *Stratonice*, another City of *Caria*.

<sup>24</sup> We have spoken of these Islands already. The first was famous for the fabulous Birth, and Oracle of *Apollon*. The *Italians* call it *Sabli*, as well as the neighbouring Island. *Lemnos*, now *Limni* and *Lemno*, is an Island in the *Ægean Sea*, between Mount *Atbos*, and the *Thracian Chersonesus*.

<sup>25</sup> We are told by *Herodotus*, and *Cornelius Nepos*, that the *Athenians* had conquered *Lemnos*, under the Command of *Miltiades*.

<sup>26</sup> There were formerly two Cities in *Greece* called *Haliartus*. One mentioned by *Pausanias*, situated in *Peloponnesus*, on the Borders of *Messenia*, near Mount *Lycæus*, and on the Frontiers of *Arcadia*. According to *Niger*, it is now called *Neocastro*. The other, which is here spoken of, was a City of *Boeotia*, near the Lake *Copais*. *Hommer*, in his *Iliad*, joins it with *Coronea*, not only on account of their Proximity, but also because they were said to be founded by the two Brothers, *Coroneus* and *Haliartus*.

<sup>27</sup> According to *Livy* *Prusias* came to *Rome*, with his Son *Nicomedes*, to congratulate the Senate on the Conquest of *Macedon*. But the Reader may have observed already, through the whole Course of the History, that the young Prince was then at *Rome*, and that he came thither some Years before his Father.

<sup>28</sup> This *Lucius Cornelius Scipio* was the Son of *Scipio Asiaticus*. *Valerius Maximus* is mistaken in giving this *Quæstor* the *Prænomén* of *Publius*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVI.  
Q. ÆLIUS  
PÆTUS, JUNI-  
US PENNUS,  
Consuls.  
Fest. Capitol.

*Macedon*, and wore one of those <sup>29</sup> *Pilei*, which Slaves wore after they had obtained their Freedom. In this odd Dress, *Prusias* advanced towards the *Forum*, stopped at the Tribunal where the *Prætors* used to administer Justice; and there declared with a loud Voice, that he had crossed the Seas, on Purpose to return Thanks to the *Roman* Divinities, and congratulate the *Romans* on their late Victory. Then the Arrival of the King was notified to the assembled Senate; and the *Conscript Fathers* instantly sent Deputies to receive him, and introduce him into the Senate. Upon which the vile Monarch shewed the Meanness of his Spirit, in the strongest Point of Light. *I have taken the Habit and Appearance of one of your Freedmen*, said he to the Deputies. *What am I better than a Roman Slave, set at Liberty by your Favour?* They asked him, whether he would be introduced into the Senate immediately; and he desired two Days first, to see the City, and Temples, and visit his Friends. On the third Day he was introduced, and shewed a Baseness of Mind; unworthy of the Rank and Title that he bore. When he entered into the Hall, he kissed the Threshold of the Door; treated the Senators as visible Deities, Saviours, and Deliverers; then recounted the Succours he had sent *Rome* during the War with *Perses*; and concluded his Speech, with desiring the Protection of the *Romans* for himself, and the Continuance of her Care and Good-will to his Son. Whence it is easy to judge how much such mean Submissions from a famous Potentate flattered the Pride of the *Romans*. After this, his Petition was read, which contained two Articles. The first was, That he might have leave to offer up some of the largest Victims on the *Capitol*, and as many more at <sup>30</sup> *Præneste*, by way of Thanksgiving to *Jupiter* and *Fortune*, for the Success of the late War. The second, That the Republick would give him the Grant of a Territory, which formerly belonged to *Antiochus*, and which the *Galatians* had seized without the Consent of the *Romans*. The Senate were disposed to oblige *Prusias*, who was supported by those Senators, who had borne Arms in *Macedon*; and the Answer given him was this. *We give the King of Bythinia leave to offer Sacrifices at Rome and Præneste; and hereby order, that the Expences of the Victims, and all other things for the Sacrifices, shall be defrayed by the Publick, as in the Case of our own Magistrates. As to the Territory which he desires, we will send Commissioners to the Place, who shall judge of the Affair, after both Parties have been heard.* By this Determination the Senate shewed their Equity, and their Inclinations to gratify the King of *Bythinia* at the same time. They also assured him, That they would take the same Care of the Education of his Son, as they had done of that of *Antiochus*, and the *Ptolomies*, whom the Republick looked on as her Pupils. And lastly, *Rome* made *Prusias* Presents in Money to the Value of a hundred thousand \* *Sesterces*; and besides the Silver Vases of fifty Pounds weight which she gave him, she presented him with the two hundred and twenty five Barks, which had been taken from *Gentius* in *Illyricum*. The Republick also extended her Bounties to young *Nicomedes*. She made him the same Presents as had been made to *Masgaba*, the Son of the King of *Numidia*. And then *Prusias* left *Rome*, embarked at *Brundisium*, and set sail with a Squadron of twenty Gallies, which conducted him to the Fleet, which the Republick had given him.

\* 807 l. 5 s.  
10 d. Arbutb.

*Polyb. in Legat.*  
n. 97.

AND no sooner had *Prusias* set sail, but News was brought to the Senate, that the King of *Pergamus* was ready to land at *Brundisium*; which embarrassed the *Conscript Fathers*. What part could they act with regard to a King, with whom they were displeased, and had a Mind to dissemble their Resentment? *Eumenes* had long been a Friend to the *Romans*, and the most faithful of all their Allies in the *Levant*. But he had forgotten himself in the last War, and deserved to be punished for his Coldness. Nevertheless *Rome* would neither openly revenge her self upon him, nor hear his Vindication. To punish him as severely as he had deserved, would have been taxing herself with Imprudence, in having made so

<sup>29</sup> We have already spoken of the *Pileus* worn by the *Freedmen*, as the Mark of their Liberty.

<sup>30</sup> We have already spoken of *Præneste*, a City in *Italy*, now known by the Name of *Palestina*; and shall not here repeat what has been said in the preceding Volumes, of the Temple which the *Prænestini* erected to *Jupiter*, under the Title of IM-

PERATOR; or of the Image of this God, which *Titus Quintius* removed to the *Capitol*, after the Conquest of this City, about the Year of *Rome* 375; or of the Temple of *Fortune* there; or of the *Lots* which People came thither to consult, from all Parts of *Italy*.



bad a Choice of an inconstant Friend. And on the other hand, to forgive him his Fault, was to betray the Cause of Justice, and give a Sanction to Unfaithfulness. What then could they do? The Senate found out this Expedient, which extricated them out of the Difficulty. They made a Decree, forbidding all Kings in general to come to *Rome*, unless sent for. The Pretence for this Decree was, that it put the Republick to too great Expences, to be continually defraying the Charges of their Receptions, since their Visits were become frequent. As soon therefore as the Arrival of *Eumenes* in *Italy* was regularly notified, a *Quæstor* was sent to acquaint him with the Decree, and to know his Business with the Senate. And this Proceeding shocked *Eumenes*. He gave the *Quæstor* no Answer at all, but immediately embarked again, and returned to his own Dominions. By this means *Rome* indirectly revenged herself on him, in such a manner, that she incurred no Odium by it. The *Galatians* were then making War on the King of *Pergamus*; and as soon as News was brought into *Asia*, of the Contempt *Rome* had shewn him, this gave his Enemies new Courage, and most of his Friends deserted him. Thus did the Favour, or Discountenance of the *Romans*, incline the Balance for, or against, the Kings, in all the Courts of the World.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVI.  
Q. ÆLIUS  
PÆTUS, JU-  
NIUS PERNUS,  
Consuls.

§. X. WHEN the Senate had dispatched the Affairs of the different Embassies that came to *Rome* from all Parts, they applied themselves to settle those of the Republick; and Religion was always the first Concern of the *Romans*. Lightning had fallen on a Temple of the *Dii Penates*, in the Quarter of the City called *Velia*. The Thunder had tumbled down a Gate, and a part of the Wall of the City of <sup>31</sup> *Minervium*. At *Anagnia* <sup>32</sup> the Wind had raised a great Whirl of Dust; and a shining <sup>33</sup> Meteor had appeared at <sup>34</sup> *Lanuvium*. Which was enough, for an Order to be given to the *Decemviri* to consult the *Sybilline* Books; and they ordered publick Prayers for one Day, commanded that fifty Goats should be sacrificed in the *Forum*, and purified the City by Lustrations. And lastly, by a Decree of the Senate, the same Presents were made to the Gods, and the same Number of Victims offered up to them for the Victories in *Illyricum* and *Macedon*, as had been offered for the Defeat of *Antiochus*.

Livy, B. 45.  
c. 16.

AFTER Religion, the next Affair at *Rome* was to settle the State of the two Kingdoms newly conquered. *Illyricum* and *Macedon* were no longer subject to Kings. These two fine Countries were entirely in the Power of the *Romans*. The Senate were perfectly at Liberty to settle any kind of Government there, which would be of most Advantage to the Conquerors. And it is easy to judge, that the victorious Republick would not be inclined to suffer the monarchick State to subsist among Nations, whose Sovereigns had so often opposed them: So that the whole Debate turned on two Points, which were thought the only Methods to be taken. The first was, whether *Illyricum* and *Macedon* should be made *Roman Provinces*, as *Sicily* and *Sardinia* were, and be governed by *Prætors* sent thither annually, to govern them under the Authority of the Senate and People of *Rome*. The second, whether those Countries should be made free, and turned into two Republicks, which should be tributary, and consequently so far dependent, on the

<sup>31</sup> *Turnebius* thinks that by the Name of *Minervium*, *Livy* meant a Quarter of the City of *Rome*, near Mount *Capitulus*. *Varro* speaks of this Quarter, B. 4 *De Ling. Lat.*; and *Ovid*, *Fast.* B. 3. Nevertheless it is certain, that the ancient Geographers, and *Roman* Historians, mention a City of *Calabria*, called *Minervium*. The Natives now call it *Castro*. It took its Name from a famous Temple, which the People of the Country had consecrated to *Minerva*. According to *Pelleius Paternulus*, it became a *Roman Colony* about the Year of *Rome* 629, under the Consulate of *Caius Cassius Longinus*, and *Caius Sextius Calvinus*.

<sup>32</sup> We have spoken of *Anagnia*, which is now in the *Campagna di Roma*, and still retains its first Name, *Vol. 2.*

<sup>33</sup> *Livy's* Words in relation to this luminous Body are these. *Lanuvii Fax in Cælo visa est.* These *Phænomena*, which the ignorant Vulgar took for

Prodigies, were not unknown to the ancient Philosophers. *Aristotle* speaks of them in the fifth Chapter of his first Book of *Meteors*. He gives this luminous Body the Name of a *Goat*, when by its irregular Motions it seems to dance about, and bound from Place to Place, if I may so speak, as Goats do. If the Meteor is of an oblong Form, and is carried from one part of the Heavens to another, with an irregular Motion, then the same Philosopher distinguishes it by the Name of *A Beam*. These are natural Effects, which are renewed at certain times, and which now surprize no Body but the Ignorant. See what we have said, *Vol. 1.* of the pretended Prodigies related by the *Roman* Historians.

<sup>34</sup> See *Vol. 2.* of the City of *Lanuvium*, which the *Italians* now call *Civita-Lavina*. It is not above six or seven Leagues from *Rome*. We have spoken of the Worship its Inhabitants paid to *Juno* under the Title of *Sospita*, *Vol. 3.*

predominant



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVI.  
Q. AELIUS  
PATER, JUNI-  
US PERNUS,  
Consuls.

predominant Republick. And the latter part was chosen; but upon what Motives we cannot now guess, the Historians having said nothing of them.

As soon as it was determined, that the *Illyricans* and *Macedonians* should have their Liberty, the next thing was to appoint the usual Deputation of a certain Number of Senators to go to the *Levant*, there to represent the Senate of *Rome*, and settle the new Governments. The two Generals, *Paulus Aemilius*, and *L. Anicius* were still, one in *Macedon*, and the other in *Illyricum*. These two Conquerors were to be the Heads of the Commissions; and the Senators which were to be sent to them, were only appointed to assist them with their Counsels. The Senate chose <sup>35</sup> five Commissioners for *Illyricum*; and ten <sup>36</sup> for *Macedon*; among whom there were Men of great Rank, distinguished by their having filled the highest Posts in the Republick with Honour. But though the Republick had an entire Confidence in their Prudence, she thought fit to draw up a Plan of the new Government, which they were to settle in their Provinces. This was a kind of Sketch of the Regulations the two Generals, *Paulus Aemilius*, and *L. Anicius* were to make among the Nations they had subdued; and this Sketch, as the Ancients have transmitted it to us, is as follows.

Livy, B. 45.  
c. 18.

1. *THE* *Illyricans* and *Macedonians* shall enjoy perfect Liberty, and shall be free from any Subjection to any King, that it may appear that *Rome* does not enslave free Nations, but delivers from Servitude those that are enslaved. 2. The *Illyricans* and *Macedonians* shall for ever preserve the Liberty they shall have recovered, under the Protection of the Roman Senate and People. 3. The Tributes on the Metals which the Mines of *Macedon* produce shall be abolished, as well as the Contracts made with the Farmers of that Revenue for collecting it; since the Liberty of no Nation can be perfect, as long as Imposts are demanded and Publicans settled in it. 4. The *Macedonians* shall never exercise the Office of Publicans, since they cannot discharge it, without Vexation to themselves, and Trouble to the People. 5. A General Diet shall be established in each of the two Provinces; and the Diet shall take care, that private Persons don't abuse the Liberty *Rome* shall have given them, by plotting. 6. *Macedon* shall be divided into four Cantons, each of which shall have its own Diet. 7. *Illyricum* and *Macedon* shall not pay the Romans more than half the Tribute they paid their Kings. 8. The Senate leaves the Regulation of all other things to the Prudence of the Generals and Commissioners.

Livy, B. 18.  
c. 20.

§. XI. WITH these Instructions the fifteen Commissioners embarked for the *Levant*; whilst the Consuls for the Year set out for their Provinces, one for *Liguria*, and the other for *Cisalpine Gaul*: Where we will leave them languishing away their time in Idleness, and attend only to the Affairs of the East. Before the Commissioners arrived, *Anicius* in *Illyricum*, and *Paulus Aemilius* in *Macedon*, had pacified the two Kingdoms. As to *Illyricum*, after the Defeat and Captivity of *Gentius*, his Conqueror continued some Days at *Scodra* <sup>37</sup>, the Capital of his Kingdom. Afterwards he went from thence, and left *Gabinus* to be Governor of that City. *Anicius* had also given the Government of *Rhizon* <sup>38</sup> and *Olzinium* <sup>39</sup>,

<sup>35</sup> *P. Aelius*, who had already been Consul, *Caius Cicerius*, and *Gn. Babius Tamphilus*, who had both been Praetors, *P. Terentius Fuscivicanus*, and *Publius Aemilius*, were the five Commissioners, whom the Senate chose to settle the Government of *Illyricum*, jointly with *Anicius*, who had subdued it.

<sup>36</sup> Nine of the Deputies which the Senate sent to *Macedon* were, *Aulus Postumius Luscus*, and *Caius Claudius*, who had been Censors, *Caius Licinius Crassus*, the Colleague of *Paulus Aemilius*, *Cneius Domitius Aenobarbus*, *Servius Cornelius Sulla*, *Lucius Junius*, *Caius Atristius Labeo*, *T. Numisius*, and *Aulus Terentius Varro*; but *Livy* or his Copyists have dropped the Name of the tenth.

<sup>37</sup> *Scodra* is now called *Scutari*. We have spoken of it already.

<sup>38</sup> *Rhizon*, or *Rhizana*, or *Rhizinum*, according to *Pliny* and *Ptolomy*, stood, according to *Polybius*, on the Banks of a River of the same Name. Some modern Geographers place it between *Epidaurus* and *Lissus*. *Le Noir* thinks he finds it in the Place where now stands *Rizano*, a Town in

*Dalmatia*, situated on an Eminence. *Volaterran* confounds it with *Cataro*. But this last Situation cannot be reconciled with *Polybius*, who expressly says, that the City of *Rhizon* was an inland Town, pretty far from the Sea. Nevertheless there are some who place it on the Coast of the *Adriatick* Sea, near *Melanto Picolo*, at a little Distance from *Ragusa*. And it is easy to reconcile these two Opinions, by distinguishing with *Ptolomy* the two Cities of *Dalmatia*, one of which was called *Rhizinum*, and the other *Rhizana*. He says the first was a maritime City, and the last an inland one. In this Case *Rhizana* will be the same City that *Polybius* mentions in this Place.

<sup>39</sup> *Olzinium*, which *Ptolomy* calls *Ulcinium*, is still in being near the Mouth of the *Drin*, on the Coasts of the *Adriatick* Sea, twenty four Miles West of *Scutari*. It is now called *Dulcigno*. *Pliny* observes, that in the most early Ages it had the Name of *Colchinum*, a Term borrowed from a Colony of the People of *Colchis*, which had followed the Fortune of *Jafon* and *Medea*.



two Cities of Importance, to *C. Licinius*. From thence he had gone into *Epirus*, Year of a Country which, during the War, had ventured to declare openly for the *Illyrican* *R O M E* Party, and shake off the *Roman* Yoke. All the Places there submitted to the Con- DLXXXVI. queror, except four of the best fortified Cities. *Passaro* <sup>40</sup>, among others, was a Q. *Ælius* strong Place to which *Theodotus* and *Antinous*, the two Heads of the Insurrection, PÆTUS, JU- fled for Refuge: and they, who were afraid of themselves, persuaded the Inhabi- NIUS PENNUS, tants to shut their Gates, and stand a Siege. But another *Theodotus*, who had Consuls. more Prudence than the Heads of the Revolters, persuaded his Countrymen to surrender to the *Prætor*. They hearkened to him; and the two Authors of the Sedition endeavouring in a desperate manner to force their Way through the *Legionaries*, perished in the Attempt. *Tecmon* <sup>41</sup>, another Place in *Epirus*, made some Resistance at first, at the Instigation of one *Cephalus*, a Man of Credit in the Country. But the Inhabitants afterwards suspected *Cephalus*, and surrendered to the *Romans*. And this Example terrified the rest of *Epirus*. *Horreum* <sup>42</sup> and *Phylace*, two considerable Fortresses, opened their Gates to the *Roman* Troops, and then all the Country was quiet. Nevertheless the *Romans* had a severe Punishment in reserve for these faithless Allies.

BUT at present the *Prætor* had nothing to do, but to return to *Scodra*, and put himself at the Head of the five Commissioners *Rome* had sent thither. This Council thought it proper to summons an Assembly of all the considerable Men in the Kingdom; and in that Assembly *Anicius* declared to them the favourable Resolutions of the *Roman* Senate. Liberty was proclaimed to the whole Nation, by an Herald. They were promised, That *Rome* would immediately withdraw her Garrisons out of all the Places they possessed; and That the *Romans* would hereafter demand of *Illyricum*, no more than half the Tribute they paid to their Kings. The Commissioners also determined, That a certain Number of Cities and Provinces, which had voluntarily surrendered to the *Romans* before the Defeat of *Gentius*, should be for ever excused from all Taxes. And lastly, They divided the Kingdom of *Gentius* into three Cantons. The first contained *Illyricum* <sup>43</sup>, strictly so called; the second, all the <sup>44</sup> Country of the *Labeates*; and the third, the Provinces of the *Agraronitæ* <sup>45</sup>, *Rhizonitæ* <sup>46</sup>, and *Olciniatæ*. This Division <sup>47</sup> long continued. *Pliny* mentions the three Parts of *Illyricum*, when he speaks of the Districts of the *Salonites* <sup>48</sup>, *Scardonites* <sup>49</sup>, and *Naronites* <sup>50</sup>. As soon as *Anicius* had finished this great Work, he went to spend the Winter at *Passaro*, in *Epirus*, and wait there till recalled to *Italy*.

§. XII. THUS all things were settled in *Illyricum*, but *Macedon* did not yet know its Fate. The ten Commissioners which were to compose a supreme Court, which was to regulate the new Government of this conquered Province, were daily expected; and in the mean time, *Paulus Æmilius* took Advantage of the fine Wea-

<sup>40</sup> The City of *Passaro* stood in the Country of the *Molossi*.

<sup>41</sup> *Stephen of Byzantium* places *Tecmon* in *Theprotia*. Others bring it near to the Canton of the *Cassiopeans*, towards the Banks of the River *Arachtus*.

<sup>42</sup> It is difficult to say in what part of *Epirus* these two Fortresses stood.

<sup>43</sup> *Illyricum*, properly so called, contained that Tract of Ground, that lies between the *Drin* and the *Naro*. It is now the most inland Part of *Dalmatia*.

<sup>44</sup> The Country of the *Labeates* contained the Territory of *Scutari*, and the Neighbourhood of a Lake of the same Name near *Macedon*.

<sup>45</sup> By the Name of *Agraronitæ*, *Livy* is supposed to mean a People, who inhabited a Canton of *Illyricum*, next to *Epidauros*, on the Coast of the *Adriatick* Sea. Others think this People inhabited the City of *Ascrivium*, and the neighbouring Country, on the side of *Castel Nuovo*.

<sup>46</sup> The *Rhizonitæ*, and *Olciniatæ*, were spread round about *Rixano*, *Cataro*, and *Dulcigno*.

<sup>47</sup> From this Division it is easy to conclude, that the ancient Kingdom of *Gentius* contained those Provinces of *Illyricum* and *Dalmatia*, which each from the River *Titius*, or the *Kerka*, which

discharges itself into the *Adriatick* Sea, to Mount *Scardus*, now called *Maranai*, and the *Ceraunian* Mountains in *Albania*. And at this rate it must have been ninety or a hundred Leagues long, and about twenty five broad, at most.

<sup>48</sup> The *Salonites* derive their Name from the City of *Salona* their Capital, which gives its own Name to a neighbouring River. It was formerly one of the largest and most populous Cities in *Dalmatia*. Since it was destroyed by the *Sclavonians*, only some Ruins of it are remaining. Near them has since been built a little Fort, which is also called *Salona*, five Miles from *Spalato*.

<sup>49</sup> The *Scardonites* inhabited the Territory of *Scardona*, a City on the Confines of *Dalmatia*, and *Liburnia*, near the Mouth of the River *Titius*. It is now buried in its Ruins. *Ptolomy* also gives the Name of *Scardona* to one of the two little Islands which are near *Illyricum*. The first is called *Scherda*, and the second *Scherdiza*.

<sup>50</sup> The *Naronites* were so called from an ancient City of *Dalmatia*, which *Pliny* calls *Narona*, and *Ptolomy* *Narbona*. The River and the City both now bear the Name of *Narenta*. It is sunk from what it was formerly.



Year of  
ROM E  
DLXXXVI.  
Q. ÆLIUS  
PÆTUS, JUNI-  
US PENNUS,  
Consuls.

ther in Autumn, to pay a friendly Visit to the finest Provinces in Greece. His chief Motive to this, was a Desire to promote the Interest of Rome; but it was partly founded in Curiosity. The Accounts which the Poets and Historians then gave of the Magnificence of the Greek Cities, made him desirous to see them; and after he had caused <sup>51</sup> some rebellious Places in *Macedon* to be taken and sacked by his Troops, he took the Road to <sup>52</sup> *Theffaly*, in order to enter into the Heart of Greece. His Guard was not considerable, but he ordered Abundance of Chariots to follow him, loaded with vast Spoils which he had taken from *Perses*, whose Magazines the Roman had found full of them. These *Paulus Æmilius* distributed, in a most liberal and bountiful manner, in all the Places where he came. Among the rest he went to the Temple of *Delphi*, so famous for its Oracles. When he saw that fine square Pillar which *Perses* had erected there, with a Design to place his Statue upon it, he said, *It is but just that the Vanquished should give way to their Conquerors*: and the Roman General put up his own Statue on the Pillar, and left at *Delphi* some fine Monuments both of his Glory, and his Piety.

FROM thence the *Proconsul* went into *Bæotia*, and came to a subterraneous Temple <sup>53</sup>, dedicated to *Jupiter* surnamed *Trophonius*, in the City of *Lebadea*. This Place had taken the Name of the Architect, who had dug this Sanctuary in a Rock, where the artful Workman had long uttered Oracles. The Fame of the Temple drew

<sup>51</sup> The City of *Agassæ*, after it had voluntarily surrendered to the Romans, declared openly a second time in favour of *Perses*. *Paulus Æmilius* was informed of it, and immediately sent his Son *Quintus Fabius*, lately returned from Rome, at the Head of a Body of Troops, to punish the Inhabitants. The City was given up to be plundered; as was also *Æginium*. The Citizens of the latter believing that the News of the Defeat of *Perses* was founded on false or uncertain Reports, had cut some Roman Soldiers in pieces; and *Fabius* revenged the Massacre, in a manner capable of keeping in Awe the Cities, which yet declared for the King of *Macedon*. Add to this, that the *Æginium* here spoken of belonged to *Macedon*. So that it was a different Place from another City of that Name, which stood above the Springs of the River *Ion*, in *Æstiotis*, near *Pelagonia Tripolitæ*. *Livy* adds, that *L. Postumius* came, by order of *Paulus Æmilius*, in sight of *Ænia*, a City in the North part of a Province of *Macedon*, which reached towards the Banks of the River *Axius*, near *The Thermaic Gulph*. For this Reason the Country was called *Paraxia*. The City which is thought to be the same with the present *Moncastro*, was delivered up to the Fury of the Soldiers, by way of Punishment, for her obstinately refusing to submit to the Roman Dominion.

<sup>52</sup> *Paulus Æmilius* gave the Command of the Roman Army, during his Absence, to the famous *Caius Sulpicius Gallus*, who was not only an able General, but also a learned Astronomer, as we have already observed, on occasion of the Eclipse of the Moon, which preceded the Battel of *Pydna*.

<sup>53</sup> *Paulus Æmilius* was attended in his Journey, by his own Son, *Publius Cornelius Scipio* surnamed *Æmilianus*, and *Athenæus*, the Brother of the King of *Pergamus*.

One of the most famous Oracles in *Bæotia* was that of *Trophonius*, which was the Name the ancient Pagans gave to one of their Heroes. He was said to be the Son of *Apollo*, and ranked among the first and most famous Architects of Greece. *Pausanias* makes him to have been Brother to *Agamades*, who had distinguished himself by his extraordinary Skill and Judgment in all parts of Architecture. *Cicero, Tuscul. B. 1.* says, That these two great Men, who were united in strict Friendship, jointly built the famous Temple of *Delphi*. After they had finished their Work, they addressed themselves to *Apollo*, the tutelary God of the City, and new Temple; and desired as a Reward for their Pains

and Zeal, that he would give them what was most advantageous for a mortal Man. And three Days after, adds *Cicero*, they were found dead, to shew that Death is in some Sense the greatest of all Goods, because it is the end of all Evils. But *Pausanias's* Account is very different; and indeed such a one, as is not very favourable to the Memory of the two Architects. But that signifies little; the Greeks ranked *Trophonius* among their Gods, paid him religious Worship, and to his Honour instituted Games, which from his Name were called *Trophænia*. The Oracles he uttered, soon brought the God into Credit among the Nations. *Pausanias* had consulted him himself, and could therefore speak of him upon Knowledge. And as he has given us an ample Description of the Oracle of *Trophonius*, we cannot refuse the Reader an exact Summary of it. This Account is not foreign to a History which is of so vast an Extent, as to be in some measure the History of all Countries and Nations.

The Oracle of *Trophonius* was placed on an Hill, which was surrounded with a Wall of white Stones, cased over with Marble. The Wall which was about Breast-high, supported several Obelisks of Brass. Within this Wall there was a Cave dug by Art, the Mouth of which was about four Cubits wide. There was no going down into it, but by a little Ladder. At the furthest part of the Cave there was a Den, or second Cave, the Entrance into which was very low and small. All who went into it, were obliged to stoop down to the Ground, and carried in their Hands Cakes made with Honey. As soon as they put their Feet into the Mouth of this Den, they were immediately carried down to the Bottom of it, as it were by some invisible Power. They who resolved to be carried into this dark Place, were obliged to observe several odd Customs, some of which were more extravagant than others: And to omit any of them, was to be guilty of Irreligion. In the first Place they were confined for a certain Number of Days to a sort of Sanctuary, consecrated to *Good Fortune*, and *Good Genius*; and this time was spent in Purifications, and Expiations of all sorts. The Water of the River *Hercynna* was appropriated to these Uses. Several Victims were slain, and particular Sacrifices offered up in honour to *Trophonius*, and his Children, *Apollo*, *Saturn*, *Jupiter* surnamed *King*, *Juno*, and one *Ceres* called *Europa*, the Nurse of the pretended God. The Novitiates during these Days of Probation, lived only on the



drew the *Roman* General that way; and after he had offered Sacrifices there, in Honour to *Jupiter*, and *Hercinna* <sup>54</sup>, one of the Companions of *Proserpine*, he came to *Chalcis*. The Desire of seeing the *Euripus*, and its Reflux, and the Island of *Eubœa*, was what brought him thither. It was a Novelty to him to see a Bridge over an Arm of the Sea, joining an Island to the Continent. And then *Aulis* <sup>55</sup> was too near *Chalcis*, for him to neglect going to a Port so famous in Fable. It was there that *Agamemnon* offered up his Daughter *Iphigenia*, to procure good Winds for his Fleet. The *Roman* there paid his Homages to *Diana*, who had a Temple in *Aulis*; and from thence he came into *Attica*. The first Object worthy of his Curiosity here, was the Temple of <sup>56</sup> *Amphiaraus*. The Situation of the Place, which was watered by a great Number of fine Fountains, and the Appearance of this very ancient and famous Sanctuary, were an agreeable Sight to the General. But after all, nothing charmed him more than the City of *Athens*; where he found collected together all the most beautiful Works of human Art. The most perfect Productions of the Pencil and Chisel were here to be seen, both in the Temples, and

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXVI.  
Q. ÆLIU  
PÆTUS, JUNI-  
PENNUS,  
Consuls.

Flesh of the Sacrifices; as did the Priests who presided at these Ceremonies. Nor was this all. Some Diviners, whose proper Office it was, carefully consulted the Entrails of the several Victims that were sacrificed. They thereby pretended to be assured of the Consent of *Trophonius*, who would not suffer every Body to go into his Cave. Nevertheless, tho' the Entrails of the Animals were not so favourable, that went for nothing. But those of a Ram finally determined the Affair. If these gave the desired Answer, the Suppliants were led near the Banks of the River *Hercynna*; and there two young Children, not above thirteen Years of Age at most, washed him, and rubbed him all over with Oil. After this, the Priests led the Novitiates to the Head of the River, and some Water was drawn out of two Fountains, one of which was called *Lethe*, and the other *Mnemosune*. The Water of the former was thought to have the Quality of effacing out of the Mind all prophane Ideas; and those of the latter helped the Person to retain the Remembrance of all things which he should see or hear in the Cave. After they had undergone all these Tricks, they came to a Place in which there was the Statue of *Trophonius*, made, as was said, by the famous *Dedalus*. No Person was admitted to a Sight of this Image, who was not so qualified. The Person that was, had his Head covered with a Linen Robe, adorned with Fillets, as soon as he had ended his Prayer; and then he went to the Oracle, and descended into the fatal Cave, in the dead of the Night. There future Things were revealed to him, by Visions, or articulate Words; and then he came out at the same Opening, or rather was thrust out by some secret Power, with his Feet foremost, as he went in. From thence he was brought back, quite senseless, to the Chapel of the Good Genius, was placed on the Throne of *Mnemosune*, or *Memory*; and made to give an Account of what he had seen or heard. And in the last place, he was obliged to write down on Tablets all the Secrets which *Trophonius* had revealed to him. Then the Initiated, by degrees, recovered his Senses. The Horrors which had seized him wore off, and being delivered from all his Frights, he could venture to laugh freely. In the midst of all these terrible Appearances the most resolute would have trembled. Hence the proverbial Saying then in Use, *That such one was a Man who had consulted the Cave of Trophonius*, to signify a thoughtful and melancholy Person. But whether these Sorts of Oracles were the Work of the Devil, or of a Company of Priests who were Impostors, and made use of their Ministry to seduce the People, is not our Business to discuss. It is sufficient for us, as Historians, to say that the *Greeks* ascribed the Answers that were received in the Cave of *Trophonius*, to one of those superior Genii, whom the Pagans placed among the Gods of the second Class.

Add to this, that the Name of *Jupiter*, which *Livy* joins with that of *Trophonius*, was a Title of Honour which the Pagans gave their favourite Gods, as we have elsewhere observed. The Inhabitants of *Lebadea*, a City of *Boœtia*, between Mount *Illicon* and *Cheronea*, consecrated to this God a Temple, and a Grove which they had planted round it.

<sup>54</sup> According to *The Scholiast of Lycophron*, *Hercinna* was the Daughter of *Trophonius*; and he says she was the first Person that paid her Father divine Honours. From her, the River *Hercynna*, spoken of in the preceding Note, took its Name.

<sup>55</sup> *Aulis* was a City and Port of *Boœtia*, over-against *Eubœa*, and at a little Distance from *Chalcis*. *Strabo* says that this Port would hold five hundred Gallies. *Livy*, upon the Credit of *Homer*, says that the thousand Ships of which *Agamemnon's* Fleet consisted, were secured there.

<sup>56</sup> *Amphiaraus* was one of those Heroes whom the Vanity of the *Greeks* placed among the Gods. He was said to have been the Son of *Apollo* and *Hyperanestra*. As he was deemed to have received from Heaven the Gift of foreseeing future Things, he avoided going to the War of *Thebes*, and joining his Arms with those of *Adrastus*, King of *Argi*, against *Eteocles*, the Brother of *Polynices*. He foresaw that this War would prove a fatal one, and that he would infallibly perish in it. And therefore he chose to hide himself, to get out of the Way of *Adrastus*. But his Wife, whose Eyes were dazzled with a Gold Necklace which was shewn her, proved unfaithful to him, and discovered where he was. So that the unfortunate *Amphiaraus* was forced to take up Arms, and appear before *Thebes*, which was besieged by *Polynices*. But before he set out, he charged his Son *Alcmeon* to revenge the Treachery of *Eriphyle*: And this Son, too obedient to the Orders of a mad Father, was not afraid to take away the Life of his own Mother. He killed her, after he heard the News of the Fate of *Amphiaraus*, who was swallowed up alive, with his Chariot, near *Thebes*. However, the *Greeks* immortalized his Name, and honoured him as a God. At *Oropos*, a City of *Attica*, situated on the Confines of *Boœtia*, the Citizens erected a Temple, and a Marble Statue, to his Honour. The People believed that he uttered Oracles by Dreams; and in this Persuasion, they came from all Parts to his Temple. Before they consulted him, they offered up a Sheep to him, skinned the Victim, spread the Skin upon the Ground, and slept upon it, expecting to receive the Answers to their Enquiries in some decisive Dream. After they had had their Answer, they went to the Side of a Fountain, called also *Amphiaraus*, in which they were not suffered to wash; but they threw several Pieces of Gold and Silver into it, by way of Tribute. See *Strabo*, *Pausanias*, and, among others, *Diodorus Siculus*.

in



Year of in private Houses. The Citadel of *Athens*, in which stood the fine Temple<sup>57</sup> of  
*R O M E Pallas*, from whence the City took its Name, was much admired. Its three<sup>58</sup> Ports  
 DLXXXVI. which were so finely built, put Spectators in mind of the many illustrious Generals  
 Q. AELIUS who had sailed out of it to make War, and signalize their Virtue, in so many dif-  
 PÆTUS, JUNI-ferent Places. But what *Paulus Æmilius* most admired was the long Chain of  
 US PENNUS, thick Walls which joined the Port to the City, and were admirably built. After  
 Consuls. he had paid his Duty to the Goddess worshiped at *Athens*, the *Roman* went from  
 thence, and came, in two Days, to *Corinth*. He was there surprized at the prodigious<sup>59</sup> Height of the famous Mountain surrounded with Walls, on which the  
*Corinthians* had built their Citadel. He with great Delight beheld a vast Number  
 of Rivulets running down from the Top to the Foot of the Mountain, and falling  
 down into the Streets, like Cascades, to water them; and the Sight of the *Isthmus*  
 was likewise a very agreeable Entertainment to him. That two Seas should be di-  
 vided by only a little Neck of Land, was a kind of Prodigy to him. Then he left  
 this charming Place, and came first to *Sicyon*, and then to *Argi*. In this ancient  
 City, which is so much celebrated by the Poets, the illustrious Traveller found  
 many Novelties and Curiosities; but nothing struck him more than the Statue of  
<sup>60</sup> *Jupiter Olympius*, in the City of *Olympia*. This Master piece of Art was the  
 Work of the famous *Phidias*<sup>61</sup>, an inimitable Sculptor, whose Fame will never  
 die. The Sight of the God filled *Paulus Æmilius* with Admiration, and a reli-  
 gious Awe. *This is the true Jupiter of Homer*, cried he; *the Prince of Poets, and*  
*the first Sculptors in the World, were the only Persons that could give us such a Re-*  
*presentation of the King of the Gods, as should answer our Ideas of him.* And  
 he there offered a more pompous Sacrifice at *Olympia*, than he had done any  
 where else. It was performed with the same Ceremony and State, as if he had  
 been to offer Sacrifice on the *Capitol*.

To which we must add, that the *Roman* General signalized himself in his Travels, by  
 great Prudence, Justice and Liberality, wherever he came. He would not make any En-  
 quiry after those Citizens of the Cities thro' which he passed, who had declared for  
*Perses*. He treated the secret Enemies of *Rome* with as much Respect as her old Friends.

<sup>57</sup> In this Temple stood that Statue of *Minerva*, which was one of the Master-pieces of the famous *Phidias*, and one of the finest Productions of the Ancients.

<sup>58</sup> Ancient Authors give these three Ports the Names of *Pyræus*, *Munychia*, and *Phalerum*. The first, now *Pyreo*, was at the Mouth of the *Cephissus*. The second, now called *Mancina*, lay at the Mouth of the River *Ilissus*. *Themistocles* enclosed both these within the City of *Athens*, by a Wall of Circumvallation. And as for the Port of *Phalerum*, it belonged to the City, so early as in the *Trojan War*. *Diana* had a most famous Temple, in the second; which was the most common *Asylum* of those who were prosecuted for Debt.

<sup>59</sup> We have elsewhere spoken of the Citadel of *Corinth*, which was called *Acro-Corinthus*, on account of its Height.

<sup>60</sup> Nothing was more stately than the Temple that was built in Honour to *Jupiter Olympius*. *Pausanias* has given us an ample Description of it. The Oracles that were uttered there, and the Fame of the *Olympick Games*, brought almost all the People of *Greece* and *Asia* to make their Offerings in it. As for the Statue of *Jupiter*, which was then thought one of the Wonders of the World; the Author last quoted speaks of it with Admiration. This stately *Colossus*, says he, is made of Gold and Ivory. It is sixty Foot high, and represents the King of the Gods sitting on a Throne which is enriched with Gold and Ivory, as well as the Figure itself. He has upon his Head a Crown of Gold, wrought in the Form of Olive Branches. In his right Hand he holds an Image of *Victory*, which also wears a Crown of Gold. In his left, he holds a Scepter made of a Mixture of all Sorts of Metals, and surmounted with an Eagle. The Sandals of the God are massy Gold, as well as the Drapery of the Statue, which the Sculptor has adorned with Flower-de-luces art-

fully dispersed about, and the Figures of several Animals. The Throne is enriched with precious Stones, and charged with *Bas-reliefs*, and various Figures of an exquisite Taste. On the Base of the Statue is this *Greek Inscription*. Φιδίας χαρμίδου υἱὸς Ἀθηναῖος μὲν ἔποιεσεν. That is, MADE BY PHIDIAS OF ATHENS, THE SON OF CHARMIDOS. They who would know more of it, may turn to *Pausanias*. He mentions several other Particulars, which have no Relation to the *Roman History*. Nevertheless, we must not forget *Strabo's* Remark upon this enormous Statue. It was so high, says he, that it could not have stood upright without breaking thro' the Roof of the Temple.

<sup>61</sup> *Phidias* gained himself the greatest Reputation of any of the Statuaries of the Ancients, for the Beauty of his Works. Being countenanced with the Protection of *Pericles*, the Magistrates of *Athens* made him Surveyor of their Buildings. But this new Office, and all his Merit together, could not secure him against the Malice of those that envied him. He was unjustly accused of having appropriated to his own Use a Part of the Gold that had been given him for the Statue of *Minerva*, which was one of his greatest Master-pieces; and he was cast into Prison. And there he died of Grief; or as others, of Poison, which his Enemies put into the Meat which was sent him. But some of the Ancients give us a different Account of his Death. They pretend, That the *Athenians* banished him; and That he went from *Athens* to *Elis*, where he was killed, after he had put the last Hand to the famous Statue of *Jupiter Olympius*. See what *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Pericles*, *Pausanias*, *Suidas*, and *Pliny*, have collected, concerning the Life, Works, and Death, of this incomparable Sculptor. He had a Brother named *Panænus* who was one of the greatest Painters among the Ancients.



By that Means he avoided giving any new Alarms, and kept the People in their Duty. *Paulus Æmilius* also distributed Oil and Bread to those who wanted it. As he was on the Road from *Demetrias*, thro' which he passed, on his Return from *Greece* to *Macedon*, he ordered to be brought before him a Company of *Ætoli*ans, who were in mourning Habits, and making great Lamentations. They told him that they had been ill used, and turned out of their City, by *Bæbius*, who commanded in the Country for the *Romans*, in quality of *President*. This was, doubtless, an Office of late Institution, at that time; none such having yet been seen under the Republick. But we shall find them more common under the Emperors. *Bæbius* had invested the Senate of the *Ætoli*ans with his Troops, killed several of their Senators, and banished the rest. But *Paulus Æmilius* gave these unfortunate Men Hopes that he would do them Justice. When the *Roman* drew nigh to *Amphipolis*, he was surprized to see *Perses* coming to meet him, accompanied with a small Guard; and he received him graciously. But when he came to his Camp, he reprimanded *C. Sulpicius*, to whom he had left the Command of his Army, during his Absence.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVI.

Q. ÆLIUS  
PÆTUS, JUNI-  
US PENNUS,  
Consuls.

§. XIII. At length, the ten Deputies which were to represent the *Roman* Senate in *Macedon*, arrived in the *Levant*; and as soon as the *Roman* General was informed that they were landed at *Apollonia*<sup>62</sup>, he went to meet them, and conducted them to *Amphipolis*, where this august Council was to sit. The first Business of *Paulus Æmilius* was to put *Perses* under more close Confinement. He committed him, and *Philip* his eldest Son, to the Care of *Aulus Postumius*. As for the youngest Prince, and the Princess his Sister, he brought them from *Samo*thrace, where they had continued. And lastly, the General published an Order throughout the Kingdom, for the Heads of the ten chief Cities to come to *Amphipolis*. Thither also were brought the publick Registers, the Papers belonging to the Crown, and the remaining Part of the Letters which *Perses* had received, during his Negotiations with the Kings and Republicks of the East. At the opening of the Sittings of the Council, there was a prodigious Multitude of *Macedonians* assembled together, from all Corners of the Kingdom, to hear their Fate determined; and tho' they were used to see the State of their Kings, the Novelty of this Sight surprized them. A *Pro-Consul* seated on his Tribunal, surrounded with ten grave Senators, the Company of *Lictors* armed with their *Axes* and *Fasces*, the Guard which kept off the Crowd, and the Multitude of *Roman* Officers, were a terrible Appearance, especially to a vanquished People. An Herald proclaimed Silence, and *Paulus Æmilius* spake only these few Words, in *Latin*. *You are going to be told, Macedonians, in what Manner it has pleased the Roman Senate, and Myself, to settle the new Government of this State.* The *Prætor Octavius*, who commanded the *Roman* Fleet, and had a Seat in the Council, was ordered to repeat in *Greek*, what the *Pro-Consul* had said in *Latin*. The Attention given was exceeding great; and then Proclamation was made, as follows.

1. *ALL the Nations of Macedon shall be put into Possession of their Liberty; their Cities shall be free from Subjection to any Person whatsoever; and they shall annually chuse their own Magistrates.* 2. *Every private Person shall keep Possession of his Estate in Land, and of his Effects.* 3. *The whole Nation shall pay the Romans but half the Tribute they paid their Kings.* 4. *The whole Kingdom shall be divided into four Cantons. The first shall contain, the Country lying between the Rivers*<sup>63</sup> *Strymon and*<sup>64</sup> *Nessus; all the Cities, Towns and Castles, beyond the Nessus,*<sup>Livy, B. 45.</sup> *Eastward, which belonged to Perses, except the Cities of Emos, Maronea, and*<sup>c. 29.</sup> *Abdera*<sup>65</sup>; *and beyond the Strymon, Westward, all Bisaltica, and Heraclea, which is*<sup>Livy, ibid,</sup> *called Sintice. The second shall contain all the Eastern Part of the Country which*<sup>is</sup>

<sup>62</sup> The City of *Apollonia* here spoken of, stood in *Macedon*, between *Amphipolis* and *Thessalonica*, on the Banks of the River *Chabrius*. Modern Geographers now call it *Erisso*.

<sup>63</sup> The River *Strymon*, which *Plutarch* also calls *Conozus*, rises in Mount *Orbelus*. From thence it runs thro' the most Eastern Part of *Macedon*, and discharges itself into that Gulph in the *Ægean* Sea; which is now known by the Name of *Golפו di Conozza*. According to *Sophian*, this River is the same

which is now called *Stromona*. *Bellonius* calls it *Marmora*.

<sup>64</sup> The River *Nessus*, or *Nestus*, divides *Macedon* and *Thrace*. The ancient Geographers speak of some other Rivers of this Name that ran in *Illyricum*, *Thessaly*, and *Upper Mysia*. That here spoken of, is now called *Nesso*, according to *Sophian*. But *Bellonius* calls it *Carason*.

<sup>65</sup> *Abdera* was formerly one of the most famous Cities in *Thrace*. It stood at the Mouth of the River *Nessus*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVI.  
Q. ÆLIUS  
PÆTUS, JUNI-  
US PENNUS,  
Consuls.

is watered by the Strymon, (except Heraclea, Sintice, and Bifaltica;) and all the Western Part, to the River <sup>66</sup> Axius, inclusive of Pœonia. The third shall reach from the River Axius, Eastward, to the River Peneus, Westward, and to the Valleys of Mount <sup>67</sup> Bora, Northward. To which shall be added, that Part of Pœonia which lies to the West of the River Axius, together with <sup>68</sup> Edessa, and <sup>69</sup> Berœa. The fourth Canton shall reach from Mount Bora, to the Confines of Illyricum and Epirus. 5. These four Cantons shall each depend on its chief City. Amphipolis shall be the Capital of the first Canton; Thessalonica, of the second; Pella, of the third; and Stobos <sup>70</sup> in Pelagonia, of the fourth. In these Capitals, shall be held the particular Diets of each Canton; and there the Magistrates shall be elected, and the Tribute-Money paid. 6. No Person shall be suffered to marry, or purchase Lands, or Houses, out of his own Canton. 7. No Macedonian shall be suffered to work in the Gold and Silver Mines; but they may in those of Copper and Iron. 8. No Macedonian shall make use of the Salt brought from another Country. 9. We decree, that Pœonia, which is cultivated by the Dardani, as one of their ancient Dependancies, shall enjoy a perfect Liberty; but we give the Dardani Leave to carry on a Salt Trade with the Macedonians, and erect Warehouses for it at Stobos. 10. We forbid the Macedonians to cut, or to suffer Foreigners to cut, any Wood fit for building Ships. 11. We give the Provinces which border upon foreign Countries Leave to have Garrisons, and keep them in their Frontier Towns.

THESE Regulations made different Impressions on different Minds. The Macedonians were charmed with recovering their Liberty, and with the lessening of their Taxes. But what made them uneasy, was the Prohibition to marry Wives out of their own Canton, or change their Habitations. Then is Macedon disunited, said they. Alas! must we, for the future, be a divided Country, whose Members are not bound together by the common Ties of Society! As if every Part of the new Division was not large enough for a Man to make Alliances to his Satisfaction. But these were slight Murmurs, and the Romans little regarded them.

§. XIV. AND now, the Commissioners had nothing more to do, but to give Audience to the Heads of the Greek Nations, which they had summoned to appear

Nestus. Apollodorus and Stephen of Byantium, say it was founded by Hercules, who gave it the Name of Abdera, in Memory of Abderus, one of his Companions, who was devoured by Diomedes's Horses. Afterwards a Colony of Clazomenians endeavoured to make new Settlements there; but they could not hold out against the frequent Attacks of the Natives of the Country. The Teians were more happy. They settled in this City, without any Opposition, on the Part of the Thracians. The Abderitani are famous in ancient History, for the different Desolations which laid waste their Territories. According to most of the Ancients, the Air here was contagious, and gave the Inhabitants a kind of Phrenzy. The Pastures and Waters were also fatal to the Cattel. What several of the Ancients say of the burning Fever with which the Abderitani were seized, after they had been present at the playing of the *Andromeda* of Euripides, has all the Appearance of a Fable. But be that as it will, they were certainly thought a dull stupid People. Hence that Expression in *Martial*,

*Abderitanæ pectora plebis habet,*

to signify a Man that had no Wit. And they were no less famous for their Cruelty, if they really did devote to Death, on certain stated Days, for the Safety of their Country, some one of their Countrymen, whom they stoned. Nevertheless, Abdera gloried in having been the Birth-place of *Democritus*. Which made *Juvenal* say of this Philosopher,

*Cujus prudentia monstrat  
Summos posse viros & magna exempla datus  
Verecundum in patria, crassoque sub aere nasci.*

Sat. 10.

The Poet means by it, That there is no Country, how ungrateful, or how much defamed soever, which has not had its great Men. Abdera has now several Names.

*Sophian* calls it *Polystilo*; *Niger*, *Asperosa*; and *Nardus*, *Astrizza*.

<sup>66</sup> The River *Axius*, which waters a Part of *Macedon*, is now known by the Name of *Vandari*. We have spoken of it already.

<sup>67</sup> We know of no Mount *Bora* in *Macedon*, unless *Livy* means Mount *Orbelus*, which divides that Kingdom from *Mesia*.

<sup>68</sup> *Edessa* stood in *Emathia*, a Province of *Macedon*, near *Pella*, and *Berœa*, on the Banks of the River *Erigon*. *Molet* gives it the Name of *Vodena*. *Caranus*, the first of the *Macedonian* Kings, made himself Master of it, by the Help of a Flock of Goats which a violent Storm drove back into the City. He and his Company entered it with them; and he forced the Inhabitants to obey him. This Adventure verified the Answer of the Oracle which had foretold that some Goats should pave the Way for him to ascend a Throne. This Prince fixed his Residence there. But afterwards, his Successors removed to *Pella*. *Edessa*, according to *Justin*, was the Burial-place of the Kings of *Macedon*. *Caranus*, after his Conquest, changed the Name of this City into that of *Ægea*, a Greek Term, which alluded to the Manner of his getting Possession of it. But *Ptolomy* is not of *Justin*'s Opinion. He makes *Ægea* a different Place from *Edessa*. There was also a City of *Edessa* in *Mesopotamia*, which we shall treat of in its proper Place.

<sup>69</sup> *Berœa*, as well as *Edessa*, belonged to *Emathia*, according to *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. It stood on the Banks of the River *Ludias*. *Holsenius* places it at the Foot of Mount *Bernius*, between the *Axius* and the *Ilaliacmon*. *Cedrenus* says it was repaired by the Empreſs *Irene*; and from thence it was called *Irenopolis*.

<sup>70</sup> We have shewn the Situation of all these Cities in the Course of this History.

before



before their Tribunal. The *Ætolians* were first admitted. They renewed, before the Council of Ten, the Complaints they had made of the President *Bæbius*, to *Paulus Æmilius*. But upon a strict Enquiry it appeared, that the *Ætolian* Senators had been put to Death for having openly espoused the Cause of *Perses*; and the Council passed a Decree against them. It was declared, That they who were executed, suffered justly; and That the Exiles deserved their Banishment. Only *Bæbius* was blamed for having employed the *Roman* Soldiers in an Execution which had no Relation to military Affairs. All the *Greeks* were impatient to know this first Decision of the *Roman* Deputies; and when it was divulged, it struck a general Terror into all such as were conscious of having been guilty of favouring the *Macedonian*. The Partizans of *Rome* assumed an Ascendant upon it, to which they set no Bounds. In all the Republicks and free Cities of *Greece*, they usurped all Authority, and all Offices. Such was the Issue of the Parties that had divided the *Greek* Nations, during the War.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVI.  
Q. ÆLIUS  
PÆTUS, JU-  
NIUS PENNUS,  
Consuls.

THERE were there different Factions among the *Greeks*, while *Perses* kept the Victory in Suspence, between the *Romans* and himself. The first, and doubtless the largest, was that of the *Perseites*; the second that of the *Romanites*; and the third that of *The Indifferents*. The latter, whose Faction was least numerous, because it consisted of prudent Men, were neither for *Perses*, nor *Rome*. They were afraid that either would destroy their common Liberty; and their Concern was to preserve their Country from Tyranny from any Hands, whether *Macedonian*, or *Roman*. And as they had acted prudently in the Measures they had taken, they were not in Dread of the Vengeance of the *Romans*. The Anger of the Commissioners first fell on the *Perseites*. The *Romanites* took Care to have them accused before the Council of Ten. The Partisans of *Rome* were come to *Amphipolis*, from *Bœotia*, *Achaia*, *Peloponnesus*, and all the other Countries of *Greece*. They persuaded the Commissioners, that *Rome* had many utter Enemies in *Greece*, besides those that had openly declared for *Perses*. They did not except those who had appeared to stand neuter, and affected not to run in with either Party; but remonstrated, That the *Romans* would never have their Authority quietly settled in the *Levant*, till they had utterly destroyed both the *Perseites*, and *The Indifferents*. The most warm of these Accusers was one *Callicrates*, an *Achaean* of great Authority in his own Country, and whose ambitious Views had kept him immoveably fixed to the *Roman* Party. He gave in a List of a great Number of *Perseites* and *Indifferents*, in *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Bœotia*; and *Paulus Æmilius* ordered all those who were accused, to follow him to *Rome*, there to give an Account of their Conduct. But as to the *Achaëans*, whom *Callicrates* accused in great Numbers, it was thought proper to judge them upon the Spot, and send two of the chief Members of the Council into *Achaia*, to try them there. So that *C. Claudius*, and *Cn. Domitius*, set out for *Achaia*. There were three Reasons that induced the Commissioners to send them. The first was, because the *Achaëans* were the most mutinous of all the *Greeks*. The second, because they had not found any of their Letters among *Perses's* Papers, tho' he had not more of his Party in any Country than there. And the third, because it was necessary to guard the Informer *Callicrates* against the Violences of his Countrymen. Nor was the Punishment of the Friends of *Perses* confined to *Greece* in *Europe* only, it reached also to *Asia*. *Antissa*<sup>71</sup>, a strong City in the Island of *Lesbos*, was razed, and its Inhabitants transplanted to *Methymna*<sup>72</sup>. Two of the chief Citizens, *Andronicus* and *Neon*, were beheaded; one for having borne Arms against the *Romans*; the other for having sold his Country to the *Macedonian* Party. By these Executions it is easy to judge what Sort of an Authority the *Romans* assumed in the *Levant*. According to their own Account indeed, they gave the Nations they had subdued perfect Liberty. But *Rome* reserved to herself a Right of Life and Death over them, and the least Mutiny or Insurrection was punished capitally.

*Polyb. in Legat.*  
N. 105.

*Livy. B. 45.*  
c. 31.

AFTER he had settled Order among the Eastern Nations, partly by Lenity, and partly by Fear, *Paulus Æmilius* prepared for his Departure, and had Thoughts of

<sup>71</sup> *Antissa* formerly stood in the North Part of the Island of *Lesbos*; and it was for some time divided from it by a small Arm of the Sea. But afterwards this little Channel was filled up with Sand, and it

was again joined to the Island.

<sup>72</sup> *Methymna* was the second City in the Island of *Lesbos*, of which *Mitylene* was the Capital.

carrying



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVI.  
Q. ÆLIUS  
PÆTUS, JUNI-  
US PÆNNUS,  
Consuls.

carrying back his *Legions to Rome*. He had nothing more to do, but to put the last Hand to the new Government in *Macedon*. To this End, he assembled a general Diet, of the four Cantons of the Country; and read in the Assembly the List of the Magistrates he himself had chosen, to make up the particular Diets of each Canton. Then he published a Regulation, which at first seemed severe; but at Bottom tended only to the Advantage and Tranquillity of the new Republick. The Purport of it was, That all those who had any Share in the old Government should be driven out of *Macedon*; not only the Ministers of State, but the Officers of the Exchequer, the Generals of Armies, Admirals, Governours of Provinces, and Frontier Cities, the Persons employed in Embassies, and lastly, all the Courtiers which the King had honoured with his Favour and Confidence. This unexpected Blow raised the Compassion of the People, and caused some Murmurings. But afterwards they considered the Characters of the Persons *Rome* had banished; and found that most of them were vile Slaves of Fortune, absolutely devoted to the Will of the old King; and who by base Compliances with his Pleasure had obtained a Right of tyrannizing over their Fellow-Subjects. Some were exceeding rich; others with moderate Estates, lived at a vast Expence, which they found Means to support, by their Extortions. So that, all things considered, *Macedon* thought herself well rid of these dishonest Men, who owed all their Splendor to the Countenance given them at Court, and their Rapines. The Decree was heard with Joy, which banished them from *Macedon*; commanded them, under pain of Death, to go into *Italy*; and put it absolutely out of their Power, to form Cabals. As to the new Senators, the *Pro-Consul* gave them such Rules of civil Law to act by, as were so very prudent and rational, that Time itself, the severest Judge of Laws, never weakened the Force of them. As certain a Proof, surely, as can be given, that they were founded on the purest Dictates of Equity!

Plut. Life of  
Paulus.  
Livy, B. 45.  
c. 32.

§. XV. BUT before he left a Country which upon its Conquest was now become entirely *Roman*, *Paulus Æmilius* had a mind to see one of those Diversions which were the Delight of all *Greece*. This was one Show consisting of several Shows joined together, called by the Eastern Nations, *The Great Games*, and of which they were excessively fond. The *Pro-Consul* chose *Amphipolis* for the Place where the Festival was to be kept. He had, in his Journey thro' *Greece*, personally invited the Nations to come thither. And as to the Places which he did not visit in Person, he wrote to the chief Magistrates of the Republicks, and to the Kings, at least to send their Deputies thither. The Preparations for these *Games* were very great. *Paulus Æmilius* spared no Expences to bring to *Amphipolis* all the Persons in *Europe* and *Asia*, that could help to increase the Magnificence of them. It must be owned, That the Shows of the *Romans*, in their *Circus*, Amphitheatres, and on their Stages, were at first but very imperfect Sketches of the Elegance, Politeness, and Magnificence, of the *Greeks*. And, on this Occasion, the *Pro-Consul* employed all the greatest Artists, the most famous Actors, *Athletæ*, Poets, Musicians, the most renowned Coachmen for Chariot-Races, and the most celebrated Riders of Horse-Races, in all *Greece*. He bore the prodigious Expence of all this with *Perses's* Treasures. There was something surprizing in the Order that was observed in *Amphipolis*, which was crowded with such Multitudes of People. Decent Lodgings were provided; the Deputies of all foreign Courts, Republicks, and free Cities, had each his Apartment assigned him, suitable to his Rank and Dignity; and the General had taken so much Care to prevent Offence, that not one complained of Want of Respect to his Character. The Plenty also that reigned in the City, and the costly Treats that *Paulus Æmilius* gave, added new Pleasures to the Solemnity. Every one had his proper Place assigned him at the different Shows; and the whole was performed, without Trouble or Confusion. After all kinds of Entertainments had been presented in the *Arena*, and on the Stage, which might have satisfied the most boundless Curiosity, the *Pro-Consul* made a new Sort of Bonfire. He ordered to be placed in an Heap, but in a fine Order, all those Spoils with which the *Romans* would not burthen their Ships. There were Bucklers, Bows, Quivers, Arrows, Javelins, Darts, all placed in the Form of Trophies, and in short, Arms of all Sorts. The *Pro-Consul*, attended by the chief Officers of the Army, took a Flambeau in his Hand, and ordered them to do the same. Then he pronounced a proper Form of Consecra-

Liv. B. 45.  
c. 33.



tion, by which he dedicated to *Mars*, *Minerva*, and the Goddess *Lua* <sup>73</sup>, these Remains of the Fruits of his Victory. After which he set Fire to one side of the Heap, whilst the *Legionary Tribunes* did so to the others; and the Ceremony was performed, with the Acclamations of an infinite Multitude of the People of the East.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVI.  
Q. ÆLIUS  
PÆTUS, JUNI-  
US PENNUS,  
Consuls.

BUT these first Shows were not the finest, though the most glaring and noisy. By order of the *Pro-Consul*, all the precious Moveables that had been found in the several Palaces of the Kings of *Macedon*, and of the Noblemen of the Kingdom, and in the conquered Cities, were set apart in a Place by themselves; and there was no where to be seen a greater Collection of Riches and Curiosities. The Statues of all sorts of valuable Metals, of the most exquisite kinds of Marble, and of the finest Ivory, made a sort of an Assembly of Divinities, Heroes, Kings, and Queens, which seemed to want nothing, but the Power of speaking. A great Number of Pictures, by the finest Hands among the Ancients, were exposed to publick Sight, beautifully ranged. The People admired the Vessels of Gold, Silver, Brass, and valuable Stones, which were almost infinite in Number, and in point of Value, inestimable. And when the Spectators had had time to gratify their Curiosity, the *Roman* Admiral ordered them to be put on board his Ships, in order to their being carried to *Rome*. What then was *Paulus Æmilius's* Design, in all this? Was it to make an ostentatious Shew of his Booty, and give more Lustre to his Victory? No; he was the most modest of Men. His Intention was to dazzle the Eyes, and strike Terror into the Minds, of these Multitudes of People, who were assembled from so many Countries in the East. Every one carried home with him a respectful Dread of the *Romans*, whose Friendship it was necessary for him to cultivate, if he would avoid falling a Prey to them. In short, these Eastern People at parting, readily owned these two things. 1. That this Show of the *Pro-Consul's* was more to be admired than any other they had ever seen. And 2dly, That no Man but a General, of *Paulus Æmilius's* Prudence, Foresight, and Liberality, was capable of celebrating a Festival in so perfect a manner, as was done at *Amphipolis*.

THE Riches the *Roman* General had collected together in *Macedon*, were im-Plut. Life of  
mense; but he did not apply the least part of them to his own private Use. Nor Paulus.  
would he suffer his Sons, or Sons-in-Law, to receive any other Benefit from them, than what came from the military Rewards they received, for having signalized themselves in Battel. Only he permitted *Fabius* and *Nasica* to take some Books out of the Library of *Perses*; which were things of little use to the Republick, but very valuable to young Heroes, who were brought up to a Taste for Letters. It is said indeed, That he gave himself a little Loose with regard to *Tubero*, one of his Sons-in-Law; and That in the Distribution of the military Rewards, he made him a Present of a silver Cup of five Pounds weight: A Present, which was much for the Honour of the Family from which *Tubero* descended. It was as ancient as *Rome* itself; and yet the Luxury, which was become so common in the Republick, had not yet infected it. They had not yet had any Silver Vessels, even for their domestick Sacrifices, or any Gold or Silver Jewels for the Women. And therefore the Father-in-Law, was willing to give his Son-in-Law, as a Monument of his Valour, the first Vessel of any Value, which had ever been seen in his Family. *Paulus Æmilius* had the singular Pleasure of having settled his Daughter in a Family, which yet retained the ancient Simplicity of the first *Romans*.

§. XVI. AT length the time was come for carrying back the *Roman* Ar-Liv. B. 45.  
my into *Italy*; but whilst *Paulus Æmilius* was preparing for his Departure, c. 33.  
he received Letters from the Senate of *Rome*, with Orders to go into *Epirus*, first plunder the Cities of this rebellious Country, and then raze them. The Misery of so many unfortunate People drew Tears from his Eyes; but he must obey. He was forced to execute the Vengeance of *Rome*, without Mercy; however, he did it at least with Prudence. For fear of terrifying the *Epirots*, and causing Insurrections among them, he did not communicate his Orders to any one Person. He dismissed the Ambassadors, exhorted the *Macedonians* to preserve Peace at

<sup>73</sup> See what we have said of the Goddess *Lua*, Vol. 2. *Dempster* has very improperly confounded her with *Luna*.



Year of Home and with *Rome*, left *Amphipolis*, and came and encamped a Mile from the *R O M E* City. The next Day he marched from thence, and came in five Days to *Pella*. *DLXXXVI.* Then, without making any Stay in this Capital, he continued his March to *Spe-*  
*Q. ÆLIUS* *laeum* 74, and there halted two Days. From *Speleum* he detached *Nasica* and *Fa-*  
*PÆTUS, JUNI-* *bius*, with part of his Troops, to finish the Ravage of *Illyricum*. These two Offi-  
*US PENNUS,* cers had Orders to repair to *Oricum* a maritime City of *Chaonia*, and there wait  
*Consuls.* for the General. As for him, he took the Road to *Epirus*, and after fifteen Days March, appeared before *Passaro*. The *Prætor Anicius* was encamped there, and kept *Illyricum* in Awe with his victorious Army. The *Pro-Consul* commanded him to continue in his Post, and not to be surprized at the new Execution which was going to be made. And then he first declared to his Officers, that *Epirus* was, by order of the Senate, to be given up to be plundered. However, he took prudent Precautions to save the best part of so rich Spoils, from the Hands of the greedy Soldiers.

*EPIRUS* was yet a Stranger to the Fate that hung over her Head. The *Roman* General sent several Battalions to the chief Cities in the Country, under the Command of *Centurions*. The Troops dispersed themselves in the chief Cities of *Epirus*, and were very graciously received, in hopes that they were going immediately to proclaim the same Liberty for the *Epirot* Nation, which *Rome* had granted to *Macedon*. In the mean time *Paulus Æmilius* assembled together the ten Chiefs, which were dispersed in the different Provinces, and governed all *Epirus*; and before they came from Home, they received Orders from him to bring to his Camp, all the Gold and Silver they had in their respective Districts. The General was obeyed; and he thereby kept out of the Hands of his Soldiers, what was most valuable in *Epirus*, in order to put it into the Hands of the *Quæstors*, for the publick Treasury. All the rest, that is, Moveables, Utenfils, and the Money of the Inhabitants, were given up as a Prey to the greedy Soldiers. The Country was pillaged in all Parts with a wonderful Order and Discipline. Though the *Consular* Troops were cantoned in different Places, the Execution was made the same Day and Hour. All the great heavy Spoils were put together, and Money enough was raised by the Sale of them, to give every Foot Soldier two hundred *Denarii*\*, and every 75 Horseman four hundred †, not reckoning the Money that arose from the Sale of the hundred and fifty thousand Souls who were made Slaves, and sold to the best Bidder, for the Benefit of the Republick. Nor was this all. *Paulus Æmilius* dismantled all the Cities he had plundered. A severe Treatment. But the *Epirots* had deserved it, by their Revolt, and Adherence to *Perses*, after the repeated Oaths they had taken, to be faithful to the *Romans*! And after all, the *Legionaries* were not satisfied with so considerable a Booty. They would have had the *Roman* General have given them all; and were against the Republick's sharing the Prey with them. Indeed, during the Campaign, *Paulus Æmilius* had kept them under strict Discipline; and they now complained both of his Severity, and Economy. But the time was not yet come for shewing their Discontents. They reserved their Resentment for the *Comitia*, in which they would have an Opportunity of revenging themselves, in the Heart of *Rome* itself, for the Restraints they had been kept under in the Camps. They followed *Paulus Æmilius* to *Oricum*, where he embarked for *Italy*. In the mean time, *Anicius* tarried in *Illyricum* for the return of the Ships which transported the Army from *Macedon*, and made his Stay useful to *Passaro*. He there assembled the chief Men of *Epirus* and *Acarnania*, and kept the greatest Offenders with him, designing to carry them to *Rome*, to be tried there.

§. XVII. ALL the East was now in Peace, except the Kingdom of *Pergamus* and the *Romans* seemed to approve of the Ravages that the *Galatians* had begun to commit there. *Rome* had lately taken a malicious Pleasure, in seeing *Eumenes*

\* 6 l. 9 s. 2 d.  
*Arbutnot.*  
 † 12 l. 18 s.  
 4 d.

\* 7 s. 5 d.  
*Arbutnot.*

74 By the Name of *Speleum*, *Livy* means a Place in the Territory of *Pella*, a City of *Macedon*.

75 Two hundred *Roman Denarii* were worth a hundred *French Franks*, at the Rate of ten *Sols* for each *Denarium*, according to our Way of reckoning. *Plutarch* says, that each Soldier had only ele-

ven \* *Attick Drachme*. But it is not at all credible, that *Paulus Æmilius* should give the Companions of his Victory so very small a Reward out of the immense Riches he took in *Macedon*. The Text of the *Greek Historian* must therefore have been altered, through the Negligence or Ignorance of the Copyists.



embark in a disadvantageous War with barbarous Neighbours, whose Hostilities she could easily have put a Stop to. But at last the Senate were prevailed on by Prince *Attalus* to favour the King his Brother. The *Roman* Republick sent two Ambassadors to *Pergamus*, whose Instructions were only to put an end to the Differences between the *Galatians* and *Pergamenses*. At their Arrival in *Asia*, the Ambassadors found the King much out of order. So that *Attalus* was the only Person who was in a Condition to command the Armies of his Brother; and the *Roman* Deputies followed him. The return of the Spring had already brought the Armies of the *Gallo-Greeks* out of their own Country. They were marching towards *Pergamus* by way of *Phrygia*, and were already arrived at *Synnada* <sup>76</sup>, under the Command of one of their Kings, named *Solovettius*. The Army of *Pergamus* was encamped under *Sardis*, waiting for the return of the Enemy; and upon the Report of their March, *Attalus* decamped, and made haste to come up with the *Galatians*, near *Synnada*: not so much to give them Battel, as to apprize them of the Orders of the *Roman* Senate and People, by the Ambassadors. As soon as the two Armies were within reach of each other, the *Pergamian* General sent to demand an Interview with the *Galatian*; and *Solovettius*, puffed up with his late Success, insisted, that the Conference should be held in his Camp. This was treating the *Pergamenses* as a vanquished People; and *Attalus* did not think it proper to comply: not out of Pride, but for fear of breaking off the Negotiation, by Disputes which might create ill Blood. He thought it more judicious, that one of the *Roman* Deputies should go by himself to the *Galatian* Camp. Accordingly *P. Licinius*, the chief of the Ambassadors, had a Conference with *Solovettius*. As *Licinius* was invested with the whole Authority of his Republick, he hoped to have appeared as formidable to a little King of an inconsiderable Canton of *Galatia*, as *Popillius* had been to the King of *Syria*. But he found that a Prince of *Gallie* Blood, had a more noble and exalted Mind than the *Asiatick* Kings. *Solovettius* proudly despised the Orders *Rome*, sent him so far, and notified to him with so much Haughtiness; and the *Roman* Historians relate the Story with Admiration and Surprize. What Comparison was there, say they, between *Antiochus*, and *Solovettius*; or the Dominions of *Syria*, and a little Corner of *Galatia*? However, after these first Bravadoes, the *Galatians* thought proper to send to *Rome* to appease her, and avert her Menaces; and the Senate granted their Request. They were again reinstated in the Possession of their Privileges and Laws; but upon Condition, that they should never more march beyond their Boundaries to make War. Thus the *Romans*, out of Policy, pacified the least Differences that arose between Kings, and the free Cities of the *Levant*. *Rome* looked on all these Nations, and their Sovereigns, as so many Subjects; and thought all their Quarrels so many civil Wars in her Dominions. She made it her whole Business, to keep all foreign Kingdoms, in a kind of Equality; and if any one of them assumed a Superiority over another, it was immediately suspected by these Republicans, who were very jealous of any growing Power. Hence proceeded their constant Endeavours, to stifle the first Sparks of such Contentions.

*ROME* had never been advanced to a higher Pitch of Glory, or enjoyed more Tranquillity, than after the Conquest of *Macedon*; and she waited for the return of *Paulus Æmilius*, who had sailed from *Epirus* for *Ostia*, with great Impatience. The Fleet separated; and the Ships which brought the two captive Kings, *Gentius* and *Perses*, with their Families, arrived some Days before the *Pro-Consul*. This first Sight made the *Romans* inclined to celebrate the Arrival of the Conquerors of *Macedon* and *Epirus*. When they had put the two Kings under a very strong Guard, they saw land after them, all the Captives of Consequence which had been taken in the *Levant*, and a prodigious Number of *Macedonian*, *Greek*, *Illyrican*, and *Epirot* Lords, who were brought to *Rome*, either to be tried there, or sold to the best Bidder. There was a surprising Multitude of them; because the *Romans* had not only brought from *Macedon* and *Illyricum* those whom they found engaged in

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVI.  
Q. ÆLIUS  
PÆTUS, JU-  
NIUS PÆNNUS;  
Consuls.

*Livy*, B. 45.  
c. 34.  
*Polyb.* in *Le-*  
*gat.* n. 100.

<sup>76</sup> *Synnada* was long one of the most considerable Cities in *Great Phrygia*. *Strabo* boasts of the Ruins. Its old Name, though it is almost buried in its Marble-Quarries, that were near it. It still retains



Year of R O M E DLXXXVI. Q. AELIUS PÆTUS, JUNIUS PÆNNUS, Consuls.

dition, or suspected. They had also brought from the neighbouring Kingdoms, such of the conquered Nations, as had fled for Refuge into foreign Countries, and whom they did not think it safe to suffer to return into their own. But the landing of so many Men, who were formerly rich and powerful in their own Countries, did not take up much time; and soon after, *Paulus Æmilius* himself appeared at the Mouth of the *Tyber*, on board a stately Galley of sixteen Ranks of Rowers, which he had taken from King *Perses*, in one of the Ports of *Macedon*. Whilst he was advancing in great State up the River, an innumerable Multitude of People lined the Shore; and to give them some feint Idea of the immense Riches he had brought from the *Levant*, the *Pro-Consul* had adorned the outside of his Galley with the finest Bucklers he had taken from the Enemy, and the richest Tapestry he had found in the Palaces of the *Macedonian* Kings. But this was only a Specimen of those rich Spoils, which the *Prætor Octavius* was to bring on board his Fleet. And at length, *Anicius* the Conqueror of *Illyricum*, and the Admiral *Octavius*, arrived together at the Port of *Ostia*.

§. XVIII. NONE at first doubted but the three Generals, who landed with so much State, would have each his Triumph. *Paulus Æmilius* had been the Soul of the War that had been so successfully ended. *Anicius*, though with less Glory, and less Difficulty, had vanquished the King of the *Illyrians*, and made him Prisoner of War. *Octavius* had invested the Island of *Samothrace* with his Fleet, and given the last Stroke to *Perses* and *Macedon*. The two latter were *Prætors*, and the *Prætors* made War under their own *Auspices*: So that the Advantages they gained, were imputed to themselves, and qualified them for Triumphs. Nevertheless there was no Comparison to be made, between the Victory and Services of *Paulus Æmilius* during the Campaign, and those of *Anicius* and *Octavius*. And yet the Honours of a Triumph were not disputed with the latter; but the People were upon the Point of denying them to the former. Whence then could proceed so extravagant a Step? Shall we say, with an ancient Historian, that Envy most readily attacks the most shining Virtues, and spares or neglects vulgar Merit? If we do, we must at least allow, that Jealousy was not the *only* Cause of the Affront, which the People were going to offer to the greatest Man then in the Republick. *Sulpicius Galba*, who had served in *Macedon*, in quality of *Legionary Tribune*, pursued *Paulus Æmilius* with the utmost Fury, after his return to *Rome*, purely out of Envy. And after all, the unjust Resentments of the *Roman* Soldiers against their General, were the chief Cause of the Injustice that was going to be done the Conqueror of *Perses*. It is true, the Relation of so unexpected an Event would be incredible, if it was not warranted by all the *Roman* Historians; and we may at least observe from it, how much popular Governments obstruct the Glory of the greatest Heroes.

Plut. Life of Paulus.

THE *Legionaries* were all taken out of the *Roman Citizens*; and for some time the *Consuls* who commanded them in the Field, paid court to them, to the Prejudice of Order and Discipline. If the Generals were at all ambitious, and aspired at new Honours, they were afraid, that after their return, these *Citizens* would revenge in the *Comitia*, the Treatment they had had in the Camp. Hence the Relaxation of military Discipline, which had been but too visible in *Macedon*, under the two preceding *Consuls*. Whereas *Paulus Æmilius*, who had no Interest at Heart but that of his Country, had reformed the Licentiousness of the *Roman* Soldiers. He had retrenched a great deal of that Republican Liberty, which the Generals had too long connived at. He had not communicated his Designs to his Soldiers, but accustomed them to be only the Executioners of his Will. Their Obedience had been forced, out of regard to the Laws of War. Though on some Occasions he had given them leave to plunder; he had always reserved the best part of the Spoils for the publick Treasury. So that he had insisted upon their Discharge of their Duty; tho' without being extremely rigorous. For after all, the Soldiers could not complain of any too hard Orders, or any violent Execution. And as their Murmurs were only founded on slight Grievances, they had no Thoughts at first, of carrying their Plots any great Length. They only agreed among themselves, not to appear forward in the *Comitia* to promote the Glory of their General.



THE Senate had already, without Opposition, decreed the Honours of a Triumph for *Paulus Æmilius*; and nothing remained, but for the People to confirm and authorize this Decree by their Suffrages. The Soldiers of the Army lately come from *Macedon*, had a Right to assist each in his *Tribe*, at the *Comitia*, which were to ratify this Determination of the Senate; and *Sulpicius* seized this Opportunity to pursue the Dictates of his Jealousy. He took Advantage of the Dispositions of the Soldiers, and invited them all to come to the Assembly. *We have now an Opportunity*, said he, *of revenging the Severity of an imperious General, who was continually vexing us, and turning our Fatigues to his own Glory. But he was very frugal of his Benefactions to us. Shall we then suffer military Honours to be profusely squandered away upon him? Nothing is more easy than to rob him of a Triumph. Let us disperse our selves in our Tribes, and give the People ill Impressions of the General who commanded us. They will believe us, if we all agree in our Accounts. Let then this rigorous General be made to know, that if he could at that time hinder us from making our Fortunes; we can now obstruct the Glory he expects! It is wholly in our own Power. Shall we then suffer him to enjoy it, without opposing it?*

THESE Words encouraged the few Soldiers that were in the Court of the Capitol, where these *Comitia* had been assembled; but *Sulpicius* saw that his Party was not yet strong enough. He therefore made it his Business to get the Decision of the Affair postponed to the next Day, resolving then to bring all the Troops to the Assembly. The Artifice he made use of to compass it, was this. It was customary for any that would, to harangue the People, as long as they pleased, when the People were to pass any Decree. The Tribune *Sempronius* had already declared for a Triumph for *Paulus Æmilius*, and the thing was thought so indisputable, that no body appeared to oppose it. But at length *Sulpicius* surprized the People with demanding to be heard, and saying these Words. *It is already so late, that I cannot have time enough, before Night, to tell the People all that I think my self obliged to represent to them, concerning the Conduct of Paulus Æmilius in Macedon. I therefore earnestly entreat the Tribune of the People, who presides in the Assembly, to defer Judgment till to morrow. The whole Day that I Petition for, will scarce be sufficient, to explain all the Reasons I have to urge, against suffering that General to triumph.* *Sempronius* saw through the Artifice of *Sulpicius's* Request; but nevertheless he gave the Declaimer the rest of the Day to make his Opposition; and the latter made a long Discourse which lasted till Night. He spoke of the General's having imposed Labours upon his Troops, which were not so necessary as dangerous. He equally exclaimed against the Severity, and the Oeconomy, of *Paulus Æmilius*. *He insisted, said he, on all kinds of Duty from the Soldiers with Rigour; but was very sparing of his Rewards. What will become of the Roman Soldiers under Generals so covetous, and of so little Compassion? How preferable is the Condition of the Macedonian Soldiers, to that of our Legionaries! The Conquered are left in Possession of their Goods; and the Conquerors were not suffered to enrich themselves at the Expence of the Nation they subdued. The time will not suffer me now to open my Complaints fully to the Assembly. But to morrow I shall explain my self to a more numerous Audience. Let all those among you who aspire at the Command of Armies repair hither at that time, and they shall be taught to pay Respect in Rome, to the Troops they have treated ill in the Country.*

THESE Menaces made it reasonable to fear some seditious Design was to be carried on, the next Day; and indeed the Soldiers which had heard the Orator, crowded round him. As he had commanded in quality of Tribune, in one of the Legions returned from *Macedon*; and as he was likewise of a Rank to pretend to the Consulate; what he had said had made an Impression upon them.

THEN he told the Legionaries what Steps they were to take to accomplish their Revenge; and the Night following, or at least long before Day, they came in Crowds to the Capitol, and seized all the Avenues to it. There was scarce room enough for some Citizens of their own Faction, which they desired to have among them. So that the Legionaries engrossed to themselves alone, a Right which belonged to every other Roman, who had a mind to come to the *Comitia*. Every Soldier went to his own *Tribe*; and the first *Tribe* named, entered the Enclosure to give its Suffrage. It voted, without Scruple, for refusing the Conqueror of



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVI.

Q. ÆLIUS  
PÆTUS, JUNI-  
US PÆNNUS,  
Consuls.

*Macedon* a Triumph; and it is easy to imagine, that this first Success, which put the other *Tribes* in Motion, was followed by great Shouts and Applauses from the seditious Assembly. In the mean time, the rest of the People, who were shut out of the Assembly, were full of Rage; and exclaimed so loudly against the Injustice of these Proceedings, that the Senators were informed of it. And then some of the wisest and most esteemed of this august Body went, and forced their Way through the Multitude; ascended the *Capitol*; addressed themselves to the *Tribunes of the People*, who presided in the *Comitia*; and by their Entreaties and Remonstrances, prevailed on them to suspend the Suffrages of the *Tribes*; till such time as a Remonstrance was made to these prejudiced Men, of the Shamefulness of their Proceedings, and the Injustice of their Determinations. The *Tribes* consulted with one another, and at length submitted to the Authority of the Senators; among whom there was an Orator who desired to harangue the People immediately, in favour of *Paulus Æmilius*. It is in such Circumstances as these that Eloquence triumphs. The Subject was sublime and affecting. The Business was to justify one of the greatest Generals the Republick had ever bred, to appease a Company of common Soldiers who were enraged against their General, to make them lay aside the Prejudices they had imbibed, and to prevail on those very People to grant *Paulus Æmilius* a Triumph, who gloried in refusing him that Honour. *M. Servilius* undertook the Affair without Preparation; but he was a Man of great Authority, and made a most excellent Speech. He had been *Consul*, and *General of Horse*. He mounted *The Tribune*, and spoke thus.

S. XIX. *Have I need of any other Proof in favour of Paulus Æmilius than the Conduct of his own Soldiers? In what a licentious Manner have you behaved yourselves, Legionaries, since your return to Rome? And yet in Macedon you obeyed the Orders of your General without Resistance. With you he conquered Perses, and subdued the most powerful Kingdom in the East. I am not so much surprized at his Victories, as at the Discipline he made you observe in the Field. To conquer with a seditious Army, is the greatest Masterpiece of the greatest Generals. The Success of the War may be imputed to Fortune; but this Obedience to which he reduced the untractable, can only be ascribed to the Prudence of the Commander. The more seditiously you act on the Capitol, the more you magnify the Glory of the General, who governed you with Moderation enough, to bring you back victorious. And what a time has Sulpicius, the chief Author of your Plots chosen, to accuse Paulus Æmilius, and impeach his Character? If he had resolved to shew his Eloquence, by decrying the greatest Man in Rome, should he have chosen to do it at the very instant when the Senate had judged him worthy of a Triumph? Could he not have waited till these first Honours had been paid him, before he attempted to lessen his Merit? If he had been discreet, he would certainly have suffered this first Flash of Esteem, with which Rome is prejudiced in favour of the Conqueror of Perses, to have abated; and not attacked Paulus Æmilius, till after he had been returned to a private Life, and he could have fought him upon even Ground. But are Jealousy and Malice capable of Reflection? Sulpicius had rather gain his Point by unworthy Artifices, than revenge himself in a prudent and regular Manner. All he aims at, is only to irritate discontented Soldiers, against a Man who is become his personal Enemy; because he had no considerable Objection to make to him. Nevertheless he yesterday declaimed against Paulus Æmilius, for full four Hours together. The most copious Orator would have laid open the whole Life of the greatest Profligate in less time. And what did he say in so long an Invective? He vented his Malice in general Accusations, which, when rightly understood, tend only to the Glory of the Accused. But what could he lay to his Charge? Let us suppose for once, that Sulpicius had been to have brought his Complaints before two different Assemblies, one of the Roman People, and the other of Soldiers, who had served under Æmilius in the East; and see what the Substance of his Accusations would have been.*

*IN the first Place, what would he have said to Citizens who were free from all Passion, and impartial Judges? Would he have complained; That the General had taken care that Guard should be kept in his Camp, with the greatest Vigilance; That he had himself gone the Rounds, to see whether the Centinels did their Duty; That he had the same Day commanded a March, and then immediately led his Troop*

*again*



against the Enemy; That, after the Defeat of the Phalanx, he chose rather to pursue it, than return and take his Repose in his Tent; That he chose rather to enrich the publick Treasury with the Spoils of Macedon, than give them all up to gratify the Covetousness of his Soldiers? If so; of what Weight would these Objections have been, with a Body of prudent and disinterested Citizens? These Romans would not have been ignorant, that we owe all our Conquests to our strict Discipline. They would not have been misled, by the Esteem their Fathers formerly had for one Minucius, who had like to have ruined every thing, by encouraging a neglect of Discipline. We now do Justice to the exact Severity of Fabius Maximus, who recovered the Republick, only by Delays: So that upon the whole, the imprudent Sulpicius would only have brought Dishonour upon himself, and increased the Glory of his Adversary among the People.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVI.  
Q. ÆLIUS  
PÆTUS, JU-  
NIUS PÆNUS,  
Consuls.

AND as for you, Legionaries, what has, or what would Sulpicius have, said to you, that would not have turned to his Confusion and your own? Would he have charged your General with extravagant Passion, Insolences, or any Acts of Cruelty and Barbarity? No; You would in that Case have disproved the Accuser your selves. The whole would have amounted to no more, than an Attempt to make you regret the Loss of the Booty he refused to give you, and complain of the Rigour with which he kept you to Duty. But if you had Roman Hearts, you would think your selves amply recompensed for your Labours, and pretended Losses, by the Glory of having conquered. And here I can enlarge with Pleasure, since I am speaking to brave Men, who have a relish for Sentiments of Honour. I am an old Warrior as well as your selves, have undergone the same Fatigues, and run more Dangers. I have killed twenty three Enemies with my own Hands, in single Combats, to which I was challenged. The Scars that remain in my Body shew, that I have not shunned Fighting. Not one of my Limbs is sound; and by the Fatigues of riding too much, I have brought upon my self incurable Disorders. Can your Sulpicius, the Head of your Cabals, say as much? In this Instance, I with Confidence claim the Ascendant both over him, and you. It is deceiving you, and it is bringing Dishonour upon you, Legionaries, to stir you up against a General so universally applauded. Except Peres, and your selves, there is not a Man in the World that does not wish that Paulus Æmilius may enjoy the Honours of the most magnificent Triumph. Is he less worthy of them than the two Scipio's formerly were, one for having conquered Hannibal, and the other Antiochus; or than Flaminius, for having subdued Philip; or Lutatius, for having finished the first Punic War? The Conquest and Captivity of a King, the Reduction of a flourishing Nation, and the making the Patrimony of Alexander the Great entirely Roman, are not such obscure Facts, as are capable of being lessened by Envy. The whole World rings with them. And what a Stain would it then be upon Rome, to refuse to give the usual Rewards to the Author of such great Benefits? Athens has much lessened her Glory, by her Ingratitude to her Heroes. And with regard to us, what Shame did our Forefathers bring on themselves, by banishing Camillus! Yet he had not then cleared Rome of the Gauls. What a lasting Reproach is it to us, to have forced the Great Scipio to retire, and choose to be buried at Liternum? Shall our great Men always fall Victims to our Passions? Who can say that Paulus Æmilius has not equalled the greatest of our Heroes, both in point of Valour, and Conquest? Shall we then suffer him likewise to be dishonoured in his Turn? No; it is the Interest of the Publick, that it should not be so. Which of us will trouble himself about conquering, if he is not to enjoy the Honours of the Victory? What, but the Glory of a Triumph, could have been Paulus Æmilius's private Motive, to leave his sweet Repose, to sacrifice the Remainder of his Life to our earnest Entreaties? What Profit has he or his Children received, by this fine Conquest? He is above Covetousness; and must he expect to be deprived of military Honours too? Nay, suppose you were mad enough to bring Disgrace on your General; will you carry your Passion so far, as to envy Your selves the Glory which you ought to share with him? Triumphs were not instituted among us, purely in honour to the Leaders of our victorious Armies. They are designed as much for the Glory of Rome her self, and the Honour of the other Officers, and the Soldiers, as those of the Generals. The Glory of the triumphant Victor rebounds on the Legions which attend him. His Soldiers are on  
that



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVI.  
Q. ÆLIUS  
PÆTUS, JUNI-  
US PÆNNUS,  
Censurs.

that Occasion adorned with the Rewards of their Valour, crowned with Laurel, and march on in good Order, amidst the Acclamations of all the People. To have borne a part in a Triumph, is Matter of boasting for a Man's whole Life. And therefore nothing is more mortifying to our Troops, than to be obliged to continue in the Enemy's Country, when a Triumph is granted to their Commander. Nay, several of You would have already retired to your Tribes in the Country, if you had not conceived hopes of assisting at a Triumph.

WILL you then only be the Spectators of those fine Processions, and bear no part in one yourselves? Can you be easy to see Anicius and Octavius ride in Chariots, attended one by his Army, and Gentius in Chains; and the other by his Marines and Rowers; whilst Paulus is not suffered to enter Rome, with any Guard, or in any Procession? Shall not Perles and his two Sons be shewn to the Romans? Shall the immense Spoils that have been brought from Macedon, be buried out of Sight? No; Anicius and Octavius themselves cannot bear so unjust a Preference. If from their Chariots, in the midst of all their State, they were to see Paulus Æmilius mixed with the common Herd, they would be equitable enough to cry out to him, Triumph; Come and take a Post which you have better deserved than We? And in this they would act agreeably to the Wishes of all Rome. Every Citizen expects to see the triumphant Procession of the Conqueror of Macedon, and the famous Perles led before his Chariot. Will you then incur the Odium of depriving us of this Sight? You know what a Pleasure your Fathers formerly took, in seeing Syphax mournfully attend the Procession of his Conqueror Scipio. But what was a King of Numidia, in Comparison of a King of Macedon and Successor of Alexander the Great? You then are not endeavouring to deprive Paulus Æmilius only, of the Honour which is due to him; but you are likewise robbing your selves, the Republick, and in short all the Roman People, of the Pleasure of a most agreeable Sight. Nay, what is still worse, your Plots are also offensive to the Gods themselves. We begin, and we end, all our Enterprizes with Acts of Religion. Our Consuls put on their military Habits, at the Feet of the Altars; and they come back to the Capitol, to return Jupiter Thanks for their Success. Our Triumphs were instituted in honour to the Gods. Thence it is, that Victims, properly adorned, always march before the triumphant Victor, and are afterwards offered up in Sacrifice. Thence comes the sacred Repast, which is prepared in the Temple itself on such Occasions, of which the Senate partakes, and with which the whole Ceremony ends. Will you then carry your Resentments to your General so far, as to be ungrateful to the Gods? To whom are you indebted for this almost incredible Success! To Sulpicius, whose good Plight shews that he never bore any great part in your Labours? No; but to Paulus Æmilius, and the Protection of Heaven. Yet you are for robbing the one of his Triumph, and the other of its lawful Offerings. Go, Legionaries, I will detain you no longer. Enter the Voting-place in your Tribes, and efface, by your Suffrages, the Shame of your first Vote. I will follow you; narrowly observe those who are most mutinous, and most ungrateful; and then I shall at last know who they are, who would have no Generals at their Head, but such as are too indulgent.

THIS Discourse, which has been transmitted to us by two Historians of different Languages, is so much the same in both, that it seems to have been copied by them from one Original. But be that as it will, this at least is certain, that it had the Effect the Orator aimed at in it. All the Tribes that were yet to vote, agreed in decreeing Paulus Æmilius a Triumph. The Day fixed for it was the last of November. The Senate also decreed, that on the Day of the Triumph, the triumphant Victor alone should give Orders in the City; which Privilege was likewise extended to the Prætors, Anicius and Octavius. And whilst Preparations were making for the Procession of Paulus Æmilius, which was to precede the two others, Fortune made him sensible, that she sometimes reserves her most fatal Strokes for the most shining Parts of Life. He had had two Sons by his second Wife; and he promised himself the Satisfaction of shewing them to the People, in the same Chariot with himself. But they both fell sick. The elder, who was but fourteen Years of Age, died five Days before his Father's Triumph; and the younger survived his Brother but eight Days. These two Children were the Delight of their Father, and the only Heirs of his Name. His two



Sons by his first Wife, were adopted into other Families. However, he bore his Grief with the Insensibility of a *Stoick*; and saw the Tears of his Relations and Friends flow, without shedding one himself. Tho' more affected with his Loss, than with the Honours designed him, he seemed wholly intent on satisfying the Desires of the People. Every thing was settled in relation to his Entry into *Rome*; and it was concluded that his Triumph should last three Days, in Consideration of the many Sights that the Conqueror of *Macedon* had to shew the People. But nothing pleased the Multitude more, than the Expectation of seeing *Perfes*, his Sons, and the Lords of his Court, dragging heavy Chains, and marching on with slow Pace, before the Chariot of the General who had conquered them. And on the other hand, the King of *Macedon* dreaded nothing more, than being exposed to the Shouts and Insults of the *Romans*. He therefore sent from his Prison to entreat *Paulus Æmilius* to spare him the Confusion of appearing in publick, on a Solemnity which was more grievous to him, than his Captivity. To which the Conqueror answered the Messenger, *Tell Perfes, that it long has been, and still is, in his own Power, to rid himself of our Chains.* Which was telling him plainly enough, that only Poison, or a Ponyard, could preserve him from the Infamy he feared. But the Love of Life, or perhaps some Remains of Hope, determined *Perfes* to prefer the most shameful of all Indignities, to what the Pagans thought an honourable Death. And by this single Act of Cowardice, the captive King was thought to have deserved all the Calamities that overwhelmed him.

Year of  
*R O M E*  
DLXXXVI.  
Q. ÆLIUS  
PÆIUS, JUNI-  
US PENNUS,  
Consuls.

§. XX. At length the appointed Day came for the first Procession of the finest Triumph *Rome* had yet seen. Early in the Morning, Scaffolds were built in the *Circus's*, *Theatres*, publick Places, and Streets, through which it was to pass. All the People appeared dressed in White, in Testimony of their Joy. The Populace, who could get no Seats in the Amphitheatres, lined the Streets; and some *Lictors*, armed only with Rods, went from Place to Place, to keep off the Crowd, and clear the Way. On the first Day were shewn the vast Number of Statues and Pictures, which *Paulus Æmilius* had brought from *Macedon*, and the *Greek Cities* that had joined with *Perfes*. There entered through *The Triumphal Gate* a long Train of two hundred and fifty Waggons, on which these incomparable Works of the greatest Painters, and best Statuaries in *Greece*, were placed in an artful Manner; and as the Horses moved but slowly, the People had time to examine and admire these Masterpieces of Art.

*Plut. Life of*  
*Paulus.*  
*Vell. Patere.*  
*B. 1. c. 9.*  
*Florus, B. 2.*  
*c. 12.*

On the second Day, there were two different Shows. First appeared on Waggon the Arms that had been taken from the several Nations which had fought for *Perfes*, or which had been found in the King's Magazines, and in the Fields of Battel: All these Instruments of War, Pikes, Helmets, Bucklers, Javelins, Quivers, Sabres, and Swords, were ranged without Confusion; but with an Air of Negligence, which is often the Effect of Art. Upon the least Motion, these Arms beat against one another, and made a clashing Noise, like that of Armies engaged. Whence it is easy to judge, how pleasing this Sight and this Noise must be, to a People who breathed nothing but War. The Mixture of the Arms of *Cretans*, *Thracians*, *Epirots*, and *Greeks*, with those of the *Macedonians*, made an agreeable Variety; and convinced the *Romans*, who had time enough to satisfy their Curiosity, how many different Nations their General had had to conquer.

AFTER this Show, which was wholly martial, came another, which was yet more entertaining. Three thousand Men, divided into Fours, carried Biers, laden with Urns of all sorts of Metal, more valuable for their Workmanship, than their Materials, and full of the Money that had been brought from the *Levant*. Each Vessel contained eighteen thousand \* *Drachmæ*, according to *Plutarch*. Nevertheless, as to the Value of all the Sums shewn to the People in this first Procession, the Historians 7<sup>b</sup> are by no means agreed. But this at least is certain, that

\* 581 L. 5 s.  
*Arbutb.*

*Rome*

77 These Vases were seven hundred and fifty in Number, according to *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Paulus Æmilius*. Supposing then with him that there were eighteen thousand *Attick Drachmæ*, or three *Talents* in each Vase, the Value of the whole Sum

contained in the seven hundred and fifty Urns, will amount to six millions seven hundred and fifty thousand *Livres*.

78 *Valerius of Antium* had reckoned up all these Sums, and made them amount to the Value of a hundred

\* 425937 L.  
10 s. *Arbutb.*



Year of  
ROME  
DLXXXVI.

Q. ÆLIUS  
PÆTUS, JUNI-  
US PENNUS,  
Consuls.

Rome was so much enriched <sup>79</sup> with all these valuable Spoils, that she had no Oc-  
casion to lay any Tax on the People, from the time of *Paulus Æmilius* to that  
of <sup>80</sup> *Augustus*. Besides these Urns, which could only be carried on Hand-Bar-  
rows, there were also a great Number of Men, who carried on their Heads, Cups,  
Goblets, and Flagons, of various sorts, made of the richest Metals, and adorned  
with precious Stones.

BUT all that was seen on the two first Days of the Procession, was only the  
Prelude to what was expected on the third: So that the Curiosity of the People  
was then greater than before, and their Numbers increased. At the Head of the  
Procession came a great Number of Horns and Trumpets, which made the Air  
ring, not only with the Tunes usually played on Marches, but with the Din  
that animated the Soldiers in an Engagement. This military Musick was followed  
by a hundred and twenty fat Oxen, crowned with Festoons, and adorned with  
Garlands. These were the Victims that were to be slain on the *Capitol*, and which  
were led each by a Sacrificer, carrying an Ax on his Shoulder, and wearing a very  
fine embroidered Girdle. Some young Children, very neatly dressed, carried after  
the Sacrificers, the Vessels proper for catching the Blood of the Victims; and after  
this numerous Train of Ministers, followed seventy seven new Urns (each borne  
by four Men) which held all the Gold that had been taken. It is said, that each  
Urn contained the Value of \* three <sup>81</sup> *Talents* of Gold. After the Urns came Men on  
Foot, who shewed the People the ancient Cups which the *Antigonidae* <sup>82</sup>, and  
*Seleucidae* used, and other pieces of Plate made by *Thericles*, a Goldsmith of great  
Reputation. Then followed *Perses's Buffet*, with all his Gold and Silver Plate;  
and after it, the Chariot in which that Prince used to ride. In his Chariot was  
placed his Armour, and royal Diadem, the sad Remains of his Grandeur. At some

Plut. Life of  
Paulus.

\* 5812 l. 10 s.  
Arbutnot.

<sup>b</sup> 968750 l.  
Arbut.

<sup>c</sup> 1695312 l.  
10 s. Arbut.

<sup>d</sup> 1162500 l.  
Arbutnot.

<sup>e</sup> 2421875 l.  
Arbutnot.

<sup>f</sup> 447562 l.  
10 s. Arbut.

<sup>g</sup> 671343 l. 15 s.

hundred and twenty thousand *Great Sesterces*, or,  
which amounts to the same, to a hundred and  
twenty Millions <sup>b</sup> of *Little Sesterces*. And since  
then, this little piece of Money was taken among  
the *Romans* for the fourth part of a *Denarius*, which  
was worth ten *Sols*, as we have elsewhere observ-  
ed, we must consequently understand it to be equi-  
valent to the eighth part of twenty *Sols*. And con-  
sequently a hundred and twenty Millions, divided by  
eight, will produce fifteen Millions of *French Livres*.  
Nevertheless, *Livy* accuses *Valerius of Antium* of  
much diminishing the Number and Value of the  
Sums brought from *Macedon*, both Gold and Sil-  
ver. The *Roman* Historian judges of this prodigi-  
ous Quantity of Money, by the Multitude of the  
Waggons that carried it during the Triumph; for  
he does not mention either the three thousand Men,  
or the seven hundred and fifty Vases, which were car-  
ried by four Men each, according to *Plutarch*. *Velleius*  
*Paterculus* also joins with *Livy*. He says that *Paulus*  
*Æmilius* put into the publick Treasury to the Value  
of two hundred and ten Millions <sup>c</sup> of *Little Sesterces*,  
which when reduced to *French* Money, amount to  
near twenty six millions two hundred and fifty thou-  
sand *Livres*. Whereas *Suidas* does not reckon  
more than six thousand *Talents* <sup>d</sup>, which make about  
eighteen Millions of *Livres*. Whilst *Pliny* still im-  
proves upon the Authors before quoted. He values  
these Sums at three hundred Millions of *Little*  
*Sesterces* <sup>e</sup>; that is thirty seven Millions five hundred  
thousand *Livres*.

<sup>79</sup> The Gold and Silver Money was the least  
part of the Riches which *Paulus Æmilius* brought  
from *Macedon*. The Republick heaped up immense  
Sums, out of the Produce of so many valuable  
Spoils.

<sup>80</sup> *Cicero* and *Plutarch* are our Authorities for a  
Fact so remarkable, and so glorious for the Me-  
mory of *Paulus Æmilius*. This Great Man, adds  
*Cicero*, *De Offic. B. 2.* was content with having  
made his fellow Citizens happy, and gained nothing  
to himself or Family from all those Riches, but the  
eternal Glory of having taken them from the Ene-  
my. *At hic nihil aliud in domum suam intulit*

*præter memoriam nominis sempiternam.* And *Plu-  
tarch* says, that from the Conquest of *Macedon*, to  
the Consulate of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, the *Roman* *Citi-  
zens* alone were discharged from paying any Tri-  
bute: So that the other People who were dependent  
on the Republick, and had not the Right of *Citi-  
zenship*, were not exempt from it. *Rome* found  
more than sufficient Supplies in the Provinces sub-  
ject to her Dominion. Besides, the vast Conquests  
the *Romans* made in all the Countries of the old  
World, were an inexhaustible Fund for the Repub-  
lick, during the hundred and twenty five Years,  
which passed between the time of *Paulus Æmilius*,  
and that of *Augustus*. We know that the Conque-  
rors of old *Rome*, made it a Rule to strip the Na-  
tions that were newly subdued, of every thing valu-  
able among them, to magnify the Pomp of their  
Triumphs, and enrich their own Country. These  
triumphant Victors, which are so much boasted of,  
were really but so many illustrious Robbers, who  
gloried in their Robberies, and the Miseries of Man-  
kind.

<sup>81</sup> If a *Talent* of Gold was equal in weight to  
an *Attick Talent*, the three *Talents* of Gold contain-  
ed in each of the seventy seven *Vases*, were worth  
thirty *Attick Talents* of Silver. We have already  
observed, in the Course of this History, that among  
the ancient *Romans*, the Proportion of Gold to Sil-  
ver, was as one to ten: So that *A Talent* of Gold  
was worth ten *Talents* of Silver. And according  
to this Computation, the seventy seven *Vases* con-  
tained as much Gold Money, as was worth two  
thousand three hundred and ten *Attick Talents* of  
Silver <sup>f</sup>, that is, six Millions nine hundred and thirty  
thousand *Livres*. And if we suppose the Proportion  
to have been as one to fifteen, as it is now [*in*  
*France*] all these *Talents* of Gold will amount to the  
Value of ten Millions three hundred and ninety six  
thousand *Livres* <sup>g</sup>.

<sup>82</sup> The ancient Kings of *Macedon*, who carried  
up their Pedigrees to *Seleucus* and *Antigonus*, the  
Successors of *Alexander the Great*, were therefore  
called *Antigonidae*, and *Seleucidae*.

Dissem

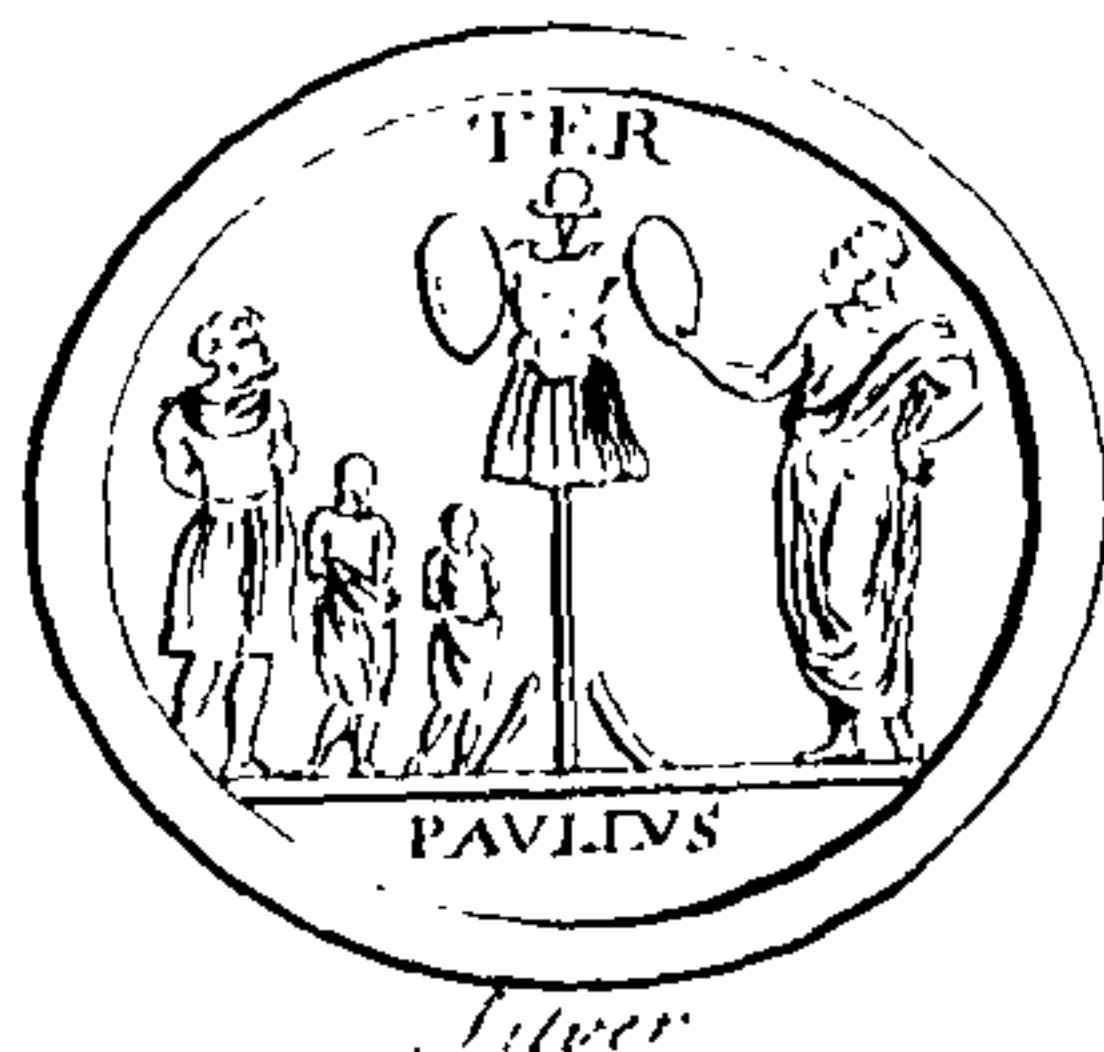


Distance from his Chariot marched the young Princes <sup>83</sup> his Children, three in Year of Number; *Philip* the elder, *Alexander* the younger Son; and a Daughter, whose Name the Historians have not preserved. These Princes were so young, that they scarce seemed sensible of their Misery; but their Præceptors and Governors who conducted them, directed them to stretch out their little Hands to the People, to raise their Compassion. And this Sight so much affected the Spectators, that they scarce thought of looking on *Perses*, who followed his Children. This unfortunate King, who was dressed in Mourning, and wore *Macedonian* Sandals, seemed equally transported with Rage and Despair. In his Walk, and Looks, he discovered an Astonishment, little short of Stupefaction; which is no uncommon Effect of Grief, when it is extreme. His Friends and Courtiers which attended him, wept as they went; and as they kept their Eyes continually fixed upon him, they seemed more affected with his Misfortunes than their own. After an Army of Captives of different Nations, and particularly of the Subjects of *Bitis*, the Son of the King of the *Odrysians* in *Thrace*, there were carried in Procession the four hundred Crowns of Gold, with which the Cities in Alliance with *Rome* had presented *Æmilius*, by way of congratulating him on his Victory. And last of all the pompous Chariot, in which the triumphant Victor rode, advanced with slow Pace. His fine Mien, and the Purple he wore, attracted all Eyes. He carried in his Hand a Branch of Lawrel, as a Token to the Spectators, that the Victory of *Pydna* was his own Work, and that he had not shared the Success of the Campaign with any other Person. His Age improved the majestick Air which was natural to him; and perhaps the Death of one of his Sons, and the Sickness of the other, helped as much to make him serious and pensive, as the Philosophy he professed. He had by his Sides, his two Sons *Fabius* and *Scipio*, who were finely mounted, and headed the *Roman* Cavalry. All the Infantry followed, each *Legion* under its own proper Colours, and marched on in good Order. In this manner they at length arrived at the *Capitol*; and there *Paulus Æmilius* made an Offering to *Jupiter*, of a Vase of Gold of the Weight of ten <sup>84</sup> *Talents* <sup>a</sup>, which he had got made in *Greece*. After which the Ceremony was ended with the Bounties he distributed among his Soldiers. He ordered a hundred *Denarii* <sup>b</sup> to be given to every Foot Soldier, two hundred to every <sup>c</sup> *Centurion*, and three hundred to every <sup>d</sup> Trooper. And it was generally believed, that he would have doubled

R O M E  
DLXXXVI.

Q. ÆLIUS  
PÆTUS, JU-  
NIUS PÆNNUS,  
Consuls.

<sup>a</sup> Worth  
600000. Sterl.  
at 4 l. per  
Ounce.  
<sup>b</sup> 3 l. 4 s. 7 d.  
<sup>c</sup> 6 l. 9 s. 2 d.  
<sup>d</sup> 9 l. 13 s. 9 d.



<sup>83</sup> Time has yet preserved an authentick Monument of the Triumph of *Paulus Æmilius*; that is a Medal, on the reverse of which there is a Trophy erected to the Honour of the Conqueror) and the triumphant Victor himself, in a *Toga*. The King of *Macedon*, whose two Sons are before him, is represented under the Figure of a Captive, whose Hands are tied behind him. The *Latin* Term *TER* on the Medal shews, that *Paulus Æmilius* triumphed three times. Once over the *Ligures*, whom he had defeated in his first *Consulship*. A second time over *Spain*, which he governed in quality of *Pro-Prætor*. And a third time over King *Perses*, and *Macedon*. The Medal agrees in that Particular with *Velleius Paterculus*. Nevertheless *Livy*, and the Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, mention only the first and last Triumphs. Or perhaps the

Word *TER* may have been put to signify the *three* Days which the Triumph lasted. However an ancient Marble dug up in *Rome*, in the Place where the *Comitia* were formerly held, attests the three Triumphs of *Paulus Æmilius*. The Inscription on it is this. L. ÆMILIUS. L. F. PAULLUS COS. II. CENS. AUGUR TRIUMPHAVIT TER.

Add to this, that the Glory of the Conqueror did not terminate in these transient Honours. The Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men* affirms, that the Senate and People unanimously granted him the extraordinary Privilege of appearing at *The Games of the Circus*, in the triumphal Robe.

<sup>84</sup> The *Talent* considered as a Weight, weighed a hundred and twenty five Pounds, as we have observed, *Vol. 1.*

these



Year of these Sums, if he had been satisfied with the Conduct of his Soldiers; or rather, if they had received in a thankful manner, the Present he made them.

DLXXXVI.

Q. ÆLIUS

PÆTUS, JUNI-

US PENNUS,

Consuls.

Plut. Life of

Paulus.

Liv. B. 45.

c. 40.

§. XXI. AND now, the illustrious *Consul* had nothing more to do, before he returned to a private Life, but to harangue the People as usual, and give them an Account of his Expedition. However, he first waited for the Death of his second Son, and paid him his last Offices. After which he desired Leave to mount *The Tribune*, and harangued the People in the following Manner, with an Air of Modesty, which never left him. *None of you, Romans, are ignorant of what I have done in Macedon; nor are you Strangers to the two fatal Strokes which Fortune has given me in my Family. Nevertheless, in order to comply with ancient Custom, and allay my Grief, I will tell you what I have performed in Macedon, as a General, and what I suffer as a Father. You put me at the Head of one of your Armies. I embarked at Brundisium, arrived safe at Corcyra, without the Loss of one Ship, and from thence passed on to Delphi. After I had paid my Duty to the God that is worshiped there, I arrived in the Roman Camp in five Days, and took upon me the Command of the Army. I found Perseus entrenched on the Banks of a River of Thessaly; and his Trenches impregnable. I therefore thought it necessary to try to open a Passage into Macedon; and entered it with great Difficulty. The Enemy had then fortified themselves under the Walls of Pydna. I gave them Battel, and You conquered. The Consequence of which Victory was no less than this, That all Macedon was subdued, and the Gods themselves delivered up her King. We took him from the Feet of the Altars to bring him to Rome. But then I could not but continually reflect on the Vicissitudes of human Affairs, when your Glory was increased to the highest Pitch. The greatest Prosperities, said I to my self, are often followed by the most direful Calamities. Nevertheless I embarked to return to Italy; and much feared the Dangers that were to be run at Sea, by your Fleet which was laden with so much Riches. However, the Gods spared us at Sea, as well as favoured us by Land. And then indeed my Anxieties revived again. I again said to my self, Surely it is not possible that Fortune should always lay aside her Inconstancy, only in favour of Rome. Perhaps she now exalts her, only to humble her the more in a short time. Turn on me, Great Gods! Turn on me and my Children, the Misfortunes you design for the Republick! And my Prayers were heard. I have lost my dear Children, and with them all Hopes of continuing my Name in my Family. Even the Fate of Perseus is to me Matter of Envy. Indeed he has seen his Children walk before him in Chains; but still they live, and leave their Father some Glimmerings of Hope. But I, in the midst of your Applauses, have seen the last of my Sons expire. I went from the triumphal Chariot to the funeral Pile. But still, whatever it costs me to appease the Gods, I shall still have great Consolation, if their Anger reaches only to me. Be happy, Romans; though it be at my Cost.*

*Paulus Æmilius* was too well known, to be thought capable of Dissimulation in his Harangue; and all admired his true Magnanimity, and disinterested Love for his Country. Infomuch, that he received the same Applauses in the *Comitia*, as had been given him on the Day of his Triumph. Crowds of People conducted him to his House, to which he confined himself, there to wait for his Dissolution. But *Rome* did not suffer him long to enjoy the Repose his Philosophy taught him to love, in his private Family. Being looked on as the Hero of his Age, and the Father of his Republick, he was even, in his Retirement, the Soul of all Deliberations, and his Advice passed for a Law. Though he was poor, after he had gained so much Riches for *Rome*, he was as much honoured in his Retreat, as he had been esteemed at the Head of Armies. He was a zealous Partizan for the Nobility, and never demeaned himself so much as to flatter the People. He was an equitable Protector of the People, and never sacrificed them to the Interests of the Nobility. Such was the *Paulus Æmilius*, whom we must now leave for a time, but shall bring him again on the Stage.

§. XXII. THE Day after the Conqueror of *Perseus* had triumphed, the *Pro-Prætor Octavius* triumphed in his Turn. The Difference of their Merit made a Difference in their Honours, and Procession. On the first Day of *December*, *Octavius* made

85 *Plutarch* here contradicts *Livy*. The latter his Father's Triumph; and that the eldest, that pretends, that the second Son of *Paulus Æmilius* fourteen, died three Days after the Procession. died at the Age of twelve Years, five Days before



Year of  
*R O M E*  
DLXXXVI.

Q. ÆLIUS  
PÆTUS, JUNI-  
US PENNUS,  
Consuls.

*Festus B. 13.  
ad Verbum Oc-  
tavia*

Lucy, B 45.  
c. 45.

† 12 1/2 lb  
 1296 l Sterl.  
 at 4 l per  
 Ounce.  
 \* Worth 57 l.  
 Sterl. at 5 s.  
 per Ounce.  
 † 96 l. 17 s.  
 6 d. Arbuth.

88 We have spoken of the Feast of *The Quirinalia*, in the preceding Volumes.

89 Nineteen Pounds weight of Silver is too little a Quantity to be shewn in a solemn manner, in a triumphal Procession ; and therefore we think it reasonable to suppose, that the Word *Mille*, or Thousand, is dropped out of the Copies of *Livy*.

90 *Iguvium* was a City of *Umbria* near the *Apennines*. The *Italians* now call it *Eugubio*.

91 The City of *Alba* in the Country of the *Marfi*, one of the Cantons of *Further Abruzzo*, was distinguished from *Alba Longa*, by the Surname of *Fucentis*. It stood near the Lake *Fucinus*, which the *Italians* now call *Celano*.

92. *Carseoli* stood near the *Axio*, or *Teverone*, in the Country of the *Aequi*, which Country is now a part of the *Campagna di Roma*. It is at present called *Arsuli*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVI.

Q. ÆLIUS  
PÆTUS, JUNI-  
US PÆNNUS,  
Consuls.

§. XXIII. AND now, after the Reduction of *Macedon* and *Illyricum*, it seemed to be time for *Rome* to leave the World in Repose, lay aside her Arms, and shut up the Temple of *Janus*. But her Ambition and Policy would not give her one Moment's respite. To pursue War after War, and always keep her *Legionaries* in play, was a capital Point with her, as long as the popular Government subsisted. By keeping such great Armies always in the Field, she purged her Capital of a great Number of Mutineers, secured the Peace of *Rome* and *Italy*, and made foreign Nations tremble. So that it was become customary for two *Consuls* to take the Field every Year, with two regular Armies, each consisting of at least two *Legions*, and a Body of Auxiliaries; and the Difficulty now was, where to find Enemies enough to employ two *Consuls* and their Troops. All was peaceable in the *Levant*. In the South, *Africa* affected to receive the Orders of the *Roman* Senate with more Submission than ever. *Carthage*, after her Humiliation, was wholly bent on enriching her self by Commerce. *Spain* only was yet agitated by some slight Commotions, which the two *Prætors* annually sent thither soon stilled. *Rome* therefore made her self Enemies in *Italy*, for her Amusement; and this we shall find to be the Case for some Years. She will still have her Army at Hand, even during her Repose, and keep her self continually in a Condition to attempt new Exploits.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVII.

C. SULPICIUS  
GALLUS, M.  
CLAUDIUS  
MARCELLUS,  
Consuls.  
*Val. Max.*  
*B. G. c. 3. §. 10.*

*M. Claudius Marcellus* 93 was elected *Consul* in *The Field of Mars*, and with him that *Sulpicius*, who had signalized himself in the Plains of *Macedon*, by his Prediction of an Eclipse. He was an odd Man, and jealous of his Wife. He 94 divorced her for an Act of Levity, that seems very excusable. One of the *Roman* Laws forbade all Wives dressing to please any Body but their Husbands. Nevertheless, the Wife of *Sulpicius* had appeared in publick, artfully drest, and with her Face uncovered. Which was enough for her Husband to divorce her, under pretence of Disobedience to the Law. This *Consul*, who had Learning, and a fine Genius, but was severe to excess, was appointed by Lot to make War in *Liguria*; and *Cisalpine Gaul* fell to his Colleague. The unfortunate *Ligures*, and other *Gauls* in *Italy*, had long been an open Field for the *Romans*, to which they had always had recourse, to keep their Soldiers in exercise, when they wanted Enemies in foreign Countries. And now only some Castles were taken in *Gaul* and *Liguria*, and some Ravages committed there. Nevertheless the same *Romans*, who had disputed the Triumph of the Conqueror of *Macedon*, readily granted one to these two *Consuls*, for Expeditions which were very little for their Honour. The Republick in this pursued the Maxims of a refined Policy. It was necessary to bestow great Honours on the Commanders and Soldiers, for fear they should conceive a Dislike for Wars of so little Consequence. However, Posterity have done Justice to these triumphant Victors. *Cicero* in Raillery says, that their Triumphs were little worth, and \* bought at a very cheap Rate. These were all the Exploits of a Year, so little memorable. The *Consuls* before they triumphed, which was in the intercalary Month, inserted 95 between the Months of *February* and *March*, presided in the *Comitia*. The Struggle was so great in the new Elections, that the Senate were obliged to remove to the *Capitol*; and

\* *Castellans*  
*Triumphs*  
*Cast. in Bruto.*

93 *Julius Obsequens* is mistaken, when in his Account of the Prodigies that happened in the Year 587, he distinguishes the *Consul Sulpicius* by the *Prænomen* of *Publius*. Besides the Authority of *Liby* we have also that of *Pliny* against him. The latter says expressly, that the Republick gave *Marcus Marcellus* for his Colleague, the famous Astronomer *Sulpicius Gallus*. Now the *Prænomen* of the latter was *Gaius*, and not *Publius*.

Here ends *Livy's* History. The forty five Books which have escaped the Wrecks of Time, make us lament the Loss of the rest of this great Work, which the Historian had carried on to the time of *Augustus*. However, we shall supply the want of it as well as we can, by continuing to have recourse to the other Sources of Antiquity.

94 We have treated of the Form and Manner of Divorces among the *Romans* in the preceding Volumes.

95 See what we have said *Vol. I.* of the intercalary Month called *Mercedonius*, or *Mercedinus*. But besides the Etymology of the Word there given, we ought not to forget another, which we find in *Macrobius*. This Month, says he, was called *Mercedonius*, from the *Latin* Word *Merces*, because the publick Farmers then paid a sort of Salary to the *Pontifices*, whose Business it was to make the Intercalation. Provided these *Publicans* paid the Sum demanded by these mercenary Priests, they added more or fewer Days to the Month *Mercedonius*, as the *Publicans* pleased, who often found their Account in these Irregularities. See *Saturnal. B. I. c. 6.* Add to this, that though *Plutarch* ascribes the Invention of the intercalary Months to *Numa Pompilius*; yet *Macrobius* in the Place before quoted, gives us several different Opinions as to that Institution. He says, that *Licinius Merces* carried it up as high as to *Romulus*. *See*



and then there happened one of those fortuitous Events, which the superstitious *Romans* took for Prodigies. A Kite flew into the Temple of *Jupiter*, caught a Weasel there, and brought it into the *Forum*; and it was judged necessary to avert the ill Effects of this *Augury* by Expiations.

§. XXIV. AFTER many Intrigues, *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *Cn. Octavius Nepos*, were promoted to the *Consulate*; and they had the same Commission as their Predecessors. They were sent into *Liguria* and *Gaul*, where they did not even signalize themselves enough to deserve one of those inconsiderable Triumphs, which *Rome* then granted out of Policy. Idleness reigned in the *Capitol*; and there was a Plague there. It was common in times of Peace. The *Sybilline Books* were consulted, and by order of the *Decemviri*, Sacrifices were offered up in the Crossways, and all the Temples, in the City. Other pretended Prodigies also caused the *Romans* to amuse themselves with other religious Rites. The City was expiated with many Victims, because it was said, That the Doors of the Temple of the *Di Penates* had opened of themselves in the Night; and That Wolves had entered into the Streets of *Rome*. The *Curule Ediles*, *Sex. Julius Cæsar*, and *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*, had the Care of *The Megalensian Games*. The *Hecyra* of *Terence* was then acted, but with less Success than it deserved. *Terence* was now in his highest Reputation; and two Men of the first Quality shared with him the Honour of his dramattick Performances. He owns himself, that *Lælius* and *Scipio*, the Sons of *Paulus Æmilius*, had assisted him. Nevertheless the *Hecyra* did not succeed. While it was acting, a Report was spread that some Rope-dancers were going to shew the *Romans* some extraordinary Feats; and immediately the Theatre was left empty. But afterwards, this Piece was acted again, and received the same Applause, as the other Comedies of this famous Author. Soon after this, the Senate were taken up with more important Affairs in the East. There was indeed no more open War in the East of *Europe* and *Asia*; but there were yet smoking under the Embers some hidden remains of the Fire, which it was necessary to extinguish, to prevent its breaking out afresh. *Achaia* especially gave the *Romans* Umbrage. Its Power did not so much consist in Strength and Riches, as in the Union of a great Number of Cities; which uniting together for their common Defence, made a great State, governed by a common Diet. The Ambition of ruling there had attached two Men, among others, to the *Roman* Party, which it was presumed, must be the strongest. *Callicrates* and *Andronidas* laid claim to the Offices in their Canton, or were willing to maintain themselves in them, with the Assistance of the prevailing Republick. With these Views, they had informed against all those among their Countrymen, who were in a Condition to dispute the highest Posts with them; And their Accusations turned upon this, That their Rivals had been Friends and Partizans of the King of *Macedon* before his Fall.

AMONG the Accused was a Man of Consequence, named *Xeno*, to whom his Country had formerly given the Command of Armies. This brave Man, who knew himself to be innocent of the Calumny, protested to the *Roman* Commissary, that he would go to *Rome* himself, and plead his own Cause before the Senate. He was taken at his Word, and was sent to *Rome*, with about a thousand *Acheans*; among whom was *Polybius*. They were all suspected of having been more in the *Macedonian* Interest than the *Roman*, during the War. But *Achaia* thought this Proceeding more severe, than the Tyranny she had felt under the Reign of *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander the Great*; and her Murmurs were much louder, when she was told that the Senate of *Rome* had dispersed these unfortunate Men in the Cities of *Italy*, detained them there, and would not give them a Hearing. This was a rigorous Banishment; but the Republick thought it necessary to purge *Achaia* of all suspected Persons. The *Acheans* in vain sent Embassy after Embassy. The Republick was inexorable. She obstinately refused even to judge those that were accused. The Hatred of the Publick fell first on the

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVIII  
T. MANLIUS  
TORQUATUS,  
CN. OCTAVI-  
US NEPOS,  
Consuls.

*Julius Obsequens.*

*Justin. B. 34.  
c. 1.*

*nius*, another ancient *Roman* Annalist, makes *Servius Tullius*, the sixth King of the *Romans*, the Author of the Intercalation. *Tuditanus* pretended that it did not begin to be in use, till the Administration of the *Decemviri*, who made an express Law for that Purpose, in *The Twelve Tables*. And

lastly, *Flavius* the *Civilian* pretended, that this Custom was not introduced among the *Romans*, till five hundred and sixty two Years after the Foundation of *Rome*, whilst the Republick was at War with the *Aetolians*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVIII  
T. MANLIUS  
TORQUATUS,  
CN. OCTAVI-  
US NEPOS,  
Consuls.

Informers, *Callicrates* and *Andronidas*; who were the Curse of all their Country-men. They were never mentioned in the Assemblies, but with Detestation, or Derision. Even the Children, as they went out of their *Gymnasia*, called them Traitors, and Enemies to the publick Weal. Nay, the Rage of the *Achæans* was carried so far, that when the two Accusers had one Day gone into a publick Bath at *Sicyon*, no Body would wash with them, or after them, till all the Water was let out of the Stoves. This general Uneasiness made *Achaia* still the more suspected by the Republick; and she guarded more closely than ever those dangerous Men, whose Intrigues in their own Country she dreaded. These were the first Seeds of a War, which we shall soon see break out between *Rome* and *Achaia*; the first Sparks of that Fire which consumed *Corinth*.

After this the Envoy of *Prusias*, named *Pytho*, was readily admitted into the Assembly of the *Conscript Fathers*. To bring the least Quarrels between the *Asiatick* Kings before the *Romans*, was effectually to make their Court to them: And *Prusias* had Complaints to make against the King of *Pergamus*. As *Bithynia* bordered on the Dominions of *Eumenes*, the latter had encroached on the Frontiers of his Neighbour. *Pytho* therefore was come to complain, in his Master's Name; and was favourably heard. *What a Neighbour*, said he, *has Prusias, in the ambitious Eumenes! Rome did not know him enough, when she, by her Benefactions, extended his Dominions to the Frontiers of Bithynia. His Ambition is boundless: He aims at nothing less than the Conquest of Asia, quite to the farthest Parts of Syria. Hence his Designs on Galatia, and the Wars he has drawn upon himself. Bithynia is the first Barrier that obstructs his vast Designs; and he has therefore seized it, and has not scrupled to commit Hostilities against Prusias, an Ally, a Freedman, of the Roman People. Nay, the Affection with which you honour my Master is one Reason for Eumenes to insult him. The King of Pergamus affects to persecute your Friends, both within his own Dominions, and in other Places. For a Man to declare himself a Partizan of Rome, is enough to be excluded from all Honours, or attacked by open Force. To which I must add, tho' it be a Secret yet unknown, That the Kings of Syria and Pergamus are underhand entering into private Negotiations, which will too soon break out, to the Prejudice of the Roman Power in the East. Guard us then from the Injuries of Eumenes, and watch the furious Antiochus. Should those two powerful Kings unite their Hatred and their Forces, they may raise a Fire which will not easily be extinguished.* The Advice of *Prusias* was not thought contemptible. The Senate took the more Notice of it, because many Deputies from the *Asiatick* Cities had made Reports agreeable to the Suspicions of *Prusias*. And the Republick was too wise to neglect necessary Precautions. In order therefore to fathom the Depth of the Mystery of this League which was formed between two powerful Monarchies. The Senate resolved to send to the *Levant* a Member of their own Body. The Choice fell upon *Tib. Gracchus*, a Man of great Penetration, but of a sweet Disposition, and incapable of acting upon Prejudice. His Commission was, to visit all the Courts of *Asia*, to come from thence to *Greece* in *Europe*, to make what Observations and Discoveries he could in all Places, and after this Tour to return to *Rome*, and make a faithful Report of what had occurred to him. Thus *Rome*, without running away with first Impressions, or giving Credit to first Accusations, examined every thing, before she would conclude upon any thing. She saw, in cold Blood, all the World in a Ferment about her.

AND as the Republick took these Precautions against the Factions of Foreigners, so she likewise took Care to preserve good Order at Home. Some of the Historians say, that one of the *Tribunes of the People*, named *Mamilius*, got a Law passed, for settling the Boundaries of every *Citizen's* Land in the Country. The second King of *Rome* had formerly ordered every Man to set Land-Marks<sup>96</sup> at the End of his Field. But this Order, tho' made sacred by Religion, had not hindered Encroachments. After *Numa*, one of the Laws of *The Twelve Tables* required every Possessor of Lands to leave the Space of five or six Foot between his Land and that of his Neighbour; and commanded that this Land-Mark should be

<sup>96</sup> See our Account of the Law made by *Numa*, and received into *The Twelve Tables*, concerning Boundaries, Vol. I.



inviolable by either Party. When these Limits were transgressed, *The Twelve Tables* required that three Arbitrators should be called in, to judge of it. But *Mamilius* now reduced the three Witnesses to one; and made some other Alterations in the old Law; and it is pretended, that there are some Footsteps of the *Mamilian* Law yet preserved on a 97 Medal, which was struck to his Honour. But be that as it will, it is reported that the *Tribune* took from thence the Surname of *Limetanus*, which was transmitted to all his Descendants.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXVIII  
T. MANLIUS  
TORQUATUS,  
CN. OCTAVI-  
US NEPOS,  
Consuls.

§. XXV. THE *Consular* Year was now ready to expire; and therefore *Manlius* and *Octavius* brought back the Army to the City. The latter was the first of the *Octavian* Family who had been honoured with the *Consular Fasces*; and he was the Stock from whence those Great Men descended, who afterwards did Honour to *Rome*, and raised her to the highest Pitch of Glory, in the Person of *Augustus Caesar*. It is uncertain, whether *Octavius*, or his Collegue, presided in the *Comitia* for Elections. But *A. Manlius Torquatus*, and *Q. Cassius Longinus*, were the Persons who were declared Heads of the Republick; and their Appointments did not procure them more Glory than their late Predecessors had reaped. *Manlius* and *Cassius* went and carried on an unfruitful and languishing War in *Liguria* and *Cisalpine Gaul*. Whilst the Senate were sufficiently taken up with governing the great Nations of the three Parts of the known World. *Rome* had the last Year sent *Tib. Gracchus* to visit all the Kings, Republicks, and free Cities, in the East. The Envoy was every where received with the Distinction due to his Character. When he came into *Egypt*, he found the two Brothers, *Ptolomy Philometor*, and *Ptolomy Physcon*, pursuing their Quarrels with more Warmth than ever. *Cleopatra* their Mother had embroiled her two Sons again, by her blind Fondness for the younger. She had, by her Intrigues, got the elder Brother, the King of *Egypt*, driven from his Throne, and had placed *Physcon* upon it. And so far as we can judge of it by *Pausanias's* Account, the unjust Mother, in order to execute her Design, seems to have borrowed the Assistance of the City of *Thebes*, a stately City of *Upper Egypt*, and Capital of *Thebais*. *Philometor* gave way to the Persecution; fled for Refuge into the Island of *Cyprus*; there waited for the Return of *Fortune's* Favours; and she soon declared for him. The same Ambition *Cleopatra* had had of governing despotically in *Egypt*, when her eldest Son was on the Throne, she retained still, after she had put the Scepter into the Hands of the younger. She had raised him, only to keep him in Subjection to her, and reign in his Name. *Physcon* was jealous of her; and the barbarous Son ordered his ambitious Mother to be privately put to Death. His Parricide was disco-

Cic. in Philop.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIX.  
A. MANLIUS  
TORQUATUS,  
Q. CASSIUS  
LONGINUS,  
Consuls

Pausan. in At-

97 *Pighius* is the only Author I know, that mentions a Medal struck in Memory of the Law published by *Mamilius*. And if we believe this Annalist, the Medal bore the Name of *Gaius Mamilius Turrinus*. He says, the Law of *The Tribune* was symbolically represented on the Reverse, by a Ploughshare, the proper Instrument to mark out the Boundaries of Lands. But this Medal either is lost, or never was in being.

98 The *Octavian* Family, according to *Suetonius*, came originally from *Velitrae*. It was transplanted to *Rome*, and some of that Name had the Rank of Senators, as early as the Time of *Tarquin the First*. Nay, the same Author adds, That they were made *Patricians* by *Servius Tullius*. And some others say, that a Quarter of *Velitrae*, called *Octavius*, and an Altar consecrated to a Citizen of that Name, are Proofs of the Ancientness of this Family. This *Octavius* was at War with his Neighbours; and it happened, that the Enemy appeared suddenly before the Gates, whilst the People were offering Sacrifice to the God *Mars*. Upon this News, *Octavius* left the Sacrifice unfinished, ran to the Enemy, and cut them in Pieces. And in Memory of this Action, a Decree was passed, That Sacrifices should be annually offered up to *Mars* of half-grown Meats; and That the Remains of the Victims should be distributed among the *Octavian* Family. Afterwards, this Family became *Plebeian*; but we cannot discover the Cause of this Alteration. All that is certain is, That the *Ostavi*

were promoted to the highest Dignities in the Republick. We shall give a more particular Account of this Family, when we come to the History of *Augustus*, who owned the *Ostavi* to be his Ancestors.

99 It is plain by *Pausanias's* Account, that he mistook the City of *Thebes* in *Boeotia*, for the City of that Name which was the Capital of *Thebais*. *Ptolomy Philometor*, says this Historian, mounted the Throne after the Death of his Mother *Cleopatra*. The *Thebans* had risen up against *Egypt*, and had shaken off her Yoke. The angry King therefore marched an Army into *Boeotia*, forced the rebellious City to submit, three Years after its Revolt; and by way of Punishment for revolting, it was given up to the Avarice of the *Egyptian* Soldiers. The Conqueror every where left melancholy Marks of his Vengeance. Nothing was spared; and *Thebes*, which till that time was thought the most wealthy City in *Greece*, not excepting *Delphi* and *Orchomenon*, did not retain the least Footsteps of her first Splendor. It is probable enough that *Pausanias*, deceived by the Similitude of the Names, applied the History of the Revolt and Conquest of *Thebes*, the Capital of *Thebais*, by *Ptolomy Philometor*, to the City of *Thebes* in *Boeotia*. It is certain, the *Greek* City did not depend on the Crown of *Egypt*. Besides, *Thebes* was then under the Protection of the *Romans*, and united in Interest with the Republick, against the Kings of *Macedon*.



Year of vered ; and the People, who loved the Queen, prepared to revenge her Quarrel.  
 R O M E *Phyſcon* fled, leaving the Throne empty for its true Owner ; and *Philometor*, af-  
 DLXXXIX. ter his Re-eſta bliſhment, made it his firſt Buſineſs to puniſh the rebellious *Thebans*.  
 A. MANLIUS But this War was not of Importance enough to the *Romans*, for them to inter-  
 TORQUATUS, poſe, and put an End to it. *Gracchus* <sup>100</sup> their Deputy received no Inſtructions in  
 Q. CASSIUS *Egypt*, but to prevail on the Senate, to bring about once more a Reconciliation  
 LONGINUS, between the two Brothers.  
 Conſuls.

FROM *Egypt*, *Gracchus* came to *Syria* ; and there found King *Antiochus* obſti-  
 nate in carrying on that famous War with *Judea*, in which ſo much Blood was  
 ſhed, and ſo many Prophanations committed. *Judas*, ſurnamed *Maccabæus*, had  
 now governed his Nation two Years with ſovereign Authority, in Quality of High-  
 Prieſt of the Living God. Being full of the ſame Courage with which the Lord  
 had inſpired the Heart of *Mattathias* his Father, he had put himſelf at the Head of  
 a Company of faithful *Iſraelites*, and fought for the Law of God, and the Tradi-  
 tions of his People, with all the Zeal that Religion inſpires.

JERUSALEM had fallen a Prey to the Uncircumciſed ; and the Temple had  
 been pillaged, and its ſacred Veſſels carried away by the *Syrians*. *The Abomina-  
 tion of Deſolation*, that is, the Statue of *Jupiter Olympius*, had been ſet up in *The  
 Holy Place*. A great Number of ſincere Adherents to the Law, and among  
 others *Eleazer*, and the ſeven Sons of the brave *Salomona*, had ſealed their Adhe-  
 rence to the Worſhip of the True God with their Blood. God had been appeaſed  
 by the Tears and Prayers of the ſmall Remains of the Faithful, and had raiſed up  
 an Avenger for his favourite People. *Judas Maccabæus*, at the Head of a ſmall  
 Number of *Jews*, had ſignalized himſelf by ſeveral Battels, gained over ſeveral of  
*Antiochus's* Generals. And at length, the King of *Syria* had ſent *Lysias*, one of  
 the greateſt Lords of his Court, to compleat the Abolition of the Law of God,  
 and the Deſtruction of its few Defenders. The *Syrian* Army conſiſted of ſixty  
 thouſand Men. And theſe great Preparations for War muſt no doubt have alarmed  
 the Senate's Envoy, and confirmed *Rome* in her Apprehenſions of the Forces of *Eu-  
 menes* and *Antiochus*, in caſe they ſhould join in a Confederacy.

WITH theſe Prejudices, the Ambaſſador *Tib. Gracchus* entered *Antioch*. His  
 only Buſineſs there was to watch the Steps, and penetrate into the Deſigns, of the  
 King ; and the wiſe *Roman* ſoon found him to be a Triſter. *Antiochus* had learnt  
 from the *Romans* who had educated him, only an Appearance of their Virtues.  
 He affected Magnificence ; but all he did amounted to no more than fooliſh Pro-  
 fuſions. He ſometimes aſſumed imperious Airs ; but he was mean and cringing to  
 thoſe who were ſtronger than himſelf, and haughty only to thoſe that were weaker.  
 He aſpired at the Reputation of a warlike Prince ; but he took up Arms only againſt  
 defenceleſs People. He would fain have been thought to love Glory ; but all the  
 Fruits he ſought to reap from his Victories, were the Plunder of Cities and Sacred  
 Places. He ſhewed a Zeal for Religion ; but employed it only in deſtroying that  
 Worſhip which alone had infallible Proofs to atteſt the Truth of it. In a little  
 time after his Arrival, *Tib. Gracchus* fully diſcovered the Monarch's Character.  
 Inſtead of concealing his Riches from the *Roman*, he made an oſtentatious Show  
 of them. He made Preparations for celebrating the fineſt Games that had ever been  
 ſeen in *Syria* ; brought to *Antioch*, at an immenſe Expence, the beſt Actors, and  
 moſt ſkilful Workmen in *Europe* and *Asia* ; and in the Shows, brought out before  
 the People all the Vaſes and valuable Moveables in his Treasu ry, which had never  
 before ſeen the Light. And there is no doubt but the Spoils of the Temple of *Je-  
 ruſalem* were the fineſt Part of the Show. Nay, the King himſelf did a thouſand  
 indecent Things during the Feaſt ; and cauſed more Laughter than the beſt Buffoon  
 could have done. Nothing was admired, but the Expenſivenefs of the Sight.  
 This ſeeming Grandeur was very ill ſupported. To the *Roman* Deputy *Antiochus*  
 became the vileſt Sycophant. He lent him his own Palace all the time he tarried

<sup>100</sup> *Panſanias* gives young *Ptolomy* no other Name but that of *Alexander*. *Joſephus* gives him the Sur-  
 name of *Phyſcon*, in Alluſion to his Gluttony and  
 exceſſive Debauches. Nevertheless, he gave him-  
 ſelf the Title of *Euergetes*, or, *The Beneficent*. But  
 being become odious to his Subjects by his Cruelties,  
 they, with more Reaſon, called him *Cacergetes*, or

*The Miſchievous*. As for his elder Brother *Pto-  
 my*, he was called *Philometor*, only by way of Sar-  
 caſm. He was ſo far from loving his Mother *Cleo-  
 patra*, that he had a mortal Hatred to her, ever af-  
 ter ſhe had dethroned him, to put his younger Bro-  
 ther in his room.



in *Antioch*, and was content to live himself in a borrowed House. *Tib. Gracchus* therefore formed his Judgment of the King of *Syria*, by what he saw of him with his own Eyes. He could by no Means think so contemptible a Creature a formidable Person. Besides, the great Army which he had sent against the *Jews* was just then cut in pieces, and dispersed, by the brave *Maccabæus*. The City of *Jerusalem* was re-taken, and the Temple of the True God purified, from the Abominations which had been brought into it. This was the State of Affairs in *Syria*, when *Gracchus* left it; which he did, with a much less Esteem for *Antiochus*, and much fainter Apprehensions of his Intrigues, than he had brought thither.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIX.  
A. MANLIUS  
TORQUATUS,  
Q. CASSIUS,  
LONGINUS,  
Consuls.  
Polyb. in Legat.  
N. 101.

§. XXVI. But the Case was very different, with regard to the King of *Pergamus*. *Gracchus* found him a politick Prince, whom a long Experience in the Management of Affairs had made very cautious. He paid the Envoy all the Regard he could reasonably expect; but still preserved his own Dignity. In his Conversation he was so well guarded, that there was no penetrating into his Designs. And at length, *Gracchus* left *Pergamus*, without being able to get the least Proof of a settled Intelligence between *Eumenes* and *Antiochus*. When he came into *Greece*, and especially to *Achaia*, he found the whole Country in Commotion; the People complaining loudly of the unjust Detention of a great Number of the Lords of their Country in *Italy*. They were carried to Rome, said they, to justify themselves; and now they are detained in Italy, and cannot get a Hearing. Let them be tried, or sent home! We know how to punish them ourselves, if they are guilty. These Clamours were publick; *Gracchus* was an Ear-Witness of them; and he made his Report of it to the Senate. He declared, That he could discover no Signs of a Revolt, on the Part of *Antiochus* and *Eumenes*; and added, *Rome has no Body to fear in the Levant, but the Achæans*. Callicrates, Andronidas, and those of their Faction whom you protect, are grown insolent, since you have refused to send home those whom they accused of favouring Perseus; and, sooner or later, the Achæans will attempt to shake off a Yoke, which you make insupportable to them. Nevertheless, *Gracchus* was not credited, either as to the Confidence he would have given the *Conscript Fathers*, in relation to the Kings of *Pergamus* and *Syria*, or his Opinion concerning *Achaia*. But the Testimony he gave in Favour of the *Rhodians* was better received.

THE Republick of *Rhodes*, which *Gracchus* had visited, had resolved to send the same *Astymedes* to Rome, whose successful Negotiation had averted the War with which she was threatened. The *Rhodian* was admitted into the Senate, and spake thus. What new kind of Punishment, *Conscript Fathers*, have you yet to inflict on the *Rhodians*? Have you not sufficiently revenged an Unfaithfulness which was neither general, nor carried to Excess? You had given us *Lycia* and *Caria*; and you took them from us again: Yet we did not murmur. We first merited your Favour by our Services; and afterwards deserved to be stripped of them, by our Inaction. You were Masters of your own Gifts; and we submitted to your Chastisements. But after all, have not you carried them a little too far? The Cities of *Caunus* and *Stratonice* were not the Fruits of your Liberality; we had bought the former of King *Ptolomy* for two hundred Talents\*; and *Antiochus* had given us the latter. Nevertheless, you ordered our Troops to evacuate them, and we obeyed. And thereby you have treated us with more Rigour for a temporary Refusal to join you, than you have done the *Macedonians*, your eternal Enemies. And what shall I say of your exempting the Island of *Delos* from Customs! It is a great Prejudice to us. We formerly received from thence four thousand † Great Sesterces; but now we can scarce get ‡ six hundred. Perhaps indeed the Crime might be equal to the Punishment, if all the *Rhodians* were guilty. But will you blend innocent Friends and mad Rebels together, in the same Punishment? Not that we complain of the lessening of our Dominions, the Reduction of our Finances, and the Loss of our Li-

Polyb. in Legat.  
N. 104.

\* 38750 l.  
Sterl. Arbuth.

† 32291 l.  
13 s. 4 d.  
Arbuthnot.  
‡ 4843 l. 15 s.  
Arbuthnot.

101 We have already observed, in our Dissertation on the Roman Money, Vol. 2. that every Great Sesterce was worth a thousand Little Sesterces; that is, a thousand Pieces of the Value of ten Sols and a half, according to the French Way of reckoning Money. So that four hundred thousand Great Sesterces multiplied by one thousand, make four hundred

Millions of Little Sesterces. And these four hundred thousand Great Sesterces, or four hundred Millions of Little Sesterces, were equal to fifty Millions of French Livres. For as two Sols and a half are the eighth Part of twenty Sols; if you divide four hundred Millions by eight, the Product will be fifty Millions.



Year of *berty. What most afflicts us is, that we have lost your Favour too. Give us but*  
*R O M E your Friendship again, Romans, and we shall think ourselves happy, notwithstand-*  
 DLXXXIX. *ing our Wants. Our Confederacy with you is not yet compleated. Vouchsafe then to*  
 A. MANLIUS *admit us into the Number of those Allies which are most closely united to you.*  
 TORQUATUS, *This is a Favour which we durst not ask, when we were happy, and in a flourishing*  
 Q. CASSIUS *State. Perhaps it might then have been thought, that we wanted to put ourselves*  
 LONGINUS, *upon an equal Foot with Rome. But now that Calamities surround us, we come*  
 Consuls. *to you for Refuge; and implore your Friendship, for our Protection. Not that we*  
*desire by that means, to make ourselves formidable to our Neighbours. All we aim*  
*at, is to secure ourselves from being insulted, by the venerable Name of Allies of the*  
*Romans.*

As soon as *Astymedes* had finished his Speech, he left the Assembly; and the Senate were divided in Opinion. Some were for continuing to refuse the *Rhodians* an Alliance with *Rome*. They said that all these Signs of Repentance were the Effects only of Dissimulation. Whilst others, prepossessed with the Suspicions they had imbibed, of an Intelligence between *Eumenes* and *Antiochus*, thought that *Rome* ought not to multiply her Enemies, for fear of a new War. *Tib. Gracchus* was therefore consulted; and his Advice determined the Affair. He declared, That the *Rhodians* had punctually obeyed the Orders of the Senate; That they had quietly surrendered up the Cities and Provinces which *Rome* had given from them; and That they had severely punished the Friends of *Perses*. Upon this Testimony, and these political Reasons, the *Rhodians* not only were admitted into an Alliance with *Rome*, but more strictly united to her than ever.

THEN another Embassy, more considerable than that of the *Rhodians*, engaged the Attention of the *Conscript Fathers*. *Eumenes* had too much Penetration not to discover that he was suspected at *Rome*; and he could not be ignorant that *Prusias* had accused him there, of forming Intrigues with *Antiochus*. And whether he was guilty, or not, (for the Historians leave us in Uncertainty as to that Matter,) he thought it necessary to make Application to the Senate. Nevertheless, as he had been refused Admittance into *Rome* already; he would not come in Person a second time, to receive another Affront. But he sent his two Brothers, *Attalus* and *Athenæus*, cross the Seas, in his room. These two Princes were introduced into the Senate with the Distinction due to their Birth, and the personal Services of the former; and being examined concerning the Complaints brought against the King, fully answered them. Nevertheless, they could not entirely efface all Prejudices. *Rome* bestowed Honours upon them, and made them Presents; but was upon her Guard against being deluded by them. Under Pretence of going to appease some slight Disputes between the *Lacedæmonians* and <sup>102</sup> *Megalopolitans*, the Senate sent two new Deputies to the *Levant*, with Orders to examine afresh into the Conduct of the Kings of *Syria* and *Pergamus*. In short, the Suspicions of the *Romans* were never over, till the Death of *Antiochus*.

J. XXVII. HOWEVER, the *Roman* Republick, tho' uneasy as to Affairs Abroad, on Account of the Motions of some foreign Nations, enjoyed a perfect Tranquillity at Home. *Paulus Æmilius* contributed much to it by his Prudence. The People had lately drawn him from his private Life, to raise him to the *Censorship*, with *Q. Marcius Philippus*. This Office had the most Power annexed to it, of any in *Rome*. The Authority of the *Censors* reached to the *Consuls* themselves. It belonged to the former to nominate *The Prince of the Senate*, and exclude out of that illustrious Body whomsoever they pleased. Nothing could be more moderate than *Paulus Æmilius's* Conduct on that Occasion. He only cut off three Persons, and those Men of no great Consideration. In the Review of the Cavalry he shewed his natural Sweetness of Disposition, and Moderation; and at length, he closed his *Censorship* with a *Lustrum*, and a *Census*, in which were enumerated three hundred thirty seven thousand, five hundred and fifty two Men <sup>101</sup> fit to bear

*Polyb. in Legat.*  
N. 106.

*Plut. Life of*  
*Paulus.*

<sup>102</sup> We have already spoken of *Megalopolis*, the Capital of *Arcadia*, and situated in the Middle of *Peloponnesus*, near the River *Alphens*. It is now called *Leondari*, according to *Sophian*.

<sup>103</sup> *Livy*, in his Epitome of his 46th Book mentions only three hundred twenty seven thousand and twenty two *Citizens*, fit to bear Arms.



Arms. Of all the publick Works <sup>104</sup> he undertook, the Historians have perpetuated the Remembrance of nothing but a Sun-Dial which he and his Collegue ordered to be made. Indeed there was one already in *Rome*, fixed on a Pillar in the *Forum*. But this having been brought from *Sicily*, it did not go right, as not being calculated for the Meridian of *Rome*; and the setting this Dial right, was very agreeable to the People.

AFTER his *Censorship*, *Paulus Æmilius* fell ill of the Sickness of which he died; but it turning to a very lingering Disease, he was obliged <sup>105</sup> to seek for a change of Air. In his new Solitude <sup>106</sup>, the illustrious Philosopher cultivated his Mind, and regulated his Heart, by the Study of the *Stoick* Philosophy, in which he had always delighted; and it is to be presumed, that a Man naturally so virtuous, would have made an excellent Use of a sounder Doctrine than that which he professed, if he had arrived at the Knowledge of it.

THE Death of *Perfes* soon followed the Sickness of his Conqueror. *Paulus Æmilius* would fain have softened the Rigours of the Captivity in which the King spent his Days, at *Alba*. But he had not Interest enough, either to get the <sup>107</sup> inconvenient Place in which he was shut up, changed for a more convenient and decent Lodging; or to procure him a Table suitable to his Dignity. *Perfes* was always kept in sight by his Guard, together with one of his Sons, either *Alexander* or *Philip*. But the other Son disappears at once <sup>108</sup>, in History, and it is probable that he died before his Father. As to the dethroned King, some Historians say, he at last gave himself up to despair, and killed himself, by refusing to take any Nourishment. Others affirm, that the Soldiers of his Guard, who hated him, kept him continually awake, and killed him with a want of Sleep. But be

<sup>104</sup> *Cicero* tells us, *Orat. Pro Domo sua*, That *Quintus Marcius*, the Collegue of *Paulus Æmilius* in his *Censorship*, erected in one of the Quarters of *Rome* a Statue of *Concord*, which was afterwards removed to the Place where the Senate used to assemble. And *Paulus Æmilius* on the other hand, placed the *Minerva* of *Phidias*, which he had brought from *Athens*, in the Temple of *Fortune*.

<sup>105</sup> By the Advice of his Physicians, *Paulus Æmilius* embarked for a City of *Lucania*, which the ancient Geographers called *Velia*, or *Elea*. It stood near the Sea. The Natives now call it *Castel a Mare della Brucca*. Thither *Paulus Æmilius* retired, for the Recovery of his Health.

<sup>106</sup> *Pliny* observes, *B. 26.* that under the *Censorship* of *Paulus Æmilius* and *Quintus Mucius*, *Italy* was afflicted with a sort of pestilential Distemper, which he calls *Carbunculus*: And adds, that this Distemper was common in *Gallia Narbonensis*. This was what gave it the Name of *Charbon Provençal*, as it is now called.

<sup>107</sup> In this manner did this imperious Republick glory in insulting crowned Heads, by treating them with Haughtiness and Contempt. So far as we can judge of it, by *Diodorus Siculus's* Account, in the Fragment that remains of his 31<sup>st</sup> Book, the regal Dignity was debased with Insolence, in the Person of the most powerful King in *Europe*; and one of the Successors of *Alexander the Great*, was thrown down from the highest Point of Grandeur, to the lowest Abyss of Misery. He had already been deprived of his Dominions, led in triumph with Ignominy, and made the Sport of a proud People; and thereby seemed to have exhausted the Vengeance of his Conquerors. But they thought all this too little to be done to a Prince, who had dared to declare himself an Enemy to the *Roman* Name. They added Barbarity to these Abuses. By a Decree of the Senate, this vanquished King was loaded with Chains, dragged to a Prison in *Alba*, and thrown into a subterraneous Dungeon, among filth and Insects, the Stench of which was not to be borne. In the Horrors of this stinking Place, hitherto reserved only for the most notorious Villains, *Perfes* spent seven Days, among Criminals

under Condemnation. Where being destitute of all Relief, and in want of the greatest Necessaries of Life, he would soon have been starved to Death, if his Companions in Misery had not suffered him to share the poor Pittance that was given them for their Subsistence. The Sight of a Monarch, thus sunk to nothing, and reduced to the Condition of the most infamous of all Men, drew Tears even from the Eyes of these Profligates. They seemed to forget their own Misery, to attend to the Misfortunes of *Perfes*. Some advised him to hang himself; others gave him a Dagger, and offered to lend him an Hand to put an end to his Shame and Misery by a speedy Death. But the love of Life made him still look on Death with Dread; or perhaps, he had still some glimmering Hopes left, in the midst of all his Disgraces.

*Paulus Æmilius*, who was naturally inclined to Clemency, could not hear an Account given of this base Treatment of his Captive, without Horror; and he complained bitterly of it to the Senate. He threatened the Republick with the Anger of the Gods, and made them afraid, lest the most direful Calamities should overtake Men, whose Prosperity had made them thus insolent and barbarous. And the Senators could not hold out against such just Remonstrances. *Perfes* was taken out of his Dungeon, and treated with less Rigour for the future. Nevertheless, according to the Historian, from whom we have borrowed these Circumstances, the Children of *Perfes*, whose Innocence rendered them worthy of a better Fate, were shut up with him in the Prison of *Alba*. But he does not say, that these young Princes had been condemned to perish in that dark Hole, to which their Father had been confined. And indeed, it is not credible, that the *Romans* should treat them with such excessive Inhumanity.

<sup>108</sup> *Plutarch* assures us, That two of *Perfes's* Children died in Prison; and That only *Philip* their eldest Brother survived his Father. But others give him the Name of *Alexander*. According to *Zonaras*, the King of *Macedon* had the Misfortune to lose two of his Sons, who died before him. The youngest of the three led a private Life in Obscurity.

Year of  
*R O M E*  
DLXXXIX.

A. MANLIUS  
TORQUATUS,  
Q. CASSIUS  
LONGINUS,  
Consuls.  
*Plin. B. 7. c.*  
6c.



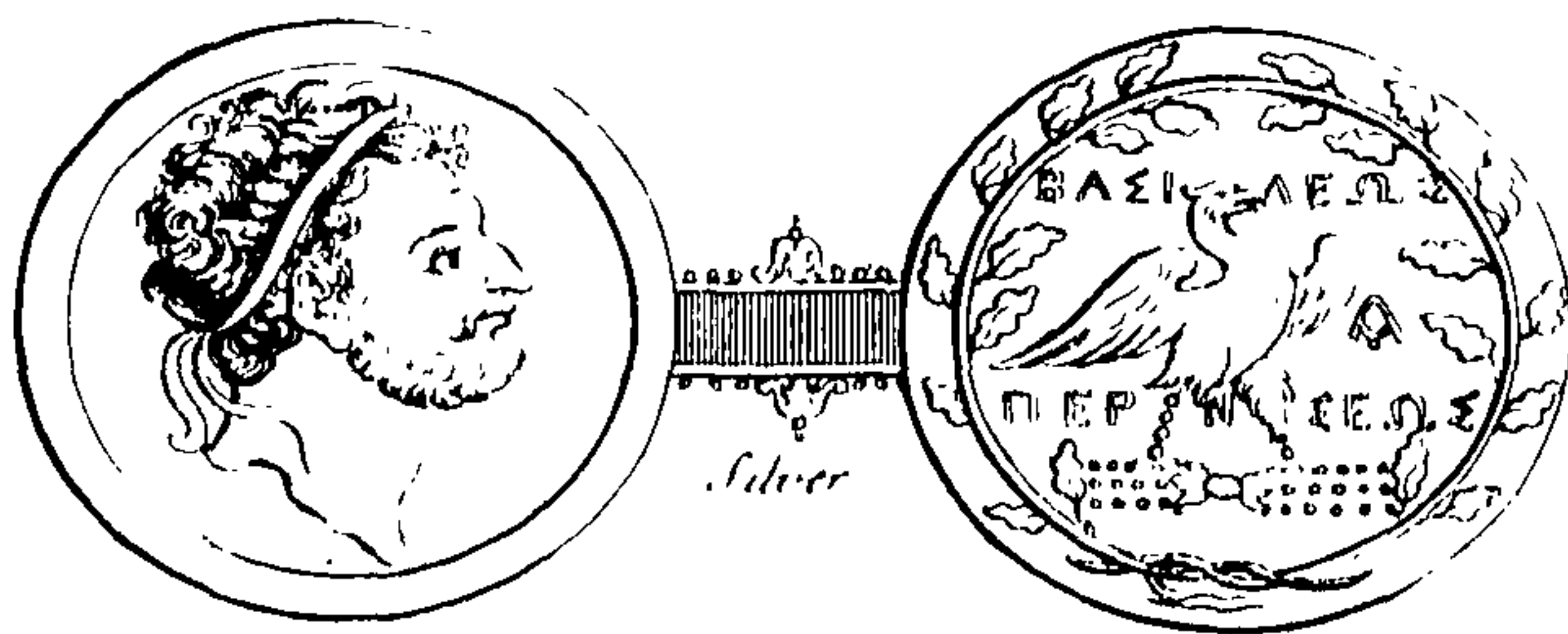
Year of that as it will, *Rome* honoured him after his Death with a fine Funeral. The  
 R O M E *Quæstor* was sent to *Alba* on purpose to order it, and defray the Expences of it,  
 DLXXXIX. in the Name of the Publick. And the Prince his Son, who survived him, was a  
 yet more remarkable Instance of the Freaks of *Fortune*. This Descendant from  
 A. MANLIUS so many Kings, was at last reduced, after a long Captivity, to get his Bread, some-  
 TORQUATUS, times by doing the Business of a <sup>109</sup> Secretary, and sometimes that of a Turner.  
 Q. CASSIUS, He is said to have excelled in those little Works, which required a very fine Hand.  
 LONGINUS, Thus the Race of the Kings of *Macedon* was entirely extinguished, by the Miscon-  
 Consuls. duct of a Prince, who made it Matter of Sport, to treat his Religion with Con-  
*Val. Max.* tempt, assassinate Kings, and oppress his People. He was both ambitious and co-  
*B. 5. c. 1. §.* vetous; but had not the Art of making his Riches serviceable to the Purposes of  
 his Ambition. Though no great Officer, he knew enough of War, to maintain  
 it with Advantage against the *Roman Consuls*. His Policy was contained within a  
 very narrow Compass. He knew the Means of effectually humbling *Rome*; but  
 his Avarice hindered him from pursuing them. In a Word, being more enter-  
 prising than truly brave, after he had put all the East into a Commotion, he es-  
 caped too soon out of the Battel he lost, and chose rather to be led Captive to  
*Rome*, than die an honourable Death, according to the Principles of Pagan Mo-  
 rality.

Year of  
 R O M E  
 DXC.

T. SEMPRO-  
 NIUS GRAC-  
 CHUS, M' JU-  
 VENTIVS  
 THALNA,  
 Consuls.

§. XXVIII. ABOUT the time that *Perfes* <sup>110</sup> died, News was brought to *Rome*  
 of the Death of *Cassius Longinus*, one of the *Consuls* for the Year. But this  
 News caused no Alteration in publick Affairs. As the *Consular* Year was ready to  
 expire, no other *Consul* was chosen in the room of the Deceased. But *Manlius*  
 presided at the great Elections for new Magistrates; and in these *Comitia*, *Tib. Sem-*  
*pronius Gracchus*, lately returned from the Eastern Coasts which he had visited,  
 was promoted to the *Consulate*. The Collegue given him was *M' Juventius*, sur-  
 named *Thalna*. A new War begun with the Republick by some rebellious Islanders,  
 a little altered the Appointments of the *Consuls*. For some time past, *Liguria* and  
*Cisalpine Gaul* had been divided between them by Lot. *Rome* had no Enemies  
 any where else. But now the *Corficans* were in Motion, and the Sedition they  
 raised was considerable enough, for the Republick to think it proper to send thi-  
 ther one of her Heads with a *Consular* Army. The fitting out this new Arma-  
 ment was very agreeable to the Policy of the Senate. The *Roman* Fleets had con-  
 tinued useless in the Ports of *Italy*, ever since the Conquest of *Macedon*. And it  
 was much to be feared, that both the Sea Officers and their Marines would lan-  
 guish away in that Inactivity, which had been so much dreaded for the Land-Ar-  
 mies. *Rome* therefore equipped some Ships for transporting the Troops, which  
 the *Consul Juventius* was to carry into the Island of *Corfica*. As to his Collegue  
*Tib. Gracchus*, the Lots condemned him to make a fruitless Campaign in *Gaul* and  
*Liguria*. Nevertheless *Gracchus* was a great Man, already distinguished by one

*Plut. in Grac-*  
*chis.*



<sup>109</sup> *Pliny* commends this Son of *Perfes*, the last  
 Descendant of so many Kings. He cultivated his  
 Mind, says this Author, with the Study of Letters,  
 and discharged the Office of Secretary or *Greffier*  
 to the Magistrates with Honour. A melancholy  
 Resource for an unfortunate Prince, whose Birth  
 entitled him to a Throne.

<sup>110</sup> The Ancients have transmitted down to us  
 the Figure of this Prince, who was so famous for  
 his Misfortunes, and so much talked of in History.

We see his Head on the Silver Medal above, wear-  
 ing the Royal Fillet. On the reverse is the Figure  
 of an Eagle, the Bird consecrated to *Jupiter*. And  
 this Monument agrees with the Testimony of *Livy*.  
 He says, That *Perfes* had formed a Design of build-  
 ing a fine Temple at *Athens*, in honour to *Jupiter*  
*Olympius*; and That he caused the Foundation of  
 it to be laid, with a Royal Magnificence, worthy  
 of the Majesty of the King of the Gods.

*Consulate,*



*Consulate*, and two Triumphs. He was very happy in a Wife, the renowned *Cornelia*, the Daughter of *Scipio Africanus*. History has celebrated the Memory of this famous *Roman* Lady, more for that superior Merit, which distinguished her from the rest of her own Sex, than for having been the Mother of the *Gracchi*, who will hereafter furnish us with great Events for our History.

INDEED if rightly understood, neither of the Wars which the *Consuls* were charged with, was more than a bare Amusement. The Republick had no important Affair on her Hands, except in the East. There indeed, her Apprehensions of the Engagements between *Eumenes* and *Antiochus* were not removed. The Senate were still afraid, she would be obliged to send into *Asia* some great Armies at an immense Expence; which would have been absolutely necessary, if the *Roman* Dominion there had been disturbed by Plots. In order therefore to discover the real Intentions of the Kings of *Pergamus*, and *Syria*; the *Conscript Fathers* nominated four Ambassadors, two to go to *Eumenes*, and two to *Antiochus*. They who visited the Court of *Pergamus*, were *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, and *M. Sergius*. The Murmurs of *Achaia*, and the Differences between the *Megalopolitans* and *Lacedæmonians*, on account of their Boundaries, served for a Pretence for the Deputation to *Greece*. The Commission to visit the Court of *Syria* was given to *Q. Memmius* and *T. Mamilius*. The four Ambassadors embarked; and when *Sulpicius* and *Sergius* came to *Achaia*, they committed great Violences there, which made them odious. They favoured *Callicrates* and his Party in every thing. They referred to the Arbitration of this Man, (who was become the Execration of *Greece*) the Decision between *Megalopolis* and *Lacedæmon*. They granted the *Ætolians*, who wanted to be separated from the Canton of the *Achæans*, leave to send to *Rome* to obtain that Separation. And there, they found the Senate disposed to humble *Achaia*, and weaken its Forces. *Sulpicius* and his Collegue solicited likewise many other *Achæan* Cities to break off from the Confederacy, and not appear at the General Diet. So that these Deputies were so far from abating the Evil, that they increased it.

FROM *Greece*, *Sulpicius* came to the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; and here the Subjection of foreign Kings to the Power of *Rome*, appeared in the strongest Light. The *Roman* Deputy published an Edict, which was sent through all the Dominions subject to the King, giving all *Eumenes's* Subjects leave, to bring their Complaints against their King, to *Pergamus*. The *Gymnasium* in the Capital was chosen for the Hall for this new Inquisition; and the *Roman* Deputy erected his Tribunal, and sat there. The Multitude of Malecontents that came thither to depose against their King was numberless. For ten Days together, *Sulpicius* heard the Complaints, which they came in Crouds to bring him; and that the more willingly, because the Inquisitor encouraged them by a favourable Reception. He exaggerated the slightest Accusations, and put a bad Construction even upon Trifles. This shewed the Character of *Sulpicius Gallus*. He was an able Astronomer, but very vain, and meanly gloried in fomenting Enmities against Persons of Distinction. The People of *Pergamus* conceived Hopes, from this Step of the *Romans*, that many illegal Things would be done. The Example of *Macedon's* being turned into a Republick, made a great Number of these inconstant *Asiatics* wish for a Change in their Government. But all these Hopes, all these Accusations, and all this Bustle of *Sulpicius*, came to nothing.

§. XXIX. THE Conduct of the two Deputies sent to *Syria*, was more prudent than that of *Sulpicius* and his Collegue. *Memmius* and *Mamilius* landed first in *Egypt*, which they found involved in fresh Troubles; but still a Friend to the *Romans*, and blindly obedient to their Orders. The two Brothers had again disputed for the Throne, and the younger had expelled the elder. The latter being forced to retreat, was fled for Refuge to the common Resource of all the Unfortunate. He came to *Rome*, almost without any Attendants. When he arrived in *Italy*, he concealed his Birth and Dignity, and walked from the Port where he landed to the Capital of the World. Perhaps he did so, out of Regard to the Law, which forbid all Kings entering into *Rome*, unless called thither. Or perhaps he affected this humble Appearance to raise the Compassion of the Senate. But be that as it will, *Demetrius*, the King of *Syria's* Nephew, who had long resided at *Rome* as an Hostage, had Notice, I know not how, of the Arrival of *Ptolomy Philometor*,

Year of  
R O M E  
DXC.  
T. SEMPRO-  
NIUS GRAC-  
CHUS, M<sup>r</sup> JU-  
VENTIUS  
THALNA,  
Consuls.

2 Mac. 11.

Page B. 1, 57.

Polyb. apud  
Vales.

Val. Max.  
B. 5. c. 1.  
Diod. Sic. a-  
pud Vales.



Year of  
R O M E  
DXC.  
T. SEMPRO-  
NIUS GRAC-  
CHUS, M<sup>r</sup> JU-  
VENTIUS  
THALNA,  
Consul.

*Philometor*, King of *Egypt*, in *Italy*, and the deplorable State in which this Monarch was going to appear at *Rome*. The *Syrian* was affected with the Misfortunes of so great a Prince; and fearing lest the regal Dignity should be too much debased by this Step of *Ptolomy*, *Demetrius* went to meet him, and found him near *Rome* on Foot, and covered with Dust. The *Syrian* embraced him, caressed him, put a Crown on his Head, and offered him an Horse finely equipped, which he had brought on Purpose for his Use. But the King had his Reasons for not accepting the Offers of the Prince, and entreated him to keep the Secret. So that *Philometor* entered *Rome*, without any State, or Ceremony, and went to lodge with a Painter of *Alexandria*, his Subject. But the Arrival of the King of *Egypt* was not long unknown to the Senate; and they, as soon as informed of it, sent to compliment *Philometor*, and reproach him for having concealed his Arrival. If we did not send a *Quæstor* to supply you with all Necessaries, said they, the Neglect is wholly chargeable on your self; And now you have nothing to do but to fix the Day for your Reception. The Senate will assemble to receive you, and pay you all the Honours due to your Dignity. Accordingly, the King of *Egypt* was that very Day introduced into the Assembly, who heard his Complaints against his Brother, gave him Hopes of a speedy Restoration, assigned him a convenient Lodging, and ordered a *Quæstor* to defray all his Expences during his Stay.

ALL this passed at *Rome*, whilst *Memmius* and *Mamilius* advanced towards *Syria*. They were upon the Road when they received the News, that the Business of their Embassy was at an end. They were sent from *Rome*, on purpose to watch *Antiochus*, and sift his Conduct; and consequently the Death of this unfortunate King, put an end to all the Suspicions, whether true or false, which the Republick had entertained of the Intrigues of *Eumenes* and *Antiochus*. The manner of the King of *Syria*'s Death is but imperfectly related by prophane Authors. But the sacred Writers will supply that Defect, and make our Account of it indisputable. The Hand of *The Living God* fell heavily at last on the Prophaner of his Temple, the Tyrant of his faithful *Israelites*, and the Destroyer of his Worship. His two last Expeditions were founded on two remarkable Acts of Impiety, one against the true God, the other against the Gods of his own Country. *Antiochus* had heard, on one hand, That *Judas Maccabæus* had Thoughts of rebuilding the only Sanctuary in which Sacrifices were offered to the true God; and on the other, That there was at <sup>111</sup> *Elymais*, or *Persepolis*, a fine Temple consecrated to *Diana*, which the *Persians* had enriched with their Presents. And this impious Prince, who adored nothing but his Treasures, resolved at the same time to strip the Remains of the holy Nation, and carry off the Riches of the Temple of *Persepolis*. To this end, he divided his Forces into two Bodies, and sent *Lysias* his Relation, to whom he committed the Care of his Son, afterwards surnamed *Eupator*, at the Head of an Army of sixty five thousand Men, to fight the brave *Maccabæus*. *Judas*, full of

<sup>111</sup> This City, which is called *Elymais*, in the sixth Chapter of the first Book of *Maccabees*, is called *Persepolis* in the ninth Chapter of the second Book. The Authors who speak of it follow the *Genius* of their Nations; that is, call Countries, Provinces, and Cities, by Names taken from their own Languages. Thus in the Instance before us, the *Hebrews* called the same City *Elymais*, which the *Greeks* called *Persepolis*; and these two Names have been indifferently used by prophane Authors. This ancient City had been utterly ruined by *Alexander the Great*, about sixty Years before. But it is evident that it had been rebuilt on its old Ruins, since it was in being in the time of *Ptolomy*. This ancient Geographer places it in the Province of *Elymais*, on the Banks of the River *Rhogomanes*, which discharges itself into *The Persian Gulph*. *Elam*, or *Elymus*, the Son of *Shem*, who is acknowledged to be the Founder of *Elymais*, had given it his own Name, which afterwards became likewise the Name of the Province. It is not doubted but this Capital was the same Place as *Susa*, one of the most considerable Cities in *Perfia*. We have a Proof of it in the eighth Chapter of *Daniel*; who con-

siders *Susa* as a City of the Province of *Elam*, or *Elymais*. *Cum essem in Susis Castro, quod est in Ælam regione*. And there is a Passage in *Pliny*, which is decisive in favour of this Opinion. He says in express Terms, that *Susa*, and the Temple of *Diana*, the most august and sumptuous Edifice of the Province, stood on the Banks of the River *Euleus*, which *Daniel* calls *Ulai*. It is the same which *M. Thevenot* now calls *Caron*, in his *Persian Travels*. *Polybius* also, *Josephus*, *Porphyry*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, as quoted by *St. Jerom*, speak in the same manner of the Situation of *Susa*, and the neighbouring Temple of *Diana*, as *Pliny* does. The Wealth of *Persepolis*, and more especially the Treasures and costly Ornaments of the Temple which *Alexander the Great* had formerly enriched with his Presents, had raised the Avarice of *Antiochus*. *Appian* is the only Author who says (in his History of the *Syrian Wars*) That the Temple was dedicated to *Venus*; and That *Antiochus*, after he had forced it Sword in Hand, plundered it of the immense Riches, which the *Persians* had at all times heaped up in it, out of a pious regard to Religion.



Confidence in *The Lord of Hosts*, opposed the Syrian Troops with only a flying Camp of about ten thousand Men, ill armed, and little inured to Discipline; but defeated them. The Rout of *Lysias*, and his Flight to *Antioch*, gave the Jews time to breath; and they retook *Jerusalem*, purified the Temple, and restored the Worship of the true God.

In the mean time *Antiochus* himself, had already passed the *Euphrates* with a numerous Army, and dispersed the Forces of *Artaxias* <sup>112</sup>, one of the most powerful Kings of *Armenia*. The Syrian Army had also appeared before *Persepolis*, and entered the City; but had been driven out again by the Garrison jointly with the Inhabitants, and had not been able to take the Citadel, or plunder the Temple of *Diana*. *Antiochus* was therefore full of Rage, at being disappointed of the Spoils of a Temple, whose Riches had drawn him thither; and to increase his Sorrows, he received Advice, that in *Palestine* *Lysias* had been beaten, *Jerusalem* reconquered, and the Jewish Ceremonies restored. Instantly therefore he mounts his Chariot; abandons *Persepolis*, and the Temple of *Diana*; and turns towards *Judaea*, to make War with the God adored there. The impious Wretch did not sufficiently know the Power of the Sovereign Lord of the Universe whom he insulted. But when he had filled up the Measure of his Iniquities, *The Lord* wounded him invisibly; and his Bowels were torn in pieces by racking Pains. Nor was this all. As he was hastening forwards with great Precipitation, to vent his Rage on the Jews, he fell from his Chariot, and was much bruised. Upon this he was obliged to keep his Bed, and was more sick in Mind than in Body. His Grief increased his bodily Disorders, and the Fear of Death seized him. *To what a Condition*, said he to his Friends, *am I reduced! What a change of Fortune have I undergone! Alas! I now remember with Grief the Calamities I brought on Jerusalem. I am but too sensible of the Vengeance of the God whom I have provoked; and it shall be our whole Business now to appease him. I will restore the Jews, whom I have persecuted, their ancient Liberty. I will make them as happy and independent as the City of Athens. I will re-establish the Temple of the true God, in as much Lustre as ever. I will restore its sacred Vessels, and increase the Number of them. Nay I will embrace the Law of the Circumcised my self, and zealously preach it to others.* Thus spake the Profligate, whose Repentance was only verbal; and he did not obtain Mercy, though he sought it with Tears. The Stench which came from his Body, made him insupportable even to himself. He ordered himself to be carried to *Babylon* in a Chair; but before he arrived there, he died at *Tabes* <sup>113</sup> in *Persia*, near *Ecbatana*. Thus ended the Reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, a Monarch, illustrious in nothing, but in Name. Prince *Antiochus* his Son, was nearest at Hand to succeed him; for *Demetrius* his Nephew was yet an Hostage at *Rome*. Young *Antiochus*, who is said to have been but nine Years old, was then under the Government of *Lysias*, to whose Care the late King had entrusted him; and the Years of his Reign were computed from that time, that is, from the Death of his Father.

Year of  
R O M E  
DXC.  
T. SEMPRO-  
NIUS GRAC-  
CHUS, M. JU-  
VENTIUS  
THALNA,  
Consul.  
2 Macc. 9.  
Joseph. B. 12.  
c. 13.

D. Hieron. in  
Daniel. 2.  
App. in Syriac.  
N. 117.  
Justin B. 34.

<sup>112</sup> Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, and Appian, all give us an Account of *Artaxias the First*. He had commanded the Armies of *Antiochus the Great*, in the Provinces of *Asia*, which belonged to the Crown of Syria; and by the Consent of this Prince, he made himself Sovereign of a State in *Upper Armenia*: whilst *Thariades* also, another General of the same King, established himself a Kingdom in *Lower Armenia*, with the Consent of his old Master. After the Defeat of *Antiochus*, they both earnestly sought the Alliance of the Roman Republick; and under this powerful Protection, they reigned peaceably enough. Nevertheless *Antiochus Epiphanes*, or *The Illustrious*, made War with *Armenia*. The Troops of *Artaxias* were cut in pieces, and he himself could not make his Escape from his Conqueror. But it is probable that his Captivity was not long, but ended with the Life of *Epiphanes*. At least we see him soon after appear again in his Dominions. The Advantages he gained over *Mythrobuzanes* the

Son of *Thariades*, forced this young Prince to fly for Refuge to *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*; and the latter constantly refused to comply with the Solicitations of *Artaxias*, who would fain have prevailed on him to destroy the fugitive Prince. So far was he from being seduced with the flattering Hopes this perfidious Prince gave him, of sharing the Provinces of *Lower Armenia* with him; that he had the Generosity to reestablish *Mythrobuzanes* in his Throne, at the Head of an Army.

<sup>113</sup> Polybius and Porphyry, as quoted by St. Jerom, agree with the sacred Text, as to the Place where the impious *Antiochus* ended his Days. It is plain, from 2 Macc. ix, That *Tabes* stood in a mountainous Country; And such among the *Medes* was the Province of *Ecbatana*, the Capital of which was a City of the same Name, subject to the *Persians*. *Castaldus* thinks that the Situation of the latter, agrees well enough with that of *Tabes*. But *Niger* makes it to have the same Situation as *Ispahan*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DXC.

T. SEMPRO-  
NIUS GRAC-  
CHUS, M' JU-  
VENTIUS  
THALNA,  
Consuls.

2 Mac. 11.

Jer. 34---38.

§. XXX. THE two Roman Deputies *Memmius* and *Manilius* received this News, when they were upon the Road to *Antioch*. *Judas* thought he might make use of the Mediation of the two Ambassadors with the new King and his Guardian *Lysias*, to his Advantage. The latter, who had been beaten no less than three times, by the invincible *Maccabæus*, began to reverence the Arm of the Almighty. He had even made some Advances towards a Peace, and had granted the Holy Nation the Liberty of practising their own religious Ceremonies, and living according to their own Laws. Nevertheless the High Priest, and at the same time General of the *Jewish* Armies, did not neglect the Intercession of the two *Romans*. He knew that their Republick was predominant in *Egypt* and *Syria*, and that their Recommendation would strengthen the Peace, which he had not been able to obtain, but by Force. *Judas* therefore wrote a very civil and submissive Letter to *Memmius* and *Manilius*, in the Name of his People. The two *Romans* were not ignorant of the Valour of the brave *Maccabæus*, and admired it the more, as they did not allow it to be supernatural. They put the Exploits of the *Israelitish* Hero upon a Level with those of the most illustrious *Romans*. They returned an Answer in writing to the *Jewish* People, which Letter is yet in being, and preserved more faithfully by the sacred Writers, than the prophane Historians. It was this. Q. *Memmius* and T. *Manilius* send greeting unto the People of the Jews. *Whatsoever* *Lysias* the King's Cousin has granted, therewith we also are well pleased. But touching such things as he judged to be referred to the King; after you have advised thereof, send one forthwith that may declare as it is convenient for you; for we are now going to *Antioch*. Therefore send some with Speed, that we may know what is your Mind. Farewel. *Judea* probably owed her Tranquillity to the Recommendation, or if you will, the Orders, that the Ambassadors of *Rome* brought with them. *Judas* began to restore Agriculture again; and for some time had no Hostilities committed against him, on the part of the *Syrian*, but through the Avarice of the Governors, who bordered upon his Country.

THE News of the Death of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and the Advancement of young *Eupator* to the Throne of *Syria*, could not be brought into *Italy*, till some Months after the Event. But when it came, it roused the Ambition of *Demetrius*, who had been an Hostage at *Rome* these twelve Years, and brought up from his Infancy among the *Romans*. His Right to the Crown of *Syria* was indisputable; and he strongly represented it to the Senate, to whom he was introduced. Conscript Fathers, said he, the same Destiny which formerly deprived *Syria* of *Seleucus*, my Father, has just now taken from her my Uncle *Antiochus*. They succeeded one another in the Throne immediately, and each left a Son, a Minor. I was almost as old as young *Antiochus* is now; When upon the Death of my Father, I was judged incapable of governing so soon so great a State. After this I was brought from my own Country to this Place as an Hostage; and have here had the Happiness to grow up under your Eyes, and form my self by your Examples. All the Senators of *Rome* are Fathers to me, and all their Children Brothers. Nature never made a stricter Union, than my Heart has contracted for you, through the Education that you have given me. I am become entirely *Roman*, and if I fill the Throne of my Ancestors, shall only sit there to dispense your Laws. How glorious will it be for You, and how advantageous for *Syria*, to see two of your Pupils succeed one another, and make the Virtues of *Rome*, revered at *Antioch*! Can you then in Equity suffer a Child to usurp my Rights, and permit my Residence among you to be prejudicial to me? I am informed that *Antiochus* is already proclaimed King, and has taken the Surname of *Eupator*. My Absence alone could authorise his Friends to give him a Diadem, which by Right of Birth, and Order of Nature, can belong only to me. I am the Son of a King, and of the eldest of the two Brothers, who have successively reigned in *Syria*. There is the same Objection against the Promotion of young *Antiochus* to the Throne after his Father, as there formerly was against my succeeding mine. He is too young to sustain the Weight of publick Affairs. He has no Right to the Crown, but what he derives from *Epiphanes*; and *Epiphanes* himself held the Scepter only in trust. Upon his Death therefore my Right revives; and I am now able to bear the Burden of the State. I am three and twenty Years old, and have learnt the Art of reigning from You. Let this

*Antiochus*,



Antiochus, *who is yet a Child, be now brought to Rome for an Hostage. He is docile at nine Years old; his Youth will make him very susceptible of your Instructions. And give me leave, Conscrip Fathers, to go and take Possession of my Right, or contend for it with the Point of my Sword.*

Year of  
R O M E  
DXC.  
T. SEMPRO-  
NIUS GRAC-  
CHUS, M<sup>r</sup> JU-  
VENTIUS  
THALNA,  
Consuls.

THIS was a very just Demand; nevertheless the Senators were divided in Opinion about it. The most equitable of them thought they could not keep *Demetrius* any longer there, since it was tying up his Hands, and debarring him of Access to the Throne. But the less scrupulous, upon Principles of refined Policy, and Motives of Interest, declared themselves of an Opinion which was not so just. The Love of their Country so much engrossed the Hearts of the *Romans*, that it often made them forget the Principles of strict Justice. And there were now some Politicians in the Senate, who remonstrated, how formidable a King of *Syria*, in the Flower of his Age, of an active penetrating Mind, and a Man of Ambition, might be to the Republick; and how much it would be in his Power, to raise Troubles in the East, which was already in Motion, since the Conquest of *Macedon*. *Why don't we rather suffer a Child, who is yet under Guardianship, to tremble on an ill-settled Throne, and seek for Protectors at Rome! Nay, let us do better. Let us make Antiochus the Ward of the Republick, and appoint him Guardians to govern his Dominions, in the Name, and under the Direction, of the Roman Senate.* And the most unjust Opinion immediately prevailed. Three Men of consummate Experience were nominated by the Senate, to go and give Law to *Syria*, under Pretence of assisting and advising the new King, during his Infancy. The chief of these Governors of a foreign Kingdom was *Cn. Octavius*, a prudent Man, who had discharged the *Consulate* with Honour. His Assistants were *Sp. Lucretius*, and *L. Aurelius*. What is surprising, is this; that the Senate should pass, and the People confirm such a Decree, without the Consent or Privy of the *Syrians*, who had not sent to the Republick, to desire any Guardians for their King. So despotick a Power did the *Romans* assume even over Monarchs!

*Justin. B. 34.*

NOR were the Senate content with only stifling the just Pretensions of *Demetrius* to the Crown of his Father, and settling it on a Child to whom it did not belong; they also gave the Commissioners, which were to sail for *Syria*, such Instructions, as tended to weaken the Kingdom of their Ward. *Rome* ordered them to burn all the Ships with Decks, which the King of *Syria* had, as soon as they should be in Possession of the Guardianship; to hamstring all his Elephants; and in a Word, by all means possible, to weaken the Forces of this powerful Kingdom. They were likewise ordered, to visit *Macedon* in their Way, and there put a Stop to some Disturbances which were unavoidable after a Revolution: And lastly, To have an Eye to *Galatia* and *Cappadocia*; and if it was possible, to settle the Differences of the two *Ptolomies*, who were still disputing for *Egypt*. After this, *Octavius* and his Collegues set out without Delay, highly honoured to be appointed Regents of the most powerful State in *Asia*.

*Polyb. in Legat. N. 107.*

§. XXXI. WHILEST the Senate was thus disposing of the Affairs of the *Levant* with an absolute Authority, the *Consuls* for the Year were making War, one in the Island of *Corfica*, and the other in *Cisalpine Gaul* and *Liguria*. *Juventius* gained considerable Advantages over the rebellious Islanders. He wrote an Account of them to *Rome*; and the Senate, in his Absence, ordered some Days of publick Prayers, by way of Thanksgiving to the Gods, for his Victories. This News was brought to the *Consul*, when he was offering Sacrifice in his Island; and the Joy he felt at reading the Letters, which brought him an Account of the Honours that had been done him, or perhaps the Fumes of the Pan of Coals, which he had ordered to be brought for burning Incense there, affected him so powerfully, that he died upon the Spot. His Year was near expiring, and his Place could not be filled up: So that *Gracchus* was recalled to the City, and presided at the great Elections. This *Consul* was also an *Augur*, and valued himself upon understanding all the Mysteries and Ceremonies of the *Augurate*. But nevertheless, he committed in the *Comitia* such Faults against the *Augural* Laws, as had ill Consequences.

*Plin. B. 7. c. 53.*  
*Val. Max. B. 9. c. 12.*

IN the first Place, the *Consul* proposed to the assembled People *Scipio Nasica*, and *Marcus Figulus*, as Candidates. The *Tribe* which was first to vote had been settled by Lot; and it happened that the first Man in it who voted for the two Candidates, instantly fell down dead. Then religious Scruples interrupted the Proceedings,



Year of *R O M E* DXC. the Affair before the Senate, and the Senate determined, that the *Aruspices* should be consulted. These declared that there had been secret Injustice in the Proceedings of the *Consul*, and that the Gods had shewn it by this sudden Punishment. This Opinion therefore exasperated *Gracchus*, and made him break out into Invectives against the College, which almost wholly consisted of *Hetrurians*. *What then*, said he, *am I suspected of Injustice? I who am a Consul, an Augur, and have done nothing, but according to the Rules of Auguries? It is you, Conscript Fathers, who ought to judge me, and not a Company of ignorant Hetrurians, who are mere Barbarians!* Upon this the Senate took Cognizance of the Matter again; and they made no Alteration in the Disposition of the *Comitia*, which continued the Election. In the mean time, as the People were returning from the *Field of Mars*, where they were assembled, to the Senate, and back again from the Senate to the *Field of Mars*, the *Consul* twice passed the Space between the Walls, which was called *Pomærium*; and when he came to the Place of the Assembly, he neither changed his Tent, nor observed the Heavens again to take new *Auspices*. Nevertheless these were established Ceremonies, but the *Consul* did not attend to them. The *Tribes* continued to give their Suffrages, and *Nasica* and *Marcins* were elected *Consuls*. They did not suspect that there was any Defect in their Election; and they set out for their Provinces. *Gracchus*, the late *Consul*, was ordered to finish the War in *Corfica*, where his Colleague had died. He received the Title of *Pro Consul*, commanded the Army, went into *Sardinia*, and pacified both Islands. At his Leisure, he attentively read over the Ceremonial, in which the Rites of the *Augurate* were recorded, and there discovered the Faults he had committed, when he presided at the Elections. This filled him with Scruples, and he thought it necessary to communicate them to the *Augural* College, of which he was a Member. It was an important Affair, and tended to nothing less, than the Deposition of the two *Consuls* for the Year. The Matter was discussed with Care; and this Tribunal, which was respected in a very different manner from that of the *Aruspices*, pronounced, That there were essential Defects in point of Religion, in the Election of *Nasica* and *Marcins*. They were recalled from their Provinces; and with a ready Submission to the Decision of the *Augurs*, they suffered the *Fasces* to be taken from them, and given to others. *Rome* came to a new Election, and promoted *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus*, to the *Consulate*. If there was a great deal of Superstition in the Ceremonies required to make the Assemblies of the *Comitia* valid, it may be affirmed, that there was still more Policy. The Assemblies of so numerous and so restless a People, could not be put under too great Restraints, with respect to Religion. The Fear of the Gods was a Check, which both restrained the Populace, and moderated the ambitious Enterprizes of the Great. As to *Nasica*, it was no Surprise to any one, to see him resign a Dignity without Opposition, which had been bestowed upon him contrary to Rule, though without his Knowledge. He was the Son of the famous *Scipio Nasica*; who for his Probity, had been pronounced the most virtuous of the *Romans* by a publick Decree; and had been deemed worthy to receive the Statue of *The Mother of the Gods*. *Marcins* followed the Example of his Colleague, and the Change was made without any Disturbance.

Year of *R O M E* DXCI. *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus*, *Consuls*. We cannot be sure, whether *Lentulus* and *Ænobarbus* continued a whole Year in Possession of a *Consulate*, or only compleated what was wanting of the Year of their Predecessors. Which is another Proof, that it is not a sure way to make the *Consular* Years equivalent to Years of the World. But be that as it will, the Senate was now wholly taken up with foreign Affairs. *Octavius* and his Collegues who were appointed Guardians for the King of *Syria* arrived in the *Levant*, and probably pacified *Macedon*. At least we know that they passed through *Cappadocia*, in their Way to the Dominions of *Antiochus*. The Kingdom of *Cappadocia* was then governed by a young Prince, of the same Name as his Father *Ariarathes*, who died the last Year. As soon as he was seated in the Throne, the young King had nothing more at Heart, than to gain the good Will of the *Romans*, and acknowledge the Sovereignty of a Republick, which extended her Dominion in *Asia*, over Princes who had not felt the Force of her Arms. *Ariarathes* therefore sent

*Polyhistor.*  
n. 109. and  
*Diod. Siculus.*



sent an Embassy to *Rome*, where his Ambassadors were graciously received. The *Romans* remembered the gracious Reception his Father had formerly given to *Tiberius Gracchus*, and more lately to *M<sup>r</sup> Junius*, in their Passage thro' his Dominions. On the other hand, the mutual Friendship between *Rome* and *Cappadocia*, which grew in Strength daily, procured the three Deputies, sent by *Rome* to *Syria*, a very favourable Reception from the *Cappadocian*. *Ariarathes*<sup>114</sup> declared his Joy at the Guardianship they were going to assume over young *Antiochus*, his near Relation, and the Nephew of his Mother *Antiochis*. Nevertheless, as he knew the Temper of the *Syrians*, and suspected the Intrigues of *Lysias*, he offered *Octavius* to conduct him into *Syria* with an Army, or to put the Army under his own Conduct, to prevent the Insurrections of an untractable People. Indeed nothing could be more audacious than the Attempt of the three Deputies. They were going of their own Authority, without any Invitation from the King, or the *Syrian* Nation, to make themselves Governors of a Kingdom, which, after all, was subject to no Body but her own Sovereign. *Ariarathes* therefore pressed *Octavius* to accept of a Guard at least; but he had too much Confidence in the Majesty of the *Roman* Name. He thought it inviolable all the World over, and therefore he and his Collegues, without any other Guard, than what had attended them from *Rome*, ventured to cross *Cappadocia*, and enter *Syria*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DXCI.  
P. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
CN. DOMITI-  
US AENOBAR-  
BUS, Consuls

It is easy to judge what Jealousies the Arrival of the three *Romans* must have raised in the Heart of *Lysias*. He was related to the King, was of the Blood of the *Seleucidae*, and could not bear to see Foreigners come so far, to deprive him of an Administration, which he thought his Right, on many Accounts. Nevertheless he had, besides the *Romans*, a Competitor in his own Country. *Epiphanes* had, a little before his Death, sent for one of the Officers of his Court, named *Philip*; had committed the Guardianship and Education of his Son to him; and in Proof of this his last Will, had put into his Hands, the Crown, Royal Robes, and his Royal Ring. *Lysias*, on the other hand, had made himself Master of the Person of the young King, and had put himself at the Head of the Troops. Besides, *Philip* his Rival was fled into *Egypt*, and there waited for an Opportunity to support his Right to the Regency. This was the Situation of Affairs, when *Octavius* entered *Syria* with the extravagant Pretensions, and with all the Pride, of his Republick. He had fancied, That every thing would give way before him, at the bare sound of his Voice; and That *Lysias* would be as tractable, as the young Child he governed. The *Roman* knew little of the Character of the *Syrian* Prince. Indeed *Lysias* was too wise, to oppose the Design of *Rome*, Sword in Hand; but without appearing to be concerned himself, he hired an Assassin to murder the Chief of the Ambassadors. This Villain was an *African*, born at *Leptis*, then residing in *Syria*; and he sought for an Opportunity to kill *Octavius*, and found a very favourable one.

§. XXXII. THE Desire of reigning made the Ambassadors hasten their March. *Octavius* came in few Days to *Laodicea*<sup>115</sup>, a maritime City between<sup>116</sup> *Tripolis* and *Antioch*; and it was then doubtless, that he began to put in execution the inhuman Orders he had received from his Republick. He caused the *Syrian* Ships to be burnt, and disabled the Elephants from serving in the Wars. Strange Presumption! He had not taken Possession of the Regency, and yet began already to act the Sovereign. By his first Stroke he ruined the Forces of a Kingdom, of which he ought to have been the Protector. His Pretence for these Violences was, That by the Treaty made with the *Scipio's*, *Antiochus the Great* had engaged not to

<sup>114</sup> This *Ariarathes* was the sixth of that Name, and surnamed *Philopator*.

<sup>115</sup> There were several Cities of *Laodicea* in *Asia*; two especially, in *Syria*. The first, which is here spoken of, took its Name from *Laodice*, the Wife of *Antiochus the Macedonian*, and Mother of *Seleucus Nicanor*, who, after the Death of *Alexander the Great*, appropriated to himself a part of the Dominions of that Conqueror, whose General he had been. *Moler* says it is called *Lyche* by the Inhabitants of the Country. The other City of *Laodicea* stood near the Springs of the River *Orontes*,

and was about a hundred thousand geometrical Paces distant from *Damascus*.

<sup>116</sup> *Tripolis*, an ancient City which belonged to *Syria*, had the same Name which it still bears, because it consisted of three great Quarters, which were about a *Stadium*, or a hundred and twenty five geometrical Paces, distant from each other. But *Diodorus Siculus* will have it to have been so called, because its three principal Parts were inhabited by three different Nations, viz. the *Arabians*, *Tyrians*, and *Sidonians*. It stood at the Foot of Mount *Libanus*, near the Sea, and twenty Leagues from *Seyda*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DXCI.  
P. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
CN. DOMITI-  
US ÆNOBAR-  
BUS, Consuls.  
Cic. Phil. p. 9.

build any more Ships of War, or tame any more Elephants. And perhaps this Excuse might have passed in more peaceable Times, and after *Octavius* had been settled some Years in the Government. But now his Inhumanity exasperated all the People, and emboldened the *African* to attempt his Life. The Assassin thought the time when he was in a Bath the most convenient Opportunity for it; and he stabbed him there. *Lysias* foresaw all the Consequences of so criminal an Attempt; and therefore did his utmost to clear himself of all Suspicion of being concerned in a Murder so contrary to the Law of Nations. He went into Mourning, made a magnificent Funeral for the Ambassador, and sent an Embassy to *Rome* to acquaint the Senate, that the Court of *Syria* had not been concerned in the Assassination. But *Rome* sent back the Ambassadors without giving them any Answer, and took it upon her self to get Informations of the Crime, and revenge it. The Republick also did Honour to the Memory of the Dead, by erecting his Statue among those of the great <sup>117</sup> Men, who had lost their Lives for their Country's Sake. *Augustus* saw it in his Time; and in this valuable Monument traced out the Glory of the first of his Ancestors, who had distinguished his Family. In the mean time, the Assassin of *Octavius* did not leave *Laodicea*, but boasted of what he had done, as a commendable Action. Nay, there was a vile Declaimer, named *Isocrates*, who made a Panegyrick upon the *African*. He filled the City with Invectives against *Rome*, and Praises on the glorious Avenger of *Syria*.

Polyb. in Le-  
gat. N. 114.

THEN the Report which was spread at *Rome*, That the *Romans* had failed of the Guardianship of the young King, and That *Lysias* was suspected of having been concerned in the Assassination, revived the Hopes of *Demetrius*. This Syrian Prince, who had been too long kept an Hostage for his Interest, thought it necessary to make Application again to the Senate of *Rome*. He seemed now to have a favourable Opportunity of getting Leave of the *Romans*, to go and put himself in Possession of the Throne. *Polybius*, the Historian was then at *Rome*. He had come thither with the many *Acheans* against whom *Callicrates* and *Andronidas* had informed. He was a wise Man, and was even an abler Politician than Historian. The Prince of *Syria* had taken him into his Favour, and was governed by his Counsels. And *Demetrius* desired his Opinion, whether it was proper for him to apply to the Senate once more, to demand Leave to depart from thence, and go and take the Crown which *Lysias* had usurped. To which *Polybius* replied; *Ab, my Lord, take care how you strike against a Stone, which has already led you wrong! Have you but one way of getting into Syria? Should a Man of your Age depend on the capricious Will of an unjust Republick, like a Child? Only dare to set your self at Liberty, and you will reign of Course.* These Words struck the Prince; but one of his more timorous Friends effaced the Impression they made. This was one of his own Family, named *Apollonius*, who had a considerable Post in his Household. Though he was young, he was afraid of his Master's making any Attempt that might prove dangerous. No, said he, *it is impossible that in these Circumstances Rome should be so unjust as to detain you in Italy. Your Right is clear. It is her Interest only that has made her stop you. And now that you have no Occasion to desire of her an Army or a Fleet, to recover your Rights at her Expence; she will rejoice to see an Avenger of Octavius, and an Enemy to Lysias, set out for Syria.*

THESE seemed solid Reasons, and *Apollonius* prevailed. The Prince resolved to appear once more before the Senate. He joined Entreaties with those Motives of mutual Interest which might well induce him to desire Leave to depart, and the Senators to grant it. But *Demetrius* did not know the *Romans* as well as *Polybius* did. Their Senate piqued themselves upon their Constancy; and the Failure of a Project was no Reason with them, to let it drop. After all there was a Child on the Throne of *Syria*; and *Rome* had little to fear during a Minority, and under a Regency, which was disputed by two Competitors. Besides, could she be sure that *Demetrius* would be as pliant on the Throne, as he affected to be at *Rome*? So that the second Request of the Prince met with a second Refusal. When this Decree, so contrary to his Desires, was brought him, *Demetrius* cried out aloud; which

<sup>117</sup> Cicero speaks of the Statue erected to *Cneius Octavius*, *Philip. 9.* and says, that it stood near *The Tribune of Maranges*, among the other Statues

which were erected by order of Senate, some Ages before, in Memory of the *Roman* Ambassadors, which King *Tullius* had put to Death.



shewed both his Grief, and his Indignation. He then remembered *Polybius*, and the Advice which he had given him; resolved to court the Republick no longer; but determined to make his Escape. In order to which it was necessary that it should be well concerted, and kept very secret. *Diodorus* his Governor was just returned from *Syria*, whither his Master had sent him. He was a skilful Man in Business, and better able to give the Prince an Account of the State of *Syria*, than any other Person; and he told him, that the People there were divided about the Death of *Octavius*, and imputed it to *Lysias*. *The Fear of the Romans*, said he, *divides their Party from the Regent's Friends*. *They have no more Correspondence with one another*. In the mean time *Lysias*, in order to have a Pretence for continuing in Arms, notwithstanding the Treaties and the Advice of the Roman Ambassadors, continues the War with the Jews, and obliges *Eupator* to follow the Steps of *Epiphanes*. He was ready to have reduced the Citadel of Jerusalem by Famine, when that *Philip*, who was nominated his Son's Guardian by the late King, suddenly seized *Antioch*; and this unexpected Step forced the Regent to patch up a Peace in Haste with *Judas Maccabæus*. All *Syria* is in a Flame. Only shew your self to your People, and they will receive you as their Deliverer.

Year of  
R O M E  
DXCI.

P. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
CN. DOMITI-  
US AENOBAR-  
BUS, Consul.

2 Mac. 12:

*Polyb. in Le-  
gat. n. 114*

§. XXXIII. THIS was a very fine Opportunity, which *Demetrius* was resolved not to let slip; and he communicated to *Polybius* the Resolution he had taken, to return to *Syria*, and elude the Vigilance of the Romans. The wise *Achæan* had then at *Rome* an intimate Friend named *Menithyllus*. He was a Native of *Alabanda* in *Asia*, and had been sent by the eldest of the two *Ptolomies*, to be his Agent with the Senate of *Rome*. *Polybius* made him privy to *Demetrius's* Design, and engaged him in it; and *Menithyllus* soon found out an Expedient to facilitate the Prince's Flight. There was a *Carthaginian* Ship riding at Anchor in the Port of *Ostia*, which was soon to sail, to carry to *Tyre* the First-fruits, which the *Carthaginians* annually sent, to the Gods of the City from whence they originally came. These Offerings were always sent on board the best Ships; and *Ptolomy's* Ambassador pretended Business in the *Levant*, desired Freight in the *Carthaginian* Ship for himself and his Attendants, and agreed on a Price for it. He was not at all suspected in it, and therefore the Captain suffered him to carry on board all the Bundles, and all the Provisions he pleased. When every thing was got ready, *Demetrius* was wholly intent on embarking; but it was necessary to conceal his Design from the many Domesticks which he had in his Household. He therefore revealed his Secret only to *Apollonius*, and two of his Brothers, young *Syrians* of great Families, who had been brought up with him at *Rome*; and as for *Diodorus*, the Prince sent him to *Syria* in another Ship, that he might get there before him, and pave the Way for his Reception in his Dominions. Then he ordered the greatest part of his Servants to go to *Anagnia* to wait for him there. But this was only a Feint; for *Demetrius* was to take a very different Course.

In the mean time *Polybius*, though sick, and obliged to keep his House, carried on the Intrigue without appearing in it. *Menithyllus* gave him an Account of all the Prince's Steps. He was told that *Demetrius*, the Evening before his Departure, was to give a great Supper to his Friends in a hired House; and *Polybius* knew the young Prince's Foible. For fear therefore, lest he should give in too much to the Pleasures of the Table, he sent him a Letter, not signed, containing Sentences taken out of good Authors, relating to the Courage, Secrecy, and Sobriety, which was necessary, in order to execute great Designs. The Bearer had Orders to give it to the Master of the House; who was desired to deliver it into the Prince's own Hands. After *Demetrius* had read it, he knew from what Hand it came, and with what Intention it was written; and immediately pretending to be very sick in his Stomach, he rose from Table, and returned home. His Friends followed him, but he immediately took his Leave of them, and ordered the rest of his Family to go immediately with his hunting Equipage, and wait for him at *Anagnia*; where he said he would come, to hunt as usual, in the Neighbourhood of *Circæum*. When he had sent away this useless Company, he discovered his Intentions and Preparations to *Nicanor*, and a few *Syrian* Lords, whom he advised to go with him. To which they readily consented, went immediately home to dress themselves as for the Country, ordered their People to be at the Hunting-match, and in the Night set out with the Prince for *Ostia*.

DURING



Year of  
R O M E  
DXCI.  
P. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
CN. DOMITI-  
US ÆNOBAR-  
EUS, Consuls.

DURING this Interval, *Menithyllus* had told the Captain of the *Carthaginian* Ship, That he had fresh Orders from the King of *Egypt*, which would keep him some time longer at *Rome*; but That he would, in his own room, put on board him the same Number of Passengers, at the same Price, and upon the same Conditions, as he had agreed for himself. He had likewise recommended to him the Persons which were to come on board him; and told him, That they were Officers of Distinction, who were going to serve in *Ptolomy's* Army. The Prince and his Company, to the Number of sixteen Persons, including Pages and Servants, arrived at *Ostia* by three in the Morning, and embarked without being known. As soon as the Day broke they weighed Anchor, and *Demetrius* set sail, with great Joy, to go and take Possession of the Throne of his Fathers. It was four Hours before he was missed at *Rome*; and every Body believed he was gone to *Anagnia*, or *Cirœum*, and there engaged in Entertainments, and hunting Matches. The Secret was not discovered, till a Slave of the Prince, who had been ill used at his Master's Palace, went to seek for him at *Cirœum*, to complain to him. Not finding him there, he returned to *Rome*, and discovered how long *Demetrius* had been absent. *Rome* was convinced of his Escape, and the Senate assembled; but it was too late to send after him. The Ship which carried him was six Days forward, and had already doubled *The Streights of Sicily*. They therefore let her sail on, and waited, without much Uneasiness, to hear of the Prince's Arrival and Adventures in *Syria*.

§. XXXIV. *Menithyllus* continued at *Rome*, and had fresh Attacks to sustain in favour of King *Philometor*, and against his Brother *Physcon*. In his turn, the youngest of the two Kings of *Egypt* came in Person to plead his Cause before the Senate, against his elder Brother. He complained of being deprived of his Share, and desired to be put in Possession of the Island of *Cyprus*, from which *Philometor* had driven him. But the Cause of the elder was good, and *Menithyllus* maintained it with great Zeal and Ability. He represented to the Senate, that *Physcon* had had a much greater Share than he could in Reason have expected. *His Brother*, said he, *has given him the Property of Cyrenaica; and this rich maritime Country will not satisfy the boundless Desires of a younger Brother. Nay, Philometor has done more for Physcon, than give him a part of his Provinces. He saved his Life. After the Death of Cleopatra, Physcon was suspected of Parricide, and would not have escaped the Fury of the People, had he not had the Assistance of the King his Brother: And then the Accommodation was made between the two Competitors for the Crown. It was agreed, That Philometor should reign in Egypt, and keep the Island of Cyprus; and That Cyrenaica should belong to Physcon, with the Title of King. The Treaty was signed and ratified at the Altars; and each Party swore to keep their Words. But now Ambition revives, Discord again shews her Head, and Oaths are despised. All things spoke in favour of Philometor. The Ambassadors themselves, which Rome had sent to settle the Differences, testified, that they were present at the Pacification, and the Division of the Kingdom between the two Brothers. And Physcon had nothing to answer, but that he was forced, by the Necessity of his Affairs at that time, to consent to the Proposal of an ambitious Brother, tho' to his Wrong. It is certain, says he, that I was injured in the Division of my Father's Dominions; and my Recourse therefore, Conscript Fathers, is to your Equity. That, with me, shall supply the Place of Gods and Oaths. I do still abate of my Rights. All I desire is the Island of Cyprus. Which if granted, will not put me upon an equal Foot with my elder Brother. Egypt is a large Kingdom; and if Philometor reigns alone there, and is not restrained by Cyprus by Sea, his Power will become very formidable.*

NOTHING could be more equitable than the Decisions of the *Roman* Senate, when their own Interest did not interfere, and help to turn the Balance. But it was for their Advantage that the Kingdom of *Egypt* should be equally divided between the two Brothers. These refined Politicians therefore resolved to lessen the Forces of this powerful State by dividing them; and a fair Opportunity now offered, of granting that as a Favour, which it would have been of Service to them to have demanded with Authority. So that the Suffrages favoured *Physcon*. The Island of *Cyprus* was adjudged to him as an Addition to his Share; and two Commissioners were sent with the King of *Cyrenaica*, namely *Torquatus* and *Merula*, to put him in Possession of it. Their Orders from the Senate were to proceed with



with Gentleness, spare the Lives of the *Egyptians*, and settle a lasting Peace between the two Brothers. Thus did *Rome* pacify the East, but always to her own Advantage.

§. XXXV. AND now, there was a new War, and a new Peace to be settled in the most Western Part of *Asia*. The <sup>118</sup> *Calyndians* had been insulted by the <sup>119</sup> *Caunians*. *Calynda* was besieged; and the Inhabitants had Recourse in the first Place to the <sup>120</sup> *Cnidians*, who could not lend them sufficient Succours. Then they implored the Assistance of the *Rhodians*, and promised to surrender themselves to them, after their Deliverance. Nevertheless the *Rhodians*, notwithstanding the Offer was so very advantageous, deliberated whether they should accept of it. After having been so ill used by the *Romans*, and so lately barely reconciled to them, they durst not undertake any thing, or think of aggrandizing themselves, without the Consent of *Rome*. But in the mean time the Siege of *Calynda* was pursued with Vigour; and the Answer from *Rome* would come too late. The *Rhodians* therefore thought fit to relieve the Place; but would not accept of the Property of it, without the Approbation of the *Roman* Senate. So great was the Deference that the most powerful Republick in the *Levant* paid to *Rome*! Her Name alone gave her an absolute Authority in all Places; and the Governors of Nations were more afraid of displeasing her, than their Subjects were of rebelling against them. In short *Calynda* was delivered, and the *Rhodians* forced the *Caunians* to retire; and then *Rhodes* had nothing to do but to get this Step approved at *Rome*. To this end, she nominated two Ambassadors, *Lygdamis* and *Cleagoras*, to go and lay her new Laurels at the Feet of the *Roman* Senate. Their Orders were to draw all the Advantages they could from their Submission. Indeed nothing could be more agreeable to this august Body, than to see these *Rhodians*, who were formerly so fierce as to pretend to give Law, now reduced so low, as not to dare to take Possession of a City, without leave; and the Deputies were favourably received. This gracious Reception encouraged them to desire of the *Fathers*, that the private Subjects of *Rhodes* should be restored to the Enjoyment of all the Lands they had formerly possessed in *Caria* and *Lycia*; their Request was granted; and then the Ambassadors returned as well satisfied with the Senate, as the Senate was with their Proceedings. The *Rhodians* out of Gratitude desired leave to erect, in the Temple of *Minerva* in *Rome*, a Colossal Statue of the Goddess, of thirty Cubits high. So that if this Year had not been very fruitful in military Exploits, the Senate had at least signalized it by remarkable Acts of Prudence. It was chiefly in these peaceable Times, that they displayed that Art of governing Nations, which was in a manner the peculiar Characteristick of the Republick.

§. XXXVI. THEN the *Consuls* were changed; and *M. Valerius Messala*, and *C. Fannius Strabo*, succeeded *Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Domitius Aenobarbus*. The *Consulate* was now become but a barren Dignity, not so capable of raising the Glory of the Persons who enjoyed it, as that of their Families. What the Provinces of the present Generals were is not certainly known; we can only conjecture, that in all Probability one went to keep *Liguria* and *Cisalpine Gaul* in Awe; and the other to the Islands of *Corfica* and *Sardinia*. In the City the People grew very opulent, and Wealth produced Luxury. The Law of *The Tribune* <sup>121</sup> *Orcius* was not sufficient to restrain the Expence of Entertainments. It had only settled the Number of the Guests, but had left the Entertainer at Liberty to squander away what Sums he pleased on solemn Feasts. Hence that Profusion which was so contrary to the Sobriety of the ancient Times. All those Persons in *Rome*, who were zealous for the ancient Discipline, murmured at it: And at length the *Consuls* complained of it to the Senate. They remonstrated, That the richest Men in *Rome* made sumptuous Feasts for each other by Turns, especially on the publick

Year of  
R O M E  
DXCI.

P. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS,  
CN. DOMITI-  
US AENOBAR-  
BUS, Consuls.

Year of  
R O M E  
DXCII.

M. VALERIUS  
MESSALA, C.  
FANNIUS  
STRABO,  
Consuls.

*Ant. Gell. B.*  
2. c. 24.

<sup>118</sup> *Herodotus*, and after him the ancient Geographers, give the Name of *Calynda* to a famous City of *Caria*. It was according to the first mentioned Author, one of the Cities of the Kingdom of the famous *Artemisa*.

<sup>119</sup> *Caunus*, a City of *Asia Minor*, depended on *Caria*, according to *Cassiodorus*. It is now called *La Rossa*. We have spoken of it elsewhere.

<sup>120</sup> *Cnidus*, or *Cnidus*, was a City of *Caria*,  
Vol. IV.

situated in a Peninsula, between *The Gulph of San Pietro*, and the Sea of *Scarpanto*. It was one of the most considerable Cities in the Country. It had two considerable Ports; the Ruins of which are yet to be seen, in a Place still called *Cuido*, near the Promontory called *Capo Crio*, or *The Cape of the Cross*.

<sup>121</sup> See what we say of the *Orcian* Law in the last Book of this Volume.



Year of Festivals; and That they vied with one another for Expence, and squandered away great Sums imprudently out of Emulation. The Senate therefore passed a Decree, obliging all those Feast-makers to swear before the *Consuls*, That Pulse, Bread, and Wine excepted, they would not expend more than a hundred and twenty *Asses*<sup>a</sup> at a Feast; and That they would not bring to their Tables the rich Wines of foreign growth. But as this Regulation was only for the Rich, and related only to the Entertainments given after *The Megalesian Games*, celebrated in honour to *Cybele*; it was therefore necessary to extend this Law further, and make it more general. To this end the *Consul Fannius* was ordered to prepare a second Law, which should be more circumstantial, and to get it passed by the People in *Comitia*; and therefore it took its Name from that *Consul*, and was called *The Fannian*<sup>122</sup> Law. It enacted, *That after The Roman Games, The Plebeian Games, and during The Saturnalia, it should be lawful to spend a hundred Asses*<sup>b</sup> of Brass at an Entertainment; *That in ten Days in each Month a Man might spend thirty Asses; but That no Man's common Expences, for eating and drinking in one Day, should exceed ten*<sup>c</sup> Asses. It was debated, and passed; and *C. Titius*<sup>123</sup> who spoke for it, went so far as to say, *That Rome could not subsist, if Profuseness was allowed at Tables.* *The Megalesian Games* were celebrated soon after; and then *Terence* played his Comedy entituled *Eunuchus*; and his *Phormio*, in *The Roman Games*.

Terent. in titulo utriusque Comed.

Aul. Gell. B. 15. c. 11. Sueton. in Pref. de Cluv. Orat.

Thus was introduced into the Republick a Spirit of Reformation, which ought much rather to have been exercised against the Poets whose Obscenities were allowed on the Stage, than against the Rhetoricians and Philosophers. The latter were Foreigners, who kept Schools, where they taught Eloquence and Philosophy. But without any Examination at all, upon this single Prejudice, that all Novelties are hurtful, the *Prætor Pomponius*<sup>124</sup>, who had the Care of the Affairs of Foreigners, made a Motion in the Senate against these Masters, who had lately intruded themselves into Rome. *We have other Business enough for our Children*, said he. *Professors which come so far off, are only fit to enervate the Courage of our Youth; and make them lose their time, which would be better employed in inuring their Bodies to military Labours.* Rome has gained all her Lustre and Grandeur by Arms. And I am for having no School here, but that of Mars. This Discourse imposed on the *Conscript Fathers*. They forbade the Assemblies of the *Literati*; banished the Rhetoricians and Philosophers, and charged the *Prætor* to see their Decree put in execution. But afterwards, Rome followed better Counsels. Eloquence and Morality were taught there with Success. And in one Word, her Conquests have long since passed into other Hands; but the Works of her Orators and Philosophers are still in being, and held in Esteem by all civilized Nations.

Zenar. B. 9. c. 25.

§. XXXVII. HOWEVER, the Senate did not neglect the Affairs of *Syria*, during these Regulations at Home. They had had the Precaution to send three<sup>125</sup> Deputies into *Greece* to appease the Minds of the People; with Orders at the same time to go over into *Asia*, and watch the Steps of *Demetrius*. This fugitive Prince first landed in *Lycia*, and from thence wrote a very polite Letter to the Roman Republick. *My Design in making my Escape*, said he to the Roman Senate and People, *was only to revenge the Death of Octavius, who was inhumanly murdered contrary to the Law of Nations.* *Lyfias was the Author of the Assassination, and*

<sup>122</sup> According to *Aulus Gellius*, all Citizens were forbidden by a Clause of *The Fannian Law*, to have above an hundred Pounds weight in Plate. This Rule took Place even in great Entertainments. *Pliny*, B. 10. c. 50. adds another Clause, which had escaped the Enquiries of *Aulus Gellius*. He says, that by this Law, the Romans were to have no Fowls at their Treats but a common Hen. A fat one was thought too exquisite. *Ne quid volucre poneretur præter unam gallinam, quæ non sit utilis.* Nevertheless, continues *Pliny*, Sensuality lost no Ground. Fat Capons were served up in Paste dipped in Milk, under Pretence that this sort of Fowl was not forbidden by the express Words of the Law. The Epicures found their Account in persuading themselves, that the Lawgiver by *Gallina* meant to forbid nothing but *Hens*.

<sup>123</sup> *Macrobius* says, *Saturn. B. 3.* that the *Cæsar Titius* here mentioned, was reckoned one of the most considerable Orators of his Age.

<sup>124</sup> The Silence of the Historians leaves us in Uncertainty as to the Offices in which *Pomponius* was employed during his *Prætorship*. It is most natural to believe that his Jurisdiction extended only to the Causes of Foreigners. The Decree of Banishment which he pronounced against the Rhetoricians and Philosophers, who had come to Rome from several foreign Countries, is a pretty plain Proof of it.

<sup>125</sup> The three Deputies Rome sent were *Tiberius Gracchus*, who had been two Years before *Consul* with *Juventinus Thalas*; *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Servilius Glaucia*.



my Aim is wholly at him. As to young Eupator, though he has usurped my Right, I respect him on Account of his Age, and the Protection with which you honour him. But these Promises had not much Weight with the Senate. They still expected, That whenever *Demetrius* should gain his Point, and mount the Throne, the young Rival, though a Child, would fall a Sacrifice to the Safety of the new King. Nevertheless it did not become *Rome* to oppose by Force of Arms the Settlement of the lawful Sovereign of *Syria* on the Throne. *Demetrius* continued his Voyage, and landed at the Port of *Tripolis*, a *Syrian* City on the Confines of *Phœnicia*. *Diodorus* had probably declared there that the Prince would soon arrive, and prepared the People to receive him. But whether he did or not, *Demetrius* no sooner appeared at *Tripolis*, but he was acknowledged King, and proclaimed by his Subjects. In order to increase the Number of his Friends, he declared in all Places wherever he came, that he was sent by the Senate of *Rome* to take Possession of his Dominions; and this Lye got him much Credit. He by that Pretence got Possession of *Apamea*<sup>126</sup>, and his Army increased every Day. He marched it to the most Eastern Part of the Kingdom of *Syria*, of which *Babylon*<sup>127</sup> was the chief City. *Timarchus* was Governor of this City, and his Administration was insupportable to all the People. *Demetrius* therefore delivered the Country out of his Hands, condemned him to Death, and from thence took the glorious Surname of *Soter*, or *Deliverer*. All Opposition gave way before him; and the People acknowledged his Rights. He had already nothing to do but to take *Antioch*, and fight the old Troops which *Lysias* commanded, and which the brave *Maccabæus* had so often beaten in the Plains of *Judea*. And this last Blow did not cost *Demetrius* much. He appeared before that Capital, and it opened its Gates to him. He was received in the ancient Palace of his Ancestors without Opposition, and ascended the Throne which *Seleucus* his Father had possessed. Then *Lysias* and his Ward *Eupator* had no Refuge left, but to throw themselves at the Feet of the lawful Monarch; and they desired an Audience. But *Demetrius* refused to grant it. *Unjust Usurpers*, said he, *shall never be admitted into my Presence*. These Words of the true King were published in the Army; and the Soldiers thinking to make their Court, by spilling the Blood of the two unhappy Men, whom *Fortune* had abandoned, put both *Eupator* and *Lysias* to Death. A Vengeance, which brought no Odium on the new Monarch, and may be ascribed to Heaven; which punished, both in the Ward and his Guardian, the Injuries they had done to the People of God, contrary to the Faith of Treaties.

<sup>126</sup> King *Seleucus Nicanor* had built *Apamea* on the Banks of the *Orontes*. It was so called from his Sister's Name. It stood between *Antioch* and the City of *Emessa*, forty Miles from the *Syrian* Sea. *Belonius* calls it *Hamous*; but *Leunclavius*, and most modern Geographers, call it *Hama*.

<sup>127</sup> In the Course of this History we shall have Occasion to describe the famous City of *Babylon*,

which stood on the Banks of the *Euphrates*, and was the Capital of *Chaldea*. One part of this Kingdom had been united to *Syria*, ever since the Death of *Alexander the Great*. The present City of *Bagdad* was built out of the Ruins of *Babylon*, forty two Miles beyond it, near the *Tigris*. But some have falsely imagined, that this City stands on the same Place where old *Babylon* formerly did.

Year of  
R O M E  
DXCII.

M. VALERIUS  
MESSALA, C.  
FANNIUS  
STRABO,  
Consuls.

1 Mac. 7.  
App. in Syriac.  
N. 117.

1 Mac. 7.



## Roman History.

## B O O K XLVII.

Year of  
R O M E  
DXCII.

M. VALERIUS  
MESSALA,  
C. FANNIUS  
STRABO, Con-  
suls.  
*Polyb. Legat.*  
N. 120.

§. I. **W**HEN *Demetrius* was upon the Throne, his Fear of the *Romans* made him stifle his Resentments for their Conduct towards him. He did his utmost to gain the Good-Will of a Republick which had envied him the Crown, only because she was suspicious that he would not pay her the Submission she desired. He knew that *Tib. Gracchus*, the Deputy of the Republick in the *Levant*, was in *Cappadocia*; and therefore made it his Business to cultivate the Friendship of a *Roman*, whom he had visited at *Rome*, and whose Credit he was not a Stranger to. His Point in view was to get himself acknowledged King by the Ambassador of the Republick. This was the most effectual Method to stifle all remaining Factions at home, and keep up a good Understanding with his Neighbours Abroad.

THE King of *Syria* therefore sent his Agents after *Gracchus*, to all the Places he passed through; and they came to him first in *Pamphylia*, and then at *Rhodes*, and every where assured him, in their Master's Name, of his inviolable Attachment to the Interest of *Rome*. *Gracchus* was very willing to be persuaded, acknowledged the Sovereignty of *Demetrius*, and gave him the Title of King. Nor was this all. In order to maintain himself in the Possession in which the Ambassador had settled him, the King of *Syria* sent an Embassy to *Rome*, with a fine Present of a Crown of Gold of great Price. With it he also sent, the miserable Assassin who had been guilty of murdering the Ambassador *Octavius*, and the Declaimer who had so much inveighed against *Rome* in his Harangues. The *African* put a good Face upon it; boasted that he would make the Senate themselves approve of his Conduct; and appeared gay, thro' the whole Journey. But the Orator, a vain Man, who had no Courage but in Words, sunk into a deep Melancholy, from the time that the Chain was put about his Neck, in order to his being delivered up to the Republick, which he had offended. The Wretch could not be prevailed on to take any Nourishment, without Force; and grew so thin with fasting, that he looked like a Skeleton, by that time he came to *Rome*. His Name was *Isocrates*. He let both his Beard and his Nails grow, and looked like a Savage. This was perhaps an Artifice in the Rhetorician, to raise Compassion. But the Senate did not think proper to admit the Wretch into their Presence. The Punishment of two worthless Men was by no means an adequate Satisfaction for the Offence the Republick had received. She rejected the two Victims that were offered her, and kept *Syria* in fear of a more severe Vengeance. But the King's Present was accepted, and *Rome* gave him Proofs of a perfect Reconciliation. Thus by mixing Evidences of Friendship for the Sovereign, with Marks of Resentment against the Nation, the politick *Romans* kept the *Syrians* both in Fear and Hope.

Year of  
R O M E  
DXCIII.

L. ANICIUS  
GALLUS, M.  
CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
Consuls.  
*Polyb. N. 109,*  
110, 121, &  
122.

§. II. **W**HEN *Demetrius's* Present was brought to *Rome*, the Republick had just changed her Consuls. *L. Anicius Gallus*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, had just been promoted to the highest Dignity: and they went rather to encamp, than make War; one in *Liguria*, the other in *Cisalpine Gaul*. The Republick had then scarce any thing to do, but to keep Peace in the East. She narrowly watched the Steps of the *Syrian*, and suspected all his Motions. Nevertheless, she had given *Demetrius* to understand, That she would receive him into her Friendship, if he would take the proper Means to oblige the Senate, and assure them of his Affec-  
tion.



tion. This was insinuating to him, That he should send an Hostage to *Rome*, to represent him, and be responsible for his Fidelity. Nor did the *Roman* Policy stop there. The Senate privately fomented Suspicions between the Kings of *Pergamus*, *Bitthynia*, and *Cappadocia*; that one or other of them might always be ready to give her Notice what Schemes were forming in the *Levant*. With the same View they kept up the Divisions between the two *Ptolomies* in *Egypt*, and gave the weaker Advantages over the stronger. That *Menithyllus* who maintained the Interests of *Philometor* against *Physson*, at *Rome*, had very lately been expelled *Italy*. In *Africa* likewise, *Rome* openly espoused *Masinissa* upon whom she could depend, against the *Carthaginian* Republick which she suspected. As for *Judas Maccabæus*, he saw through the Designs of the *Romans*; and believed, that under their Protection his People would be secure from the Kings of *Syria*, their Persecutors. The Power and Humanity of the predominant Republick gave him Hopes, That under the Umbrage of her Name, he might gain some Respite, for a time at least; and That Ambassadors from him would be well received by her. He made solid Reflections on the Victories *Rome* had gained in all Parts of the World, and the constant Prosperity she had procured the Nations that adhered to her. *The Roman Republick*, said he to himself, *destroys or makes Kings with a Word; and disposes of Kingdoms and Provinces as she pleases. Her Senate swallows up the Majesty of other Sovereign Powers, whose Purple, if I may so speak, is borrowed. Virtue and good Order reign among the Romans; whose Contentions never run so high as to weaken them.* This Encomium on the *Roman* Government, which the Sacred Books have transmitted to us, was then deeply imprinted on the Mind of the valiant *Maccabæus*; and he thought he might, without Injury to his Religion, enter into Friendship with *Rome*. Upon the Views therefore of a lawful Policy, and that he might not always tempt God, *Judas* determined to send an Embassy to the *Roman* Senate. The two Deputies he chose were *Eupolemus* the Son of *John*, and *Jason* the Son of *Eleazar*. When they arrived at *Rome*, they were introduced into the Senate. The prudent *Judas* had well timed his Negotiation. The Hostilities which *Demetrius*, since his Advancement to the Throne, had committed (as well as his Predecessors) against the People of God, could not but exasperate a jealous and distrustful Republick. Besides, for *Rome* to protect the *Jews*, was to erect a Barrier against aggrandizing the *Syrian*, and to take away from him all Pretences of keeping Armies always in Pay. *Eupolemus* and *Jason* were therefore favourably heard. They desired to be admitted into an Alliance with *Rome*, and reckoned among those Nations whom she honoured with her Protection. The Senate readily consented to it, and ordered the Articles of the Treaty to be written on a Plate of Brass, which was carried to *Jerusalem*. The Conditions of the Confederacy were these. 1. *If the Romans, or their Allies, make War in any Place, Judæa shall, bona fide, lend them Succours according to her Ability; and the Romans shall not be obliged to pay these Auxiliaries, or supply them with Provisions or Ships.* 2. *When, on the other hand, the Jews are at War, the Romans shall, at their own Expence, lend them such Succours as the present Circumstances of Affairs will admit of.* After this Confederacy was made with the *Jews*, and *Judas* their Head, the Republick wrote a Letter to *Demetrius*, which was both menacing and imperious. *Why*, said she to him, *have you insulted and oppressed the Jewish Nation? Know, That they are our Allies. If you give them the Trouble to send another Embassy to complain of you, we will treat you as an Enemy, and pursue you by Sea and Land.* But this Letter, without doubt, did not arrive till after the Death of the Great *Maccabæus*. At least, it had not the Effect *Rome* had expected. The King of *Syria* commanded *Bacchis*, one of his Generals, to go into *Judæa*, to exterminate that Handful of invincible Men, whom neither his Predecessors, nor himself had yet been able to disperse. *Bacchis's* Army was numerous. That of *Judas* did not exceed eight hundred Men. God had not promised always to work Miracles in Defence of his People. Besides, the Head of the holy Nation had a little forgotten himself. His Confidence in the God of his Fathers had been wavering; and when he was to march to the Battel, he had not offered up his Vows and Prayers to Heaven, from whence he received all his Strength. Being therefore left to himself, he fought indeed like a Great Officer, and a Great Soldier; but he lost the Victory, and his Life with it. The Almighty had hitherto

Year of  
R O M E  
DXCIII.

L. ANICIUS  
GALLUS, M.  
CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
Consuls.

1 Mac. 8.



Year of  
ROM E  
DXCIII.

L. ANICIUS  
GALLUS, M.  
CORNELIUS  
CETHEGUS,  
Consuls.

wrought great Wonders, by the Hand of his Servant. *Judas* had received great Talents for War from Nature; and God had assisted him, even miraculously, as long as *Maccabæus* had continued steady and blameless in his Fidelity to him. But as soon as he became no more than a common Hero, he was killed, as many others had been, who had rashly exposed themselves to the greatest Dangers. *Jonathan* his Brother succeeded him, in the *Pontificate*, and in the Command of the Armies.

Plut. Life of  
Paulus.  
Auct. de Viris  
Illustr. Flor-  
nus, &c.

§. III. WHILEST the *Jewish* Nation was lamenting the Death of *Judas*, the predominant Republick was bewailing the Loss of one of her greatest Generals *Paulus Æmilius*. He seems to have wanted nothing but the Knowledge of the True Religion, and the Grace that God joins with it, to have made his Virtues meritorious. He did not indeed die, like *Judas Maccabæus*, in that Faith which gives great Hopes and Dependance on the Mercies of God. But he had, both in his Life-time, and after his Death, a constant Reputation of the greatest Probity, most perfect Disinterestedness, and most strict Sobriety, that could be acquired by the Strength of Reason. He had a great while before his Death been seized with the lingering Disease which at last killed him, and had retired from the Hurry of publick Affairs. In a little City of *Italy*, called *Velia*, he spent his whole time in such Reflections as Philosophy inspires into those who have all their Life-time made it their Study. The good Air he met with out of *Rome*, and the Rest he enjoyed, prolonged his Days. In the mean time, the People regretted his Absence, and called for him at *Rome*. During the publick Games, the *Romans* were often heard to cry out, *What is become of Paulus Æmilius? Will he appear no more in our Assemblies? He was the greatest Ornament of them.* This earnest Desire of the Publick to see him, and the Opportunity of a Sacrifice which he was obliged to perform at *Rome*, as Head of his Family, determined him to take hold of an Interval of Health, to appear once more among the *Citizens*. He returned to the Capital, performed the Sacrifice, and the next Day slew fresh Victims, by way of Thanksgiving to the Gods for his Recovery. Then he returned to his House, sat down at Table, and was all on a sudden seized with a violent Delirium, of which he died three Days after. It may be affirmed, That except *Scipio Africanus*, no Man had done his Country more important Services than *Paulus Æmilius*. By his Conquest of *Macedon*, he had secured to his Republick the Sovereignty over all the East: And he had done her as much Service by his exemplary Virtues, as by his Victories. In the midst of that Licentiousness which Riches might have introduced into *Rome*, *Æmilius* kept up in Repute, Frugality, Continence, a Contempt of Wealth, and a Love of Equity. This Man, who had brought Wealth enough to the publick Treasury to enrich it for ever, died so poor, that scarce Money enough could be raised by the Sale of his Effects<sup>1</sup>, to discharge what was to be paid to his last Wife, after his Decease. So that his two Sons, *Fabius Æmilianus*, and *Scipio Æmilianus*, rather inherited his Virtues, than his Estate. The latter, who was entered into the opulent Family of the *Scipio's*, gave up his Share of his Inheritance to his Brother, who was adopted by the *Fabian* Family which was far from being rich. And *Scipio* also bore all the Expences of the Funeral himself. The Obsequies were not fine on any Account, but the Concourse of the People who endeavoured to do Honour to the Memory of this Great Man. There were *Macedonians*<sup>2</sup>, *Spaniards*, and Li-

\* 11947508  
4 d. Sterl.

<sup>1</sup> According to *Plutarch*, in his Life of this General, all *Paulus Æmilius's* Effects did not amount to more than the Value of three hundred and seventy thousand \* *Drachmæ*, or one hundred and eighty five thousand *Livres*, at the Rate of ten *Sols per Drachma*, according to our Reduction of the ancient Money.

<sup>2</sup> *Valerius Maximus* tells us, That these *Macedonians*, who carried the Body of *Paulus Æmilius*, were Men of the most Eminence in their Nation. Among them were some Ambassadors, who were charged with the Affairs of *Macedon* with the Senate of *Rome*. The Funeral-Bed of the Deceased, says that Author, was adorned with Pictures and Relievo's representing his Victories and Triumphs. Upon which *Valerius Maximus* makes this Reflection. We may judge from hence, says he, what a Veneration these *Macedonians* had for *Paulus Æmilius*. Rather than not have the Satisfaction of publishing the Glo-

ry of an Hero whom they considered rather as their Father, than their Conqueror, they were willing to publish the Shame of their own Defeat to Multitudes of People. So that the last Honours that were paid to the Memory of this Great Man, had more the Air of a new Triumph, than a Funeral.

In order to finish our Character of *Paulus Æmilius*, we must not forget one Particular, which is mentioned to his Honour, by *Sempronius Asellio*. This Historian relates it from *Scipio Æmilianus*, under whom he had served at the Siege of *Numantia*, in Quality of *Legionary Tribune*. *Scipio*, says *Sempronius*, had often heard his Father *Paulus Æmilius* say, That a prudent General should never give Battle, but when he is sure of Success, or when he is forced to it, by being reduced to a Necessity of Conquering or Perishing.

gures,



gures, who all mourned for him, as for a Father. This Conqueror, who had filled Year of them with so much Terror during the War, had become their Protector after the *R O M E* Peace. It was observed, That these *Macedonians*, *Spaniards*, and *Ligures*, three *DXCIII.* Nations whom he had conquered, earnestly disputed with one another for the Honour of carrying his Body to the Funeral-Pile. The Procession began with a long Train of Busts, which were carried on Hand-Barrows. These were the Figures of *L. ANICIUS GALLUS, M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS,* the Great Men of the *Emilian* Family. Neither the Senate nor the Courts of Justice sate that Day, that they might be at Leisure to attend the Funeral. And lastly, there were vast Crowds of People that came to it from all the *Municipia*. The Triumphs of *Paulus Emilius* were not celebrated with more Pomp than his Funeral. His Sons joined in presenting the People with Games, in Honour to the Memory of their Father. *Terence* then played two of his Comedies, the *Adelphi*, and the *Hecyra*; and the latter was again interrupted by a Show of Gladiators, which drew away the Audience. Such was the End of *Paulus Emilius*, whose Fame will never die in Story. Should transient Honours be the only Rewards bestowed on such eminent Virtues?

*Terent. in titu-  
lo Adelph. &  
in Prologo He-  
cyra.*

§.IV. OF the two *Consuls* for the Year, *Cethegus* only gained himself some Reputation in his Office. He left at least one Monument of it. He dried up the *Pomptin* 3 Marshes, which infected the Air of the whole Neighbourhood. He employed the Soldiers of his Army in making Drains, whereby he drew all the Water out of them. Of this vast Tract of Ground, in which there formerly stood three and twenty Cities, which were swallowed up by Inundations, *Cethegus* made only one great Plain, which was fruitful at first, but afterwards drowned again by fresh Overflowings of the Rivers. And the following *Consuls* signalized themselves yet less in their Administration. The Republick promoted to the *Consulate*, *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*, and *M. Fulvius Nobilior*; whose Names would scarce have been known in History, if they had not been preserved in the *Fasti Capitolini*. There was no Man of considerable Figure in *Rome*, after the Death of *Paulus Emilius*, but *Scipio Nasica*; who was just promoted to the *Censorship*. So hereditary was the Reputation for Virtue in his Family! The Collegue given him was *Popilius* 4 *Lænas*; and both *Censors* were resolutely bent on punishing Vice impartially, wherever they found it. They began with pulling down the Statues which some ambitious Men, of very little Merit, had caused to be erected in the *Forum Romanum*. They left only such standing, as had been erected in Honour to Great Men, by Decree of the Senate. There was then, among the others, that of the *Spurius Cassius*, whose Memory was execrable for his Design to usurp the Sovereignty in *Rome*. I know not thro' what Negligence it had been left standing so long near the Temple of the Goddess *Tellus*. But however, the Zeal of *Nasica* would not let him spare the Statue of a bad *Citizen*, whose Ambition he abhorred. He broke it in pieces, to abolish the Remembrance of his Crime.

*Liv. in Epit.  
B. 46.*

Year of  
*R O M E*  
*DXCIV.*

*CN. CORNELI-  
US DOLABEL-  
LA, M. FUL-  
VIUS NOBILI-  
OR, Consul.*

*Plin. B. 3. c. 6.  
Auth. de Vi-  
ris Illust.*

THAT the *Censors* shewed great Rigour towards the *Roman Knights*, may appear by the following Instance. At the Review of this fine Body of Cavalry, there appeared in his Rank, a *Knight* who was very fat, and of a very ruddy Complexion. But the Horse he had from the Republick was so lean that he could scarce carry him. *Knight*, said *Nasica* to him, *why is thy Horse in so bad a Way, and the Master in so very good Plight? The Reason is plain*, replied the *Knight* briskly, *it is because my Servant takes care of my Horse, but I take care of myself*. But the grave *Censor* thought the Jest very ill-timed, and the Answer not respectful; and he punished him for it. The *Knight* was cashiered, reduced to the Condition of the meanest of the *Citizens*, disabled to give or receive a Vote in the Assemblies of the People, and deprived of all the Rights of *Citizenship*, without an Exemption from the Taxes. A Punishment which seemed too great for the Offence.

*Aul. Gellius,  
B. 4. c. 20.*

3 See what we have said of the *Pomptin* Marshes, now Part of the *Campagna di Roma*, Vol. 1. We shall hereafter see that *Cornelius Cethegus's* Enterprize had not a very lasting Effect. The neighbouring Rivers overflowed, and drowned this Canton gain some time after, and made new Marshes.

*Julius Caesar* had Thoughts of drying them a second time. But the Execution of this Design was left to his Successor *Augustus*.

4 The *Popilian* Family, tho' originally *Plebeian*, gave the Republick several Magistrates of the first Order.



Year of  
R O M E  
DXCIV.

CN. CORNELI-  
US DOLABEL-  
LA, M. FULVI-  
US NOBILIOR,  
Consuls.

Plin. B. 7. c. 63.  
Vitruv. B. 9.  
c. 9.

Vell. Patercul.

Donatus vel  
Suetonius in  
Vita Terentii.

Year of  
R O M E  
DXCV.

M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, C.  
POPILIUS LÆ-  
NAS, Consuls.

Joseph. B. 11.  
c. 1.

*NASICA* also signalized his *Censorship*, by useful and fine Works. He was the first that shewed *Rome* a *Clepsydra*<sup>5</sup>; or at least that placed one in public View, in the Front of his House. It was a Machine which, by Water conveyed thro' small Tubes, and some Wheels which were moved by it, shewed the Hours of the Day and Night. An Invention which was necessary in a City where there was no Method of knowing the Hours of the Day but by Sun-Dials. When the Sun did not shine, and from Sun-set to Sun-rising, there was no sure Method of measuring Time. So that this Present was more acceptable to the *Citizens* on Account of the Usefulness, than the Expence of it. But the Galleries, which the same *Censor* built on the *Capitol*, were a much finer and more expensive Piece of Work. *Nasica* ended his *Censorship* with a *Lustrum*, which was the fifty fourth since their Institution. *Rome* then reckoned up three hundred thirty eight thousand three hundred and fourteen *Citizens* fit to bear Arms. About this time *Terence* the Poet, who had escaped from *Rome*, I know not how, died; according to some, at Sea; and according to others, at <sup>6</sup> *Stymphalus*, a little City of *Arcadia*. Perhaps no Man ever acquired a greater Reputation than he did, for regular Comedies. He was a great Imitator of the *Greeks*, and especially <sup>7</sup> *Menander*. At his Death, there were found among his Papers one hundred and eight Pieces of that Poet, which *Terence* had translated from *Greek* into *Latin*. If he had not so much of the *Vis Comica* as *Plautus* who went before him; he at least surpassed him, in the *Decorum* of the *Drama*, the Choice of his Subjects, and the Art of conducting them.

§. V. WHEN new *Consuls* were chosen, and *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *C. Popilius Lænas* were promoted, in the *Field of Mars*, to command the Armies of the Republick; *Fulvius Nobilior*, who had seemed idle in his *Consulship*, signalized himself in *Liguria*, as *Pro-Consul*. He made such Conquests there, as procured him the highest military Honours. He triumphed. But we must look upon this as one of those Triumphs which were purchased at a very cheap Rate, and granted for the taking of a Castle, as *Cicero* speaks. No Historian mentions it. The *Fasti Capitolini* only have transmitted it to Posterity. It was become necessary to raise a little Emulation among the *Consuls*, who would otherwise have grown weary of spending whole Campaigns in Tents. And therefore slight Honours were bestowed on them, to encourage them to undergo great Fatigues.

As for the Republick, she was wholly taken up with the Affairs of the East. *Demetrius* gave *Judea* Respite, after the Orders he received from *Rome*. Nevertheless, as he was in the Flower of his Age, and as the Education he had received at *Rome* had given him a Taste for Arms, he turned his Forces towards *Cappadocia*. Young *Ariarathes* was reigning there in Peace. He was a Prince that deserved

<sup>5</sup> *Vitruvius* has given us an Idea of these Sorts of Clocks, in his Description of the *Clepsydra*, the Invention of which he ascribes to *Cresibius*, a Native of *Alexandria*, and Son of a Barber. They were differently made. But all agreed in this, that the Water was insensibly conveyed from one Vessel to another, in which it rose up by degrees; and as fast as it rose, it lifted up a Piece of Cork which supported the Index that shewed the Hours. By this means it was easy to know the Hours, according to their Astronomical Distances. But these Machines were subject to two Inconveniences; the first of which has not escaped *Plutarch*. He observes, very justly, that the Water became more or less fluid, according as the Air was thicker or thinner, colder or hotter, more condensed or more rarified. So that it did not always run with equal Swiftmess, or in an equal Quantity. And consequently, the Hour must be sometimes longer and sometimes shorter. Nor was this all. In this ancient *Clepsydra*, the Liquor which filled one of the Vessels, fell down faster or slower, according as the Vessel emptied itself. And consequently, since the Weight of the Water was greater at the Beginning than at the End, it did not fall at all times alike, so as exactly to correspond to the Astronomical Hours. Our Sand Hour-Glasses, and Water-Glasses, which are much more

simple and exact, have succeeded in the Room of the *Clepsydra* of the Ancients. For want of Striking-Clocks, Persons of Distinction at *Rome* had Servants which they hired on purpose to tell them what it was o'Clock. *Petronius* says of *Trimalchion*, that he had a Clock in his Dining-Room, and that it was the Business of one of his Slaves to tell him every Hour of the Day, by Sound of Trumpet.

<sup>6</sup> The Name of *Symphalus* was common to a Lake, Mountain, and City, of *Arcadia*. There are now scarce any Footsteps of the latter remaining. The Place where it stood is now called *Vulsi*, according to *Pliny*; or *Longanico*, according to *Le Noir*. We have spoken of it already.

<sup>7</sup> *Menander*, commonly called the Prince of the new Comedy, among the *Greeks*, was born in the third Year of the 109th *Olympiad*, according to the *Chronicon* of *Eusebius*. He was the Disciple of *Theophrastus*. Under this Great Master he formed his Taste, and acquired great Knowledge. His Genius led him to Comedy. He is said to have written one hundred and eight, of which eight only gained the Prize. According to *Anlus Gellius*, he died the first Year of 122d *Olympiad*, aged fifty-two Years, as appears by an Inscription in *Gruter's* Collection. The Time of his Death nearly coincides with the 461st Year of *Rome*.



Esteem for many excellent Qualities. The Philosophy of the *Greeks*, which he had introduced into his Dominions to drive out Barbarism, had polished his Mind. He was naturally of a sweet Disposition, very gracious to his People, loved them, and was beloved by them. His only Misfortune was, that he had a young *Cappadocian*, named *Orofernes*, his Rival for the Throne. The Foundation of his Claim was this. *Antiochis* the Daughter of *Antiochus the Great*, was married pretty young to the King of *Cappadocia*, who was named *Ariarathes* as well as his Son. The Queen thought her self barren, for a great while; but being an artful Woman, she twice feigned herself to be with Child, and imposed two Children upon the King her Husband. This *Orofernes* was the younger, and one *Ariarathes* the elder. They were both brought up at the Court of their supposed Father, and were thought his Heirs. But afterwards *Antiochis*, by the help of Medicines, became fruitful, and actually was delivered of a Prince and two Princesses. The Son was first called *Mithridates*; and both the King and Queen immediately became passionately fond of him. Then *Antiochis*, stung with Remorse, and grieved at the Injustice she had done her real Son, declared to the King, that the two Children which he had brought up at his Court as the eldest Princes, were neither his Children, nor hers. She also gave him strong Proofs of the Cheat she had put upon him; and the King rejoicing to find that his Fondness for *Mithridates* were the secret Dictates of Nature, which shewed themselves in spite of all Disguises, immediately sent the two supposititious Children out of his Kingdom. The eldest, which was called *Ariarathes*, was conveyed to *Rome*, where he was carefully kept. He was a young Man of a weak Mind, and scarce capable of being affected with his Loss. But *Orofernes*, who had a greater Genius, and was of a more enterprizing Nature, was banished into *Ionia*. And now the King's Affections were no longer divided. He made his Son lay aside the Name of *Mithridates*, and take that of *Ariarathes*. Nay, out of an Excess of Tendernefs for him, he would willingly have resigned his Crown into the Hands of this dear Son; and found no Opposition, but from the Prince himself. Young *Ariarathes* protested, That he would rather die than do so base a thing as rob his Father of his Dignity; and by this Generosity he merited the Surname of *Philopator*, which the *Greeks* afterwards gave him.

ALL these Virtues made *Ariarathes* worthy of the Throne, when he mounted it; and *Demetrius*, who had lately taken Possession of the Kingdom of *Syria*, against the Will of the *Romans*, offered him his Daughter in Marriage. But *Ariarathes* refused her; no doubt, because afraid to contract an Alliance with a King whose Title was not yet recognized by *Rome*. This raised the Resentment of *Demetrius*, and was the real Cause of the War he made with *Cappadocia*. The Pretence for it was restoring *Orofernes*. This ambitious Prince tempted the *Syrian* with great Promises; sent him word from *Ionia*, the Place of his Banishment, that he would give him a thousand *Talents*, if he settled him on the Throne; and *Demetrius* therefore made all due Preparation for carrying back *Orofernes* to his own Country. *Ariarathes*, on the other hand, borrowed Succours of the King of *Pergamus*. *Eumenes* was dead; and this Prince (who was sometimes faithful to the *Romans*, and sometimes deserted them, as his Interest led him,) had left a Son, who was long unknown, and then not old enough to govern. *Attalus*, the Brother of the late King, governed *Pergamus*; and the Resemblance of their Virtues had united him in Friendship with the *Cappadocian*. He sent him Succours. But all gave way before the Power and Forces of *Demetrius*. *Orofernes* was placed on the Throne; and *Ariarathes* being driven out of his Dominions, fled for Refuge to *Rome*, the common *Asylum* of unfortunate Kings.

PERHAPS never was Cause more worthy of the Cognizance of the *Roman Senate*. *Syria* and *Pergamus*, the chief Powers of *Asia*, were concerned in the Dispute. It was necessary to give *Cappadocia* a King; and to determine whether a Prince, who was long acknowledged to be a King's Son, was to be deprived of his Right, by the Deposition of a Mother, who might be capricious, and might only have followed the Dictates of her Aversion. *Ariarathes* appeared in Person, before the *Conscrip*t Fathers, and in a set Discourse spoke against the Pretensions of the supposititious Son, who had been disowned both by Father and Mother. He discovered the Rise of the Enmity of *Demetrius* to him; and shewed the Senate, That his Attachment to *Rome* was the sole Cause of his refusing an Alliance with *Syria*,

Year of  
R O M E  
DXCV.

M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, C.  
POPILIUS LÆ-  
NAS, Consuls.  
Diod. Sic. in  
Eclog. B. 31.  
Fast. B. 35.  
Zonaras, B. 9.  
Polyb. in Legat.  
N. 126.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCXV.  
M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, C.  
POPILIUS LÆ-  
NAS, Consuls.

the Fury of *Demetrius* against him, and of the Protection which the *Syrian* had given to a Pretender, whose Birth excluded him from the Throne. On the other hand, some Ambassadors from *Orofernes* maintained the Cause of their Master. They pretended, That the Deposition of a Mother against her Son to whom she had taken an Aversion, ought not to be always looked upon as Matter of Certainty; That this Maxim had still greater Weight, when the Succession to a Throne was in question; and That the Proofs which are to exclude an elder Brother, who had long been owned as such, could not be too plain. They challenged their Opponents to produce any other Witnesses, that these Children were supposititious, but the Author of this supposed Cheat, and her Accomplice. They added, That by studied Caresses, and a feigned Docility and Obedience, *Mithridates* had made himself the Idol of the King and Queen. They demanded, that *Orofernes* should be maintained on a Throne which had been taken from him by Artifice, and which he had recovered by Force of Arms. They also desired, That the Republick would receive him into the same Friendship which they had granted to old *Ariarathes* his Father. And in order to obtain this Favour, they presented the Senate, in his Name, with a Crown of Gold of great Price. *Miltiades* also, whom the King of *Syria* had sent to *Rome* on his Part, solicited, in favour of *Orofernes*, the old Friends which *Demetrius* had made in the Senate during his Abode in *Italy*. In *Cappadocia* no one doubted but *Orofernes* was a supposititious Child. There were a great Number of Witnesses of it. But the Fear of the Usurper kept them in Awe; and the deposed King had not Interest enough to bring them to *Rome*. However, the Affair, which was long debated, was at last determined there, rather according to the Inclinations of the Judges, than the Rules of strict Equity. It had for some time been a Matter of Policy with the Senate, to divide great Monarchies, in order thereby to weaken them: and their Sentence was, That *Cappadocia* should have two Kings; *Ariarathes* reign in one Part of his Country, and *Orofernes* in another.

*Polyb. in Legat. N. 116.*

§. VI. THE same Maxim of setting up two Kings in great States, took Place likewise, with regard to *Egypt*. The Divisions between the two *Ptolomies* were revived. *Rome*, which would have divided *Egypt* equally between the two Brothers, had ordered, that besides *Cyrenaica*, which he then possessed, the younger should have the Island of *Cyprus*; and the latter would fain have entered it Sword in hand. But the two Ambassadors which the Republick had sent with the young Prince, thought it better to treat with the elder Brother in an amicable Way, and get the Decree of the Senate put in Execution, by Persuasion, rather than Violence. They therefore came to *Alexandria*; where they found the King little inclined to comply with the Will of *Rome*, and grant the Pretensions of his Brother. He made it his whole Business to evade the Proposals of the two *Romans*, and spin out their Negotiation to a great length. The King of *Alexandria* had a great Design on foot, which would soon break out, to the Disadvantage of the King of *Cyrenaica*, his Brother. *Philometor* had been laying a Plot for a general Revolt of the *Cyreneans* against *Physcon*; and aspired at nothing less than uniting all *Egypt* under his Dominion. And indeed, the Sedition was brought to bear. The younger *Ptolomy* was beaten by his Subjects, and driven out of the first Territory that was granted him. This occasioned a new Process, which was carried to *Rome*, and there pleaded by the Ambassadors of both Parties. *Physcon's* Advocate exaggerated the little Deference *Philometor* had shewn for the Envoys of *Rome*, and the Decrees of the Senate. But *Philometor's* Deputy insisted on the still growing Pretensions of a younger Brother, whose Ambition was boundless. Let *Physcon*, said he, maintain himself in the Possession of *Cyrenaica*, if he can; and let him drop his Pretensions to the Isle of *Cyprus*! *Rome* has already decided our Differences. We adhere to her first Determination. And indeed, the Cause of the elder Brother was the most just. Nevertheless, he was forced to give way to the Interests of the Great Republick. A perfect Equality between the two Brothers was most agreeable to the Senate; and therefore two new Ambassadors were sent to *Egypt*. These Messengers were as much dreaded in the East as great Armies. They commanded, and were obeyed. *Physcon*, who was already Master of *Cyrene* and *Cyrenaica*, thought of nothing but taking Possession of *Cyprus*, which *Rome* was going to take from his Brother, to give him.

§. VII. BUT



§. VII. But this sovereign Authority of the *Romans* was not equally revered in all Places. Some Nations which were less patient, or of a more restless Temper, were from time to time often striking at the absolute Sovereignty exercised by the Republick. *Dalmatia* was a vast Country, which bordered upon *Illyricum*, and had indeed been a Part of it all the time that *Pleuratus* was on the Throne. But when *Gentius* succeeded his Father the *Dalmatians* separated from him, and made a Republick by themselves. In the mean time *Illyricum* became *Roman*, and the *Dalmatians*, for some time, respected it as a Country in Alliance with, or even tributary to *Rome*. But afterwards they penetrated into it, harassed their Neighbours by IncurSIONS, and laid their Country under Contribution. The *Lissians*<sup>9</sup> therefore, and *Daoryseans*<sup>10</sup>, who had suffered most by these Robbers, brought their Complaints to *Rome*. The Senate did not use to pass Judgment precipitately in such Cases, nor till they had made strict Enquiries; and they now sent a Deputation to *Dalmatia*, at the Head of which was *C. Fannius*. His Orders were to visit *Illyricum* at the same time, and perhaps *Macedon*. At least, Leave was about this time given the *Macedonians* to work their Gold and Silver Mines, which had been denied them ever since the Conquest of their Kingdom. As to the *Illyricans* and *Dalmatians*, *Fannius's* Business was to get an exact Account of what Injuries they had done one another. *Rome* then foresaw that it would soon be necessary to turn her Arms towards *Dalmatia*; and the Republick, tired with too long Inaction, was pleased with the Prospect of a War which her Consuls, who had too long been idle, would soon have to carry on out of *Italy*.

*FANNIUS* returned from *Dalmatia* to *Rome* just after the Republick had chosen *Sex. Julius Caesar* and *L. Aurelius Orestes* for her new Consuls. They expected, That upon *Fannius's* Report the People and Senate would declare War with the *Dalmatians*; and That one of them should enter upon this glorious Expedition: But they were disappointed. Indeed *Fannius* gave the *Conscrip*t *Fathers* an Account of the Affronts the Republick had received in his Person from the *Dalmatians*, and said, *I could scarce get Audience of this proud Nation. The Dalmatians told us, that they had no Quarrels with the Romans; and That they gloried in having nothing to do with us. To live independently, said they, and to be in Fear of no Master, is the only Ambition of a Republick which can subsist of herself: And to these haughty Declarations they added barbarous Treatment. They not only did not provide us with Lodgings and Necessaries at the publick Expence; but even seized the Horses we had brought from other Places. It was in vain to remonstrate; their Avarice was not to be conquered: Nay, they had like to have begun Hostilities with putting your Ambassadors to Death. We owe our Lives to Patience and Dissimulation.* This Discourse exasperated the Senators, who all unanimously pronounced, That they must necessarily soon punish an insolent People, who alone, of all the Nations in the East, refused to submit to them. Besides, it was of Importance to the Republick to appear again in *Illyricum*, to keep it to its Duty, and to visit the Coasts which had been a little neglected since the Defeat of *Demetrius of Pharos*. A War in *Dalmatia* would be a good Pretence for appearing with a Fleet in the *Adriatick* Sea, and that Fleet would keep in Awe all the

Year of  
R O M E  
DXCV.

M. AEMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, C.  
POPILIUS LÆ-  
RUS, Consuls.

Year of  
R O M E  
DXCVI.

SEX. JULIUS  
CÆSAR, L.  
AURELIUS  
ORESTES,  
Consuls.

Polyb. Legat.  
N. 125.  
App. in Illyric.

<sup>8</sup> Several Historians have confounded *Illyricum* and *Dalmatia*. Nevertheless, it is certain that by *Illyricum* in general, was most commonly meant that great Country which lies all along the *Adriatick* Sea, from the most Eastern Part of *Istria*, to the most Western Part of *Macedon*. *Strabo* makes it thirty Days Journey long, and five broad, and says that the *Romans* reckoned it to be six thousand *Stadia* long; which make seven hundred and fifty thousand geometrical Paces, or two hundred and fifty *French* Leagues. But they made it only a hundred and fifty thousand Paces broad; that is, forty, or forty five common Leagues. *Dalmatia* was therefore contained in *Illyricum*, considered in this Extent, and was a Part of it. The Limits of *Dalmatia* have been different, at different Times of the *Roman* Republick and Empire. Nevertheless, *Dalmatia*, strictly speaking, signifies particularly the Country which was bounded to the West by the River *Titius* and

*Liburnia*; to the East, by the *Drin* and *Macedon*; to the South, by the *Adriatick* Sea; and to the North, by the Mountains of *Pannonia*.

<sup>9</sup> The *Lissians* inhabited the Territory of *Lissus*, in the Country of the *Scorlisci*, which was in the most Eastern Part of *Dalmatia*. *Diodorus Siculus* says, that the City of *Lissus* was built by *Dionysius the Tyrant*, to facilitate his Passage into *Epirus*, which he designed to conquer. He made a Port, which, according to this Historian, would hold two hundred Gallies; and it was surrounded by a vast Extent of Wall; so that it was as big in Circumference as the largest Cities. And lastly, *Dionysius* spared no Decorations for *Lissus*. It is to this Day called *Alessio*, and stands near the Mouth of the *Drin*. The neighbouring Promontory is called *Acro-Lissus*, according to *Stephen of Byzantium*.

<sup>10</sup> *Strabo*, B. 7. says nothing more of the *Daoryseans*, than that they lived near the River *Naro*.



Year of People that bordered upon the Coasts of it. This likewise would give Employ-  
*R O M E* ment to the Armies, which would no longer languish away their Time in Idle-  
 DXCVI. ness. These Considerations were sufficient to determine *Rome* to make War upon  
 the *Dalmatians*; but they were not sufficient to make her hasten her Preparations  
 for it. So that the *Consuls* for the Year were forced to spend their Summer in  
 Camps, the one in *Liguria*, the other in *Cisalpine Gaul*.

SEX. JULIUS  
 C A R. L.  
 AURELIUS,  
 ORESTES,  
 Consuls.  
 App. in Lybie.  
 Plut. in Cato.

§. VIII. THUS the Embassy of *Fannius* laid the Foundations for a War in the  
*Levant*; and another Embassy into *Africa*, at the Head of which was *Cato the*  
*Censor*, paved the Way for the third War with *Carthage*. So that these two great  
 Enterprizes took their Rise in one of the most peaceable Years *Rome* had ever had.  
*Masinissa* was an ever restless Neighbour to the *Carthaginians*. As he was in the  
 highest Credit at *Rome*, he was continually forming new Schemes for aggrandiz-  
 ing himself. *Rome* out of Policy connived at, nay authorized, his Usurpations. The  
 Republick was always intent upon weakening *Carthage*. So that the *Roman* Se-  
 nate confirmed by their Decrees all the Encroachments the *Numidian* King could  
 make on the *Carthaginian* State. And now *Masinissa* had Thoughts of seizing a  
 very large and fruitful Country called *Tysca*. It contained no less than fifty Towns,  
 and the Revenue which the *Carthaginians* received from it was considerable. Not  
 that this was the first time that the *Numidian* had claimed this fine Territory at  
*Rome*. But the Senate had hitherto left the Affair undetermined, for a Reason  
 which seemed to be unanswerable in favour of the *Carthaginians*. When *Masi-*  
*nissa* was formerly pursuing one of his rebellious Subjects, he durst not cross this  
 Country without the Consent of the *Carthaginian* Republick; which seemed to  
 be plainly allowing the Right of *Carthage* to *Tysca*. Nevertheless he now de-  
 manded it again Sword in Hand. The Affair was referred to the Determination of  
 the *Romans*; and as much inclined as the Senate were to serve *Masinissa*, they  
 durst not pronounce in his Favour, for fear of bringing themselves into Disgrace  
 by an unjust Decree. They only ordered Commissioners to go and determine the  
 Dispute on the Spot; and *Cato the Censor* was at the Head of the Commission.  
 And even this the Senate did purely out of Artifice, being more intent on avoiding  
 the Odium of Injustice, than hindering the Execution of it. They suffered *Masi-*  
*nissa* to seize *Tysca* by Violence, and did not send away their Deputies till after  
 the *Numidian* had made himself Master of it.

THEN *Cato* set out with his Collegues and came to the Place appointed. But  
 notwithstanding his great Reputation for Equity, his Presence did not put an end to  
 the Distrusts of the *Carthaginians*. *Masinissa* in vain acknowledged his Authority,  
 and called upon him to pronounce Sentence; his Adversaries would not submit to  
 the Arbitration of the *Roman*. *What occasion is there, said they, for our having Recourse*  
*continually to fresh Trials? The Great Scipio has already judged us. That Conqueror,*  
*That Arbiter of Africa, settled our Limits by a Treaty of Peace. To alter his Appoint-*  
*ments would be to reflect on the Memory of the greatest of Men.* *Cato* could not con-  
 quer the Obstinacy of the *Carthaginians*; neither durst he pronounce, whilst one  
 of the Parties refused to refer the Cause to his Arbitration. What a Shame then  
 for him to have made an useless Voyage at his Age! What Confusion, to see  
 that *Carthage* respected *Scipio* only, whom he had persecuted to the last Moment of  
 his Life. Among the ill Qualities which dishonoured the pretended Philosopher, one  
 was, as we have observed, that he was revengeful to excess. Nevertheless he knew  
 how to dissemble his Resentments. He left *Tysca* a Prey to *Masinissa's* Troops; and  
 came to *Carthage*, to seek for Pretences to exercise his Revenge some time or  
 other on this unfortunate City. He examined every thing with that malicious  
 and censorious Spirit which was peculiar to him. Indeed *Carthage* was re-  
 covered from the low and indigent Condition to which *Scipio* had reduced  
 her, and had exceedingly enriched herself by Trade since that time. She was  
 now in a Condition to rival *Rome* once more. She abounded with Gold and  
 Silver, her Magazines were well stored with Arms, and her Ports full of Ships. The  
 Number of her Inhabitants was exceedingly increased during the Peace. Of the three  
 Factions that divided her Senate, that which adhered to *Rome* was in least Esteem.  
 And of the two others, that which favoured *Masinissa* was inferior to that which  
 was called *The Popular Party*, because they were for freeing their Country both  
 from the *Roman* and the *Numidian* Yoke. *Carthage* might likewise produce an-  
 other



other *Hannibal*, who might raise her from the humble State, to which *Rome* had with so much Difficulty reduced her.

THESE Observations, which were not without Foundation, joined with his personal Discontents, made old *Cato* an implacable Enemy to her. He from that time formed the Design of bringing about her utter Destruction. With these Thoughts, and this Revenge, he returned to *Rome*, fully bent on the Ruin of the unfortunate People, who had provoked him. When he appeared in the Senate, to give an Account of his Negotiation, he filled all the *Conscript Fathers* with Terror, by his Account of the present State of *Carthage*. *How strangely have we been misinformed*, said he, *when we thought that the Rival of Rome was destroyed, and ruined past Redemption! The Blow which she received from Scipio only stunned her for a Time. She soon recovered from her Stupefaction, and is now more healthy and vigorous than ever. I have seen her Inhabitants abounding with Gold and Silver, her Magazines full, the Sea in her Ports covered with the Multitude of her Ships, and her Streets crowded with a numerous Populace. And then indeed I was not surprised to find Carthage more inclined to determine her Differences with Masinissa by Arms, than refer them to the Decision of Arbitrators. The War she makes with the King of Numidia, is only an Introduction to a more important one with Rome. When they are more inured to War, the Carthaginians will come and fall upon us. Do the sacred Ties of Treaties ever obstruct their Designs? It is well known that the Africans are more famous for their ill Faith and Perfidiousness, than either their Wars, or their Misfortunes. Let us lose no time, Conscript Fathers, in utterly destroying a Republick, which is recovering herself, only to insult us. Her Riches at this instant of time ought to be formidable to us. Let us not tarry till she has increased them. Let us crush the Head of this African Serpent! To cut off only one Fold of his Body, is to have left the most formidable part of this furious Animal untouched. Let us go directly to Carthage. As long as this Capital is in being, Rome will never be perfectly secure, or enjoy an absolute Authority, either in the East, or South.*

Year of  
R O M E  
DXCVI.

SEX. JULIUS  
CÆSAR, L.  
AURELIUS  
CRESTES,  
Consuls.

THIS Discourse was heard with Applause. But after all, the Affair did not yet seem to be come to Maturity. The *Romans* were going to be employed in a War in *Dalmatia*, which required more haste. The People had consented to it, and several Steps had been taken towards it. Nevertheless all Minds were full of terrible Prejudices against the *Carthaginians*; and *Cato* took care to keep them alive, and to carry his Resentments to the utmost Excess. He was never moderate in his Hatred; but was ever desperately bent on pursuing it with that Obstinacy, which was his chief Characteristick. It is said, That when he returned from *Carthage*, he brought from thence some very large Figs, which kept fresh through the whole Voyage; and That when he shewed them to the *Conscript Fathers*, in one of the Lappets of his Robe, he said, *The Country where this fine Fruit grows is but three Days Journey from Rome*. This was an Artifice, to irritate the Covetousness of the *Romans*; and from that time he was exhorting the Senate to destroy *Carthage*. Every time he spoke and voted, be it on what Account it would, he always concluded with these Words; *I am also of Opinion that Carthage must be destroyed*. And perhaps his Wishes would have been sooner accomplished, if *Scipio Nasica* had not on the other hand with Obstinacy opposed the Opinion of the too rigid *Censor*. After the Death of *Paulus Æmilius*, *Cato* and *Nasica* had most Authority in the Senate. Almost all Affairs were determined according to their Opinions. How soon *Cato* succeeded in this great Point of the Destruction of *Carthage*, will ere long appear in its proper Place.

Plut. Life of  
Cato.

§. IX. The two new Wars which were going to break out, were doubtless what induced the *Conscript Fathers* to take an exact Account of the great Riches which had been so long heaping up in the publick Treasury. They ordered the *Questors* to weigh all the Gold and Silver there; and they found seventeen hundred and twenty seven \* Pounds of Gold, and ninety two thousand three hundred and eighty five † Pounds of Silver. Which must have been an immense Sum at that time; since the Republick undertook all her Wars after this time, upon the Strength of this Fund only, without laying any Tax on the *Citizens of Rome*. And now the *Romans* had nothing more to do, but to chuse such *Consuls* as they might entrust with the Conduct of the Army designed for the *Dalmatian Expedition*.

Plin. B. 33.  
c. 3.  
\* Worth  
82896l. Sterl.  
at 4 l. per  
Ounce.  
† Worth  
277155 l.  
Sterl. at 5 s.  
per Ounce.



Year of  
R O M E  
DXCVII.

C. MARCIUS  
FIGULUS, L.  
CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS  
LUPUS, CON-  
suls.  
Val. Max.  
B. 6. c. 9. § 12

Among the Candidates the People cast their Eyes on one General, whose Experience in military Affairs was well known. This was *C. Marcius Figulus*, who after he had been elected *Consul* in the Year 591, had been obliged to resign the *Consulship*, on account of some pretended religious Defects in the Assembly which chose him. And there is Reason to believe, that the Senate of their own Authority nominated *Figulus* to carry on the War out of *Italy*, without leaving him to cast Lots for it. We have seen more than one Instance of their deviating from the received Custom. The Collegue given to *Figulus* in *The Field of Mars*, was one *L. Cornelius Lentulus*; who was more of the <sup>11</sup> Orator than the Soldier, and better qualified to impose on the Senate or *Comitia*, than to command Armies, or keep Discipline in a Camp. After his return from his Campaign, this bad General was accused and condemned for Misdemeanors, which was all the Glory he brought from *Liguria*, where he made War. But his Collegue *Figulus* acquired more Honour in *Dalmatia*.

MEASURES were taken for subduing this fierce, and almost savage People. The Capital of the *Delmates*, or rather according to their old Name of the *Delmates*, was the City of <sup>12</sup> *Delminium*. When they separated from *Illyricum*, they had only twenty five Cities in their Dominions; but they afterward so much increased their Number by Conquests, that there were eighty five Cities in their State, when *Rome* subdued it for the first time. The *Dalmatians* were governed by Lust and Instinct, instead of Laws. The only one they had among them was the Dictate of their Avarice; which was, That all Lands should change their Masters every ten Years, and consequently the same Estates should not be perpetuated in any Families. They who had no Lands to cultivate lived in Forests, from which they sallied out in Companies, to seek for Provisions where they could find them <sup>13</sup> among their Neighbours. They were brave out of Necessity, rather than any Principles of Honour, were utterly ignorant of the Arts of War, and never took Places but by Surprise, or unexpected Attacks. Nevertheless their first Fire in Battels was formidable. But as their Valour was not conducted by Art, they were often Conquerors in the Onset, and yet lamented their Defeat at the end of the Action. But they were more constant behind their Walls. They defended their Cities with a Perseverance not to be overcome by any People but *Romans*. Such were the People against whom the Republick sent *Marcus Figulus*. Such the Enemies against which she sent her *Legions*, to revive their Love of Battels.

App. in Illyric.  
N. 761.

THE *Roman* Fleet transported the *Consul* and his Soldiers to *Illyricum*, and from thence he passed on to *Dalmatia*. And no sooner had the *Romans* made their Descent into the Places watered by the <sup>14</sup> *Naro*, but the *Dalmatians* fell on the *Legionaries*, before the *Consul* had time to look about him. The *Romans* were not yet drawn up in order of Battel, when numerous Troops of these Barbarians attacked them all on a sudden, and forced them to retreat as far as to the City of *Narona*. In all Ages of the Republick, it was no uncommon thing for the *Romans* to be beaten by new Enemies, in the first Battles they fought with them. Their Generals always wanted time to recollect themselves, and learn the different Ways in which each People made War. As their Dispositions for Battels were uniform, their Enemies who knew them made their Advantage of it for a time. But in the long run, the *Consuls* learnt to conform themselves to Places and Nations, and by their Constancy overcome the first Impetuosity of their Adversaries. After a first Advantage, the *Dalmatians* retired into their Forests; and the near Approach of Winter, and the Rains, which generally laid the Plains of *Narona* under Water for six Months together, forced the two Armies to quit the Field. But as soon as the fine Weather returned, *Figulus* penetrated into *Dalmatia*, with more Precaution than before. He drew near to *Delminium*, but durst not at-

<sup>11</sup> This was the second *Consulship* of *Marcus Figulus*. *Cicero*, in his Treatise *Of Famous Orators*, speaks of his Collegue *Lucius Lentulus*, who had also the Surname of *Lupus*; and ranks him among the good Orators of his Age.

<sup>12</sup> The City of *Delminium*, or *Delminio*, stood so far up in the Country, that it almost bordered upon *Pannonia*. The River called *La Drina*, which

falls into the *Save*, watered the District of this City.

<sup>13</sup> The *Dalmatians* were so barbarous, according to *Strabo*, that they did not know the Use of Money: So that they trafficked only by Barter.

<sup>14</sup> The *Naro*, now known by the Name of the *Narenta*, waters the City of *Narona*, and discharges itself into the neighbouring Gulph.



tack it, notwithstanding what one <sup>15</sup> Historian says to the contrary. The Glory of Year of taking this Capital was reserved for his Successor. However *Figulus* attacked *R O M E* some other Places of Consequence, took them, sacked them, and reduced *D X C V I I I*, them to Ashes. Nevertheless the Conqueror was not thought to merit a Triumph *P. CORNELIUS* by his Exploits, or even a *Pro-Consulate*, with a Commission to finish the War he *SCIPIO NASICA, C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, Con-* had begun. He had suffered himself to be beaten at his Arrival; and this was enough to have him recalled to *Rome*, after his *Consular* Year was expired. The next *Comitia* chose *Scipio* <sup>16</sup> *Nasica*, and *Claudius Marcellus*, *Consuls*; two Men of distinguished Merit, who had already been honoured with the *Consulate*.

§. X. THE great Ability of the two *Consuls* determined the Senate to suffer them to draw Lots for the Provinces of *Dalmatia* and *Liguria*. *Marcellus* and *Nasica* were both very capable of finishing the greatest Enterprizes. *Dalmatia* fell to *Nasica*, who went thither to command the Army, which he received from his Predecessor *Figulus*. He was not of a Temper to prolong an Expedition, which he thought scarce worthy of a *Consul*: And as he thought one Campaign, or rather the taking of one City, was sufficient to subdue the whole Nation; he therefore advanced towards *Delminium*, with a Resolution to lay Siege to it in a little time. But he pretended to be terrified by the Fortifications that surrounded it, and the great Army that defended it. *Delminium* was indeed strong by Situation, by the Thickness of its Bulwarks, and by the innumerable Multitude of the *Dalmatians*, who had come thither from all the neighbouring Forests. The City had only one Defect, which was, that all the Houses were made of Wood, and covered with nothing but combustible Matter. Upon these Observations the *Consul* did not despair of taking it soon; but it was first necessary to make a Diversion for this numerous Army of Defenders, who might by sudden Sallies give his Troops terrible Shocks. He therefore turned aside to the Cities of the second Rank; and the *Dalmatians* instantly changed their Measures. They left their Capital, and flew to the Assistance of the Places which the Enemy threatened. Upon which *Nasica* immediately turned back again, and invested *Delminium*. He now thought the Siege no longer impracticable, and began it with the Activity of a great General. The Historians, who are in this Case very defective, have not indeed transmitted to us any Account of the many Feats of Arms, which made this Siege memorable: But they mention one Particular, which is sufficient of itself to shew us the Genius of *Nasica*.

*Front. Strab. B. 3. c. 6.*

*DELMINIUM* was, if we may so speak, nothing but a vast Forest of dry Trees, the Branches of which were twisted together almost without any Arr, and made long Rows of Huts rather than Houses: So that to set Fire to any part of it, was in effect to cause a general Conflagration. The *Consul* therefore applied the *Balistæ* and *Catapultæ* which he had brought before the Place, to an Use which was quite new. Instead of loading them with Darts, Stones, and long Beams pointed with Iron, he threw nothing with them but Firebrands, of about two Cubits long, lighted at one end. These Torches burned the more for their Motion through the Air, and fell upon several Parts of the City, which they immediately set on Fire. May it not then be affirmed, That our modern Bombs are only an Improvement of *Nasica's* Invention? This at least is certain, That these flying Firebrands thrown by the Machines, had much the same Effect at *Delminium*, as our Bombs would have had. All the City was in a Flame. And whilst the Inhabitants were labouring to save their Effects, and the Soldiers of the Gar-

*Zon. B. 9. c. 25. Livy in Epit. App. in Illyric. Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Appian* applies to the *Consul* *Marcus Figulus*, what *Zonaras* and *Frontinus* say of *Scipio Nasica*, *Consul* for the next Year. The latter had all the Glory of the Conquest of *Delminium*, of which the first mentioned Historian partly robs him, in favour of *Marcus*, who had commanded here the preceding Campaign. But then the two latter Historians are also mistaken in postponing the *Roman* War with the *Dalmatians* for one Year. They place the beginning of it in the Year of *Rome* 598. Whereas, if *Appian's* Testimony was wanting in the Case, that of *Livy*, in his *Epitome* of *B. 47.* is more than

sufficient to convince us that *Marcus Figulus* penetrated into *Dalmatia* at the Head of an Army, in the Year 597. His Authority is greater than that of the other two Historians, who were not so well instructed in the Affairs of *Rome*, and lived long after *Livy's* time.

<sup>16</sup> *Cicero*, in his Book *Of Famous Orators*, agrees with the *Fausti Capitolini*, as to the second *Consulate* of *Scipio Nasica*; and says, it was he, who by his extraordinary Prudence, deserved the Surname of *Corculum*.



Year of rison were busy in plundering, the *Romans* scaled the Walls, and made a Lodg-  
 R O M E ment on the Ramparts. On the other Hand, the affrighted *Dalmatians* left their  
 DXCVIII. burning City, and fled to their Forests, their usual Refuge. Thus *Nasica*, almost  
 P. CORNELIUS without Loss, made himself Master of a City, the Conquest of which brought  
 SCIPIO NASI- with it that of all *Dalmatia*. The *Roman* Soldiers were the better pleased with  
 CA, C. CLAU- this Victory, because it had been gained without Bloodshed. The Army honour-  
 DIUS MAR- ed their General with Acclamations, and gave him the Title of *Imperator*. But  
 CELLUS, Con- *Nasica* was not puffed up with his Success. He refused the glorious Surname  
 fuls. which they offered him. This great Man thought the War he had just finished,  
 Auth. de Vir. no better than a hunting Match, wherein he had been ordered to chase some wild  
 Illustr. Beasts; and wherein nothing more was necessary to destroy those Beasts, than to  
 smoke them in their Dens. However, when the Conqueror of *Dalmatia* was re-  
 turned to *Rome*, the Senate and People decreed him a Triumph. But whether <sup>17</sup> he  
 accepted it, or, out of Pride, despised an Honour which had been for some time  
 prostituted to *Consuls*, who had not deserved it, is just Matter of doubt to this  
 Day. However his Fame increased in the Republick, and he continued to be,  
 with *Cato*, the Arbiter and Support of it.

As for *Marcellus* in *Liguria*, he did not suffer his Army to languish away their  
 time in Inaction. He fought some Battels with Success, or at least took some  
 Castles, which procured him a Triumph. The *Fasti Capitolini*, the only Monu-  
 ment we have of the Advantages he gained, though consumed with Time, shews  
 us that he conquered more than one *Ligurian* Nation, and that he triumphed on  
 two <sup>18</sup> Accounts.

§. XI. THESE repeated Prosperities of the Republick, and especially the Con-  
 quest of *Dalmatia*, made the *Roman* Name more and more revered in the East.  
 No Nation had any Quarrels, but it immediately referred them to the Decision of  
 the Senate. They gloried in having recourse to them. The *Athenians* were the  
 first who gave this Example of their Submission. *Oropus* <sup>19</sup> was a City of *Bœotia*  
 on the Confines of *Attica*. The *Athenians*, when in great want of Necessaries,  
 had pillaged it, and the *Oropians* had brought their Complaints before the Tribunal  
 of the *Sicyonians*. The latter had condemned *Athens* to pay the Inhabitants of  
*Oropus* five hundred *Talents* \*, by way of Satisfaction for their Losses; and this  
 being a considerable Sum, and the Persons concerned thinking the Sentence unjust,  
 they appealed to *Rome*. In order to maintain their Cause, the *Athenians* sent thi-  
 ther three Men of great Reputation in the Schools of *Athens*. The first was  
<sup>20</sup> *Carneades*; the second <sup>21</sup> *Critolaus*; and the third <sup>22</sup> *Diogenes*. They were  
 well skilled in all kinds of Literature; and Masters, not only of the Subtle-  
 ties of the ancient Philosophy, but also of a fallacious Eloquence, well adapted  
 to persuade. The first had professed himself an <sup>23</sup> *Academick*, the second a *Peri-*  
*patetick*,

Aul. Gell.  
 B. 7. c. 24.  
 Plut. Life of  
 Cato.  
 \* 96875 l.  
 Sterl.

<sup>17</sup> There are also to be found in the *Fasti Capi-*  
*tolini* some Footsteps of the Triumph that was de-  
 creed *Scipio Nasica*, after he had reduced the *Dal-*  
*matians*. And this single Authority is of great  
 Weight against *Appian*; who in his *Wars of Il-*  
*lyricum*, gives *Marcus Figulus* the Glory of hav-  
 ing begun and finished the *Dalmatian Wars*, and  
 makes no mention of his Successor *Nasica*.

<sup>18</sup> From what Time has spared of the *Fasti Ca-*  
*pitolini* concerning the Triumph of *Marcus Clau-*  
*dus Marcellus*, it is concluded, that this General  
 triumphed over two different Nations of *Liguria*;  
 but neither their Names or Countries are known.

<sup>19</sup> We have already spoken of *Oropus*. *Nardus*  
 gives it the Name of *Zucamino*.

<sup>20</sup> *Carneades* was a Native of *Cyrene* in *Lybia*.  
 He neglected the Study of Physick, to employ him-  
 self in moral Speculations. This he did with such  
 Application, and he was continually so much swal-  
 lowed up in profound Meditation, that he even for-  
 got the Wants of Nature. He embraced the Doc-  
 trines of the *New Academy*, and declared himself  
 openly, on all Occasions, against the Doctrine of  
 the *Stoicks*. *Cicero* makes this Philosopher to have  
 lived ninety Years; whereas *Valerius Maximus*

gives him only eighty five. *Aulus Gellius* says, he  
 took a Dose of Hellebore before he wrote against  
 the *Zenonists*, in order to clear up his Thoughts.

<sup>21</sup> It is uncertain whether this *Critolaus* was a  
 different Person from the Historian of that Name,  
 who wrote a Treatise on *Phænomena*, and an Hi-  
 story of the *Epirots*, or not. *Plutarch* quotes the  
 third Book of the latter Work, in the sixth Chapter  
 of his *Parallels*.

<sup>22</sup> *Diogenes* was a Native of *Selencia*, a City  
 near *Babylon*; and for this Reason he was called a  
*Babylonian*. *Athenæus*, B. 4. ascribes to him a  
 Book entituled, *Of the Nobility*.

<sup>23</sup> The *Academicks* took their Name from a  
 House of Pleasure built in *Cerameicos*, one of the  
 Suburbs of *Athens*. It had formerly belonged to a  
 Citizen of *Athens*, named *Academos*, a Contempor-  
 ary with *Theseus*. Those Philosophers opened their  
 School there. *Cimon*, according to *Plutarch*,  
 planted Trees, and made Fountains about it, for  
 the Convenience of those who came thither to study  
 Philosophy. There were three sorts of *Academicks*;  
 those of the *old*, those of the *middle*, and those of  
 the *new*, *Academy*. The first acknowledged that  
 there are some Truths which are not above our Ca-  
 pacity



*patetick*, and the third a <sup>24</sup> *Stoick*. They had each his particular kind of Eloquence. *Carneades* hurried away the Mind, with the Rapidity and Vehemence of his Discourse. *Critolaus* affected a less rapid Style, but more polite and elegant. *Diogenes* kept in the middle Way, between the Vivacity of the one, and the Slowness of the other. He was more pure and correct than *Carneades*, without being so profusely florid as *Critolaus*. Nevertheless *Carneades* had the greatest Reputation. The Facility with which he spoke *Pro*, and *Con*, in all Cases, gained him the greatest Number of Admirers. The *Romans* daily crowded more and more to the Houses of these Masters of the Art of Thinking and Speaking well. It is said, that a grave Senator named *Acilius*, not content with being their Disciple, desired Leave of the Senate to be their Interpreter. The *Conscript Fathers* granted the Request, and were very willing that the *Roman* Nobility should cultivate their Minds, with the Study of those Arts and Sciences, which were brought from *Greece to Rome*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCVIII.

P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO NASI-  
CA, C. CLAU-  
DIUS MAR-  
CELLUS, Con-  
suls.

We have already observed that *Cato*, notwithstanding his Abilities, had his Faults; and he now distinguished himself by an Act, which could proceed only from an extravagant Turn of Thought, and a Spirit of Contradiction. Notwithstanding the Approbation which the Senate had given to the three eloquent *Philosophers*, the old *Censor* became their Adversary, and in an Assembly of the *Conscript Fathers* spake thus. *Why do we delay sending back the Athenian Ambassadors to their own Country? Are we resolved to stay till they have infected all the Roman Youth, and enervated their Courage? Nor is this all. What can be more dangerous to a Republick, which is sound in Manners, than this Art of Speaking Pro and Con, and persuading People alternately both what is true, and what is false? This is the Way to turn Virtue into Vice, and Vice into Virtue. By this means Injustice is made Equity, and Justice represented like Iniquity. Private Interest is transformed into publick Good; and Reason is overpowered by these specious Argumentations. Far be these sophistical Arts from hence! This Plague is brought us from the Levant. And would to the Gods those Physicians had been expelled Rome<sup>25</sup>, who have been introduced here, out of too great a Care for the Preservation of our Health! What Vigour do I still retain at my Age, without using any Medicines, but some Receipts*

capacity, and of which a Man may convince himself, by the bare Light of Reason. Those of the *middle Academy*, of which *Arcefilus* was the Head, reduced Man to the melancholy Necessity of doubting of every thing. And those of the *New Academy*, which owed its Rise to *Carneades*, acknowledged in general, that there were a certain Number of Truths; but alledged at the same time, that a Man could not possibly distinguish Truth from Falshood. An Opinion, which degraded Men in an unworthy manner, and confined them to Darkness and Ignorance.

<sup>24</sup> The famous *Zeno*, a Native of *Cittium* in *Cyprus*, was the Founder of the Sect of the *Stoicks*. He assembled his Disciples in a Portico at *Athens*, called by the *Greeks*, *Stoa*; and from thence came the Name, which distinguished them from the other Sects of Philosophers in *Greece*. The *Stoicks* formed a very different Plan of Morality from that of *Epicurus*. They imposed very burdensome Duties upon Man, and allowed him no Reward, but the Advantage of being virtuous: So that according to their Doctrine, a wise Man was self-sufficient. He had a solid Reward, and pure unmixed Pleasures in his own Virtue. Insomuch, that he enjoyed an Happiness equal to the supreme Felicity of the Gods. Whereas in reality, all these great Maxims, which the *Stoicks* taught with so much Ostentation, could have no Place in a System which subjected both Gods and Men to the Laws of Fate, or inevitable Necessity. Hence that Answer of a Slave, whom *Zeno* used ill, for having robbed him. *I was fated both to rob and to be beaten*. These were the Principles of *Stoicism*. Indeed these pretended Sages in effect, reduced all the Pagan Gods to one single Being. They considered all the Divinities, only as different Attri-

butes, which were all united in one. But their Doctrines concerning the Nature of the Gods, was only disguised *Atheism*. They allowed of the Existence of no other God but the *Soul of the World*, or the Totality of the Parts of the Universe.

<sup>25</sup> *Cato* considered Physicians only as so many Enchanters, who imposed upon the Publick. He ordered that none of them should ever be suffered to come into his House; and expressly forbid his Son ever to entrust them with the Care of his Health. He pretended to have a Cure for all Diseases, in some Remedies of his own, which he prescribed to all that were sick in his Family. In his Treatise *Of the Rural Life*, he prescribes certain Specificks for cleansing the Humours, for curing Sprains, or Bruises in the Feet; and several other Disorders. He offers some for curing Dislocations; and he also suggests some mysterious Words, which he thought of wonderful Force in curing the Disorder. According to *Plutarch*, his most common Food was Wood-Pigeons, Ducks, and Hares. Probably he loved those Meats; which was enough to make him believe, that they were the lightest, and most easy of Digestion. And therefore he prescribes, that they only should be given to sick People. Nevertheless he owned, that these solitary Animals filled the Head with Fumes in the Night, and produced Dreams, which broke People's Rest. No doubt *Cato* was more indebted to a strong Constitution for his Health, than to so odd a Regimen. It is not to be wondered at, that he could not save the Lives of his first Wife, and his Son, by this Method. They could not have run a greater Risk, by submitting to the Rules of Art, than they did by following the Caprice of a very opinionative Man.



Year of *which have been transmitted to me from my Ancestors? I am, and will be, the only*  
*ROME Physician, in my Family!*

DXCVIII,

P. CORNELIUS  
 SCIPIO NASI-  
 CA, C. CLAU-  
 DIUS MAR-  
 CELLUS, Con-  
 suls.

† 19375 L.  
 Strab.

Polib. Legat.  
 N. 129.

Her. in Legat.  
 N. 133.

Prejudices are often even more contagious than Eloquence; and the Senators had entertained high Notions of *Cato's* Wisdom. In short, they sacrificed the three Philosophers to his Humour, and obliged them to return to their own Country. Nevertheless, in order to comfort them in some Measure, and in some sort do Honour to their Merit, they considerably lessened the Sum, which *Sicyon* had condemned the *Athenians* to pay. Their definitive Sentence was, That instead of the *Athenians* paying the *Oropians* five hundred *Talents* by way of Satisfaction, they should pay them only one † hundred. Thus *Carneades* and his Collegues left *Rome*, after having in vain attempted to introduce the *Grecian* Studies there. For some time, the *Romans* left the Art of Persuasion to every Man's natural Disposition, without making it a Study. They applied themselves more to Arms, than the Cultivation of the Mind. But the time will come, when they will make *Athens* abundant Amends for the Affront now offered her. They will go in Crowds thither, to learn the Subtleties of Philosophy, and the Charms of *Rhetorick*.

§. XII. *ROME* had still great Quarrels to pacify. *Asia* was not yet in Tranquillity. The King of *Bithynia* was making War with the King of *Pergamus*, and pressed him hard. *Attalus*, that constant Friend of the *Romans*, was maintaining the Interests of the King his Pupil, with Disadvantage; and had already sent an Embassy to *Italy*, to represent to the *Roman* Senate, the Condition to which the Kingdom of *Pergamus* was reduced. But the Regent of *Pergamus* laboured to little Purpose. *Nicomedes*, the Son of *Prusias*, who was then at *Rome* for his Education, answered the Complaints that were made of his Father, and turned them against *Attalus*. The Senate had appointed two Commissioners, to put an end to the Disputes of the two Kings on the Spot. Nevertheless *Prusias* still went on invading the Lands of *Pergamus*, and ravaging its Territories: And then *Attalus* took the Advantage of a *Roman* Ambassador's return to *Italy*, and sent his Brother *Athenæus* with him. After which, the Senate, when better informed, laid all the Blame on *Prusias*, and sent him Orders to lay down his Arms, and suffer *Attalus* to govern his Nephew and Kingdom in Peace. But *Rome* was not immediately obeyed. The Quarrel which then began between *Prusias* and *Attalus* lasted three Years. Great Violences, and great Robberies on one Hand; and as many repeated Complaints on the other! *Rome* was not weary with sending Ambassador after Ambassador to *Prusias*. But he laughed at them, or cheated them by Delays or by Perfidiousness. One Day he pretended to be ready to acquiesce in the Decrees of the predominant Republick, but his Design was only to amuse *Hortensius*, and to surprise *Attalus* into a Snare. He desired a Conference with the Regent; and it was agreed, that *Attalus* and *Prusias* should meet on the Frontiers of the two Kingdoms, each attended by a Guard of a thousand Men, in order to put an end to their Differences, in the Presence of the *Roman* Envoys. But the *Bithynian* marched a whole Army to the Place of meeting, where he laid all his Troops in Ambush, and gave them Orders to surround the *Romans* and *Pergamenses*, as soon as they should appear. However the Cheat was discovered, and *Attalus* and the *Roman* Troops fled. *Prusias* followed them to *Pergamus*, after he had plundered the Baggage of the *Roman* Ambassadors; and when he came there, only plundered some Temples, and ruined some sacred Places. From thence he went down to *Elea*<sup>26</sup>, which he found too well provided for him to attempt to besiege it. And at length he sent back his Land-Forces to *Bithynia*, embarked for *Thyatira*<sup>27</sup>, and committed Robberies and Sacrileges wherever he came. These Proceedings would have made the *Romans* fall with the utmost Fury on *Bithynia* at any other time. But now the Republick was content with sending ten Commissioners, whose Number at least might make some Impression on the *Bithynian*.

<sup>26</sup> We have already described *Elea*, a maritime City of *Aeolis*, situated at the Mouth of the *Caicus*. Modern Geographers now call it *Alea*.

<sup>27</sup> We have already given a sufficient Account

of *Thyatira* in this Volume. It was a City of *Lydia*, situated on the Banks of the River *Lyens*. One of the *Aechinades* Islands has the same Name.



IN the mean time, *Attalus* assembled a great Number of Troops, which he found in <sup>25</sup> *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*; and with this numerous Army, joined the ten *Roman* Deputies, and marched directly to *Prusias*. This was the Way to make him pay respect to their Commission. Nevertheless the *Bithynian* seemed to be yet untractable. He came into one part of the Proposals that were made him, and rejected another. He wanted to gain time. But at length the *Roman* Envoys exerted themselves. *Either obey us*, said they, *or renounce our Alliance. We will from this time treat you as an Enemy.* This said they retired, and left the King in this Dilemma, that he must either comply, or maintain a War with *Rome*. The Conference was held in a neutral Place between the two Camps; and *Prusias* ran after the Commissioners, and endeavoured to gain them by Promises and Submissions. They were inflexible, and parted; after they had exhorted *Attalus* to continue on the defensive. Some of them returned to *Rome* to give an Account of their Negotiation. Others dispersed themselves in several States in *Asia*, to assemble Forces there, to assist *Attalus* against *Bithynia*. *Rome*, without making War in the *Levant* herself, was going to swallow up *Prusias*, with the Multitude of her Allies. *Rhodes* therefore, *Cyzica*, and many other maritime Cities, fitted out Ships for the *Pergamenses*; and *Athenæus* the Brother of *Attalus*, out of these Reinforcements, made a Fleet of eighty Gallies, commanded it himself, and ravaged all the Coasts of *Bithynia*. Then *Prusias* found that he could no longer hold out against the Storm that threatened him; and he submitted to Reason, and accepted the Terms which *Rome* sent him by three new Ambassadors. These obliged him, *To deliver up to Attalus immediately twenty Gallies with Decks, and as many more the next Year; To pay him five hundred Talents* \*; *To confine himself within the ancient Limits of his Kingdom, without pretending to extend them; and lastly, To pay the Cities he had plundered a hundred Talents* †, *by way of Reparation for the Damages he had done them.* These Conditions were accepted, and the Peace concluded. And it must be owned, that this Negotiation, which was so prudently conducted, turned more to the Advantage of *Rome*, than of *Pergamus*. It shewed all the East, that the *Romans* were as formidable for their Alliances there, as for their own proper Forces. Thus, without any Expence, and if I may so speak, with a Look, or the cast of an Eye, they governed these distant Nations, and kept them in their Duty. This was masterly Policy!

§. XIII. AND as *Rome* made herself feared Abroad, so she reformed Abuses at Home. Two *Tribunes of the People*, one named *Ælius* <sup>29</sup>, and the other *Furius*, undertook to rectify two Faults which were committed in the *Comitia*, assembled to confirm new Laws, or pass them. It was not then customary to put an end to these Assemblies, (which were often tumultuous, and in which Intrigues prevailed,) by declaring that the Heavens had been consulted, and no favourable *Auspices* had been observed. Though it was usual to break up the *Comitia* for electing the great Magistrates, by that very Means. This at once stifled all Dissentions and Factions in their Birth. And *Ælius's* Aim was to introduce the same Custom, in Assemblies held for accepting Laws, as in those held for the Elections of *Consuls* and *Prætors*. As for *Furius*, one of *Ælius's* Collegues in the *Tribuneship*, he also rectified another Disorder in the same Assemblies. They were often held on the Days called *Fasti*; and *Furius* got a Law past, forbidding the passing any Law on the Days, when the *Prætor* was engaged in the Administration of Justice. One of these two *Plebiscita* was therefore called *The Ælian Law*, and the other, *The* <sup>30</sup> *Furian*. They were in Force near a hundred Years,

Year of  
R O M E  
DXCVIII.

P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO NASI-  
CA, C. CLAU-  
DIUS MAR-  
CELLUS, Con-  
sul.

\* 96875 l.  
Sterl.  
† 19375 l.  
Sterl.

Cic. *Pisoria-  
na*, & *ib.*  
*Aspinus*.

<sup>25</sup> *Pontus* is that Country of *Asia* which reaches to the *Euxine* Sea, between *Bithynia* to the West, and *Paphlagonia* to the East. A part of *Lower Mysia* in *Europe*, which lay next to the Sea, had also the same Name.

<sup>29</sup> *Cicero* mentions these two Laws in his *Oration against Vatinius*. The *Roman* People, says he, always had a Regard for them, in the most tempestuous Times of the Republick. The *Greeks* themselves durst not act contrary to them. Whence it is manifest that they had been published, at least some time before. And he says more expressly in

his *Oration against Piso*, *The Ælian and Furian Laws have been in force near an hundred Years.* Which Passage has been our Guide, in fixing the Promulgation of them to the Year 598. Between this Year, and that of the *Tribune Clodius* who abolished these two Laws, there were ninety eight Years.

<sup>30</sup> In order to understand the Terms of *The Furian Law*, the Reader must recollect what we have observed, *Vol. I.* of the Distinction of Days among the *Romans*, according to *Numa's* Calendar. The *Prætor* had his stated Days for administering Justice, which



Year of Years, and served to suppress the Intrigues, or rather furious Proceedings, of the *Tri-  
R O M E bunes of the People* <sup>31</sup>.

DXCIX.

Q. OPIMIUS  
NIPUS, L.  
POSTUMIUS  
ALBINUS,  
Consuls.

AFTER this the Republick was assembled to chuse new *Consuls*; and as soon as the *Fasces* were given to *Q. Opimius Nepos*, and *L. Postumius Albinus*, she resolved to send them to conduct two Wars in the West, whilst the Senate took care of the Affairs in the East. *Spain* <sup>32</sup> had never been in perfect Peace, either during the Wars with *Perses*, or during the Inactivity in which *Rome* had now continued for above twelve Years. Nevertheless, as the Fire was yet concealed under the Embers, the Senate had not thought it necessary to send their *Consuls* into *Spain* with great Armies. And on the other hand, *Liguria* had long been the Scene of Action for the weak Enterprises of the *Consuls*. But now the Times were changed. The *Ligures* drew the *Roman* Armies even out of *Italy* beyond the *Alpes*. *Postumius* was ordered into *Spain*, and *Opimius* to lead a *Consular* Army into *Cisalpine Gaul*; whither we will now follow them.

Lies in Esp.  
Just. Obicq. &  
App. in Iberic.

§. XIV. THE War with *Spain* was founded in the Revolt of the *Spaniards*; and their Revolt was occasioned by the unmerciful Extortions of the *Roman Prætors*. These annual, or at most biennial Governors, at their return to *Rome*, often bought Triumphs or *Ovations*, with the Fruits of their Rapines. Till at length the *Spaniards* were tired out with being made a Prey to these avaritious Magistrates. They saw them carry away all the Gold and Silver that they could find in their Rivers or Mines, for the *Roman* Treasury, or to enrich private Persons. The Sedition began in *Lusitania*. *Calpurnius Piso* was then *Prætor* there, and one *Terentius Varro* was his *Quæstor*. These Exactors were so rigorous in raising Tributes, that they forced the enraged People to take up Arms. The Mutineers chose for their Head a *Carthaginian* by Birth; who, for his first Essay, performed an Action which was worthy of the greatest Commanders. He ventured to give *Calpurnius* Battel, defeated his *Legion*, and killed the *Prætor* and his *Quæstor* *Terentius* in the Battel. He ran all over the Coasts of the Ocean, raised the People in *Vettonia* <sup>33</sup>, and every where spread Terror, and increased the Revolt. The Country of the <sup>34</sup> *Blasto-Phœnicians* held out yet for the *Romans*; and the *Carthaginian* made it feel all the Miseries of War. He pillaged it, and sacked it. Upon this News *Rome* sent away the *Consul* *Postumius* in all haste. He offered the usual Sacrifices before his Departure; but it is said, That the Victim which was slain, gave him Presages of some approaching Misfortune. The Gall of it was imperfect and maimed. But be that as it will, the *Consul* died soon after he had performed this religious Ceremony. He had a violent Termagant for his Wife, named *Publicia*; who a little before his Departure, gave him a slow Poison, which killed him in some Days. However, he embarked with the fatal Potion within him; but could not bear the Motion of the Ship. He was therefore brought back to *Rome*, where he died at the end of seven Days. His Wife thought her Crime concealed, but it was dis-

Val. Max. B.  
6. c. 3. §. 8.

which were called *Festi*. The People had theirs, which were called *Dies Comitiales*. They could assemble on these Days only, either to create Magistrates, or make Laws. And perhaps *Furius's* Design was only to renew this Custom. He by that means restrained the too great Authority of the People, and forced them to continue unactive at all other times, but those prescribed them. As to *The Ælian Law*, it is easy to understand it, by what we have said in the foregoing Volumes, of the Right of *Auspices*, which belonged to the Magistrates.

<sup>31</sup> In this Year 598, the Cause of the *Achean* Exiles was brought before the Senate a second time. *Zeno of Ægium* and *Teicles of Tegenum*, spoke warmly in their Favour; and the Affair had like to have been then determined for them. But through the ill Nature of the *Prætor* *Postumius*, who in the Absence of the *Consuls* was President, the good Dispositions of the Senators had no effect. He had recourse to Artifice, to render their Suffrages insignificant, who voted for discharging and sending back the Exiles; and the Majority of the Senators de-

clared against these unfortunate Men, who were unjustly persecuted by their Countrymen.

<sup>32</sup> *Manilius* had lately been worsted by the *Lusitanians*, and forced to make a shameful Retreat in sight of the Enemy.

<sup>33</sup> Old *Vettonia* contained a Canton of the Province which is now called *Tralos Montes*, and a part of the Kingdom of *Leon*, on this side the *Duero*. *Cuidad-Rodrigo*, *Ledesma*, *Salamanca*, and *Bejar*, were the chief Cities of this Country. Some pretend that *Merida* was the Capital of it. *Andrew Poza* says there were two sorts of People called *Vettones*, or *Vedtones*; one that inhabited a part of *Portugal*; and another that was situated near the Springs of the *Duero*.

<sup>34</sup> *Appian's* Account leaves us room to judge, That the *Blasto-Phœnicians*, either possessed a Canton of *Portugal*, or at least one of the little Provinces that bordered upon it. He says, That these People came originally from *Lybia*; and That one *Hannibal*, brought one of their Colonies from *Africa* into *Spain*, where they settled among the Natives of the Country.

covered



covered three Years after; and her Relations, in the Judgment they passed upon her of their own Authority, condemned her to die.

THE Death of one of the *Consuls* obliged *Rome* to fill up his Place, and the Suffrages fell on *Acilius Glabrio*. The latter went to make War in *Cisalpine Gaul*, but gained no Advantage. Without doubt, the little Esteem the Senators had for him, was the Reason why they did not send him into *Spain* to recover the Affairs of the Republick, which daily lost Ground there, especially in the *Further Province*. *Opimius* only gained some Glory this Campaign. He went into *Transalpine Gaul*, and by his Conquests, first made an Entrance into a Country which *Rome* had not made sensible of the Terror of her Arms. What induced the *Romans* to penetrate into *Gallia Celtica* was this.

§. XV. THE *Marseillaise* were at War with the *Ligures*; and the latter had already taken from them two of their Cities, \* *Nicæa* and *Antipolis*. *Marseilles* itself was in Danger; and *Rome* thought herself obliged to assist her old Friends. In the first Place she sent an Embassy to enquire into the State of Affairs, and accommodate the Differences upon the Spot in an amicable manner. But this only made the *Ligures* the more intolent. It was necessary then to have recourse to Arms. They were not to be reduced by dint of Authority, or by Conferences. They were Masters of *Ægætina* 35; and as soon as they heard that Deputies were coming to them from *Rome* to make them lay down their Arms, they resolved not to quit them, but begin the Siege of *Marseilles*. Nevertheless the *Roman* Deputation consisted of Men of great Figure. One was a *Flaminius*, another *Popilius Lænas*, and the third *L. Puppius*. They came to *Ægætina* by Sea, designing to land there. But the *Ligures* discovered their Ferocity on this Occasion. As soon as News came that some *Roman* Ambassadors were arrived in one of their Ports, they ran thither in Arms, and forbade them to come ashore. But it unfortunately happened that *Flaminius*, with his Attendants and Baggage, was already landed. The *Ligures* gave him to understand that he must immediately return on board his Ship; and upon his refusal to do so, these Barbarians plundered his Baggage, killed two of his Servants, and would have murdered him, if he had not immediately repaired to his Galley, which he did not reach till he was wounded in many Places. Then, the more readily to avoid the Pursuit of the Barbarians, the *Roman* Ship cut off her Anchors, and fled for Refuge to *Marseilles*, there to get the Head of the Embassy cured of his Wounds, which were dangerous.

COMPLAINTS of Proceedings so contrary to the Laws of Nations were soon brought to *Rome*; and the Senate immediately sent away the *Consul Opimius*. He appointed *Placentia* † for the general Rendezvous of his Troops, which all repaired thither without Delay. The *Consul* led them along the *Apennines*, to the Country of the *Oxybii* 36, and there understood that the *Ligures* would soon come and meet him. *Opimius* therefore waited for them; and encamped on the Banks of the 37 *Apron*. But he was disappointed. No Enemy appeared in the Plain. The *Consul* therefore not inclining to languish away his time idly in a Camp, led his Troops before *Ægætina*, besieged it, and took it by Assault. Nevertheless he punished the Inhabitants less than their Crime deserved. He only reduced them to Slavery. But he sent the Authors of the Violence committed on the Ambassadors (whose Persons ought to have been inviolable) to *Rome*; and they were there punished with the utmost Rigour of Law.

However, the taking of *Ægætina* was only a Prelude to the greater Punishment which the *Consul* was preparing to inflict on the Enemies of *Rome* beyond the *Alpes*. He heard that the Infantry of the *Ligures* were assembled in a Valley to the Number of four thousand Men; and were there waiting for the auxiliary Troops of the *Deceatie* 38, which were expected to arrive soon. Upon this News *Opimius* instantly flies thither. This Handful of Men were not indeed to

Year of  
R O M E  
DXCIX.

Q. OPIMIUS  
NEPOS, MP  
ACILIUS GLA-  
BRIUS, Consuls.

Placentia  
N 131, 132  
\* Nicæa and  
Antipolis

\* Placentia

35 All we know of *Ægætina* is from *Polybius*, who says it was a City of *Liguria Transalpina*. But in another Place he seems to give it the Name of *Agialon*, as *Fulvius* has observed.

36 The *Oxybii*, according to *Pliny* and *Strabo*, were a People of *Gallia Narbonensis*. They dwelt in the Neighbourhood of *Frejus*, and *Draguignan*, a little City of *Provence*.

37 We cannot guess what River this *Apron* is, which *Polybius* mentions. We know of none of this Name in *Gallia Narbonensis*. Perhaps he meant the River *Argent*, which divides the County of *Venaissin* from *Provence*.

38 Most modern Geographers agree, that the *Deceatie* possessed the Territory of *Antibes*, and *Grasse*.



Year of be compared, in point of Numbers, with the *Legionaries*. But the present Bu-  
*ROM E* nefs was not Glory. *Opimius* fought only to revenge a notorious Breach of the  
 DXCIX. Law of Nations. Then Despair of being able to appease the Anger of the *Ro-*  
 Q. OPIMIUS *mans* on one Hand, and an Assurance of Conquest on the other, soon brought on  
 NEPOS, M' a Battel. Nevertheless, as the *Consul* was a prudent Man, and a great Soldier, he  
 ACILIUS GLA- ordered his Soldiers to march up very slowly to the Enemy, and to reserve all  
 BRIO, Consuls. their Ardour for the Action. And indeed the first Onset of the *Romans* was made  
 with such Vigour, that the Enemy could not withstand it. They were routed,  
 put to flight, and dispersed.

THE Succours of the *Deceatæ* arrived soon after the Battel ; were attacked as  
 the *Ligures* had been ; and made no longer a Resistance than they. In short, they  
 gave way, and left the *Romans* victorious, and Masters of the Field of Battel ; their  
 Capital was taken ; and all their Country subdued by the *Consul*. Then the Con-  
 queror gave the *Marseillèse* as much as he could of the Land he had conquered ;  
 and to secure the Fidelity of the *Ligures*, insisted on their sending Hostages to  
*Marseilles*, which should be exchanged at certain times. Thus ended the Cam-  
 paign, and the *Consul* put his Troops into Winter-Quarters, in the Country of the  
*Oxybii* and *Deceatæ*. Such was the first Conquest the *Romans* made beyond the  
 Mountains. They never after forgot that they had penetrated into *Transalpine*  
*Gaul* ; but conceived Hopes of extending their Conquests, some time or other, as  
 far in the West and North, as they had done to the East and South. As to *Opi-*  
*mius* <sup>39</sup>, we know not whether he obtained a Triumph after his return. His Name  
 is not to be found in *The Triumphal Tables*. But it is probable so fine a Cam-  
 paign was gloriously rewarded.

*Polyb. in Le-*  
*gat. N. 132.*

§. XVI. DURING these Wars, the Nations in the *Levant* found the *Roman* Se-  
 nate Business of another kind. They had continually some Divisions to be qui-  
 eted, or Complaints to be heard. Young *Ptolomy* appeared once more at *Rome*,  
 at the time that the *Consul Opimius* set out from thence for *Marseilles* ; and the  
 Condition in which he now affected to appear, was more adapted to raise Com-  
 passion than ever. *Physcon* shewed on his Body the Wounds which he said he  
 had received from his Brother. Indeed the People of *Cyrenaica* had revolted from  
 him, and *Philometor* had promoted the Revolt. And it is also true, that the  
 younger Brother had been beaten by his Subjects ; and that he might have receiv-  
 ed some Wounds in the Battel. These Wounds he shewed the *Romans*, as if  
 they had been given him by the Hand of his Brother. *I went*, said he, *to*  
*defend your Orders against the King of Alexandria. You had adjudged Cyprus to*  
*me ; and under your Auspices I endeavoured to take Possession of that first part of my*  
*Share. But all on a sudden my Brother armed even my own Subjects against me.*  
*I ran to reduce them to Reason ; and though Rome is my Buckler, I am wounded*  
*with their Darts. Necessity therefore obliges me to have recourse to your Protec-*  
*tion. Finish your Work, and revenge the Blood which they have made me lose, in*  
*a Cause which is yours as well as mine.*

*Euseb. in*  
*Chronic.*

THE Republick was constant in her Decisions. She had pronounced in favour  
 of the younger King ; she desired to see the Kingdom of *Egypt* equally divid-  
 ed ; and the Ambassadors in vain pleaded again in Defence of the Elder. The Se-  
 nate ordered them to leave *Italy*, and openly espoused *Physcon's* Cause. It was  
 immediately determined, That five Commissioners should be sent into *Egypt* ; and  
 to give the greater Weight to the Embassy, on board five different Gallies. And  
 lastly, *Rome* wrote to all the Kings in the *Levant*, and all other States in Alliance  
 with her, to take up Arms against *Philometor*, in case he refused to comply with  
 the Decrees of the Senate. Nevertheless, neither the Deputies of the great Re-  
 publick, nor the Pomp of the Embassy, nor the Threatnings of the King of *Cy-*  
*renaica*, nor the Levies he made in the Nations in Alliance with *Rome*, terrified  
 the King of *Alexandria*. Notwithstanding the Danger of the Enterprize, he re-  
 solved to maintain himself in the Possession of the Isle of *Cyprus*, and keep his  
 Brother from it ; and he succeeded, contrary to the Expectations of all the East.

<sup>39</sup> The *Opimian* Family was originally *Plebeian*. It supplied the Republick with several *Consuls*, and  
 Generals of Armies.



The brave King carried over with him into the Island a great Army, removed the Governor whom he suspected, and there waited to receive his Brother.

ACCORDINGLY, it was not long ere *Phyfcon* landed, with the numerous Troops he had assembled, out of the Nations which dreaded the Authority of *Rome*. The two Brothers fought a bloody Battle, as it were in an Enclosure. At length the Victory declared for the Elder. The Younger was put to flight, and forced to seek for Refuge in the City of *Lapithus* <sup>40</sup>, the only one he had left in the Island. Being therefore overpowered by his Brother, and forced to acknowledge his Superiority, he expected to have perished in an Enterprize, which had stripped him both of *Cyrenaica* his first Portion, and of the Island which he so much desired. He did not sufficiently know the easy flexible Temper of *Philometor*. This wise Prince was more intent upon reconciling himself to the *Romans*, than delivering himself from a restless Brother. When he was Master of *Phyfcon*, and had him in his Power, he chose rather to come to a Compromise with him, than take away his Life. By an Act of Generosity, or perhaps Policy, which was extremely approved, *Philometor* restored *Cyrenaica* to *Phyfcon*; and *Phyfcon*, of his own accord, gave up all Pretensions to *Cyprus*. Thus *Egypt* was pacified, and the two Brothers lived in a good Intelligence with one another, and with *Rome*.

§. XVII. It must be owned, that the Republick had a little prevaricated in the Affair of the two *Egyptian* Kings. Nevertheless the *Romans* were equitable at the Bottom. This appeared by the following Event, which did much Honour to the whole Body of *The Tribunes of the People*. A *Roman Citizen* named *Cotta* had obtained the *Tribuneship*, I know not how, purely to screen himself from his Creditors, who prosecuted him. He thought himself safe in his new Office, which made his Person inviolable. But the *Tribunes* were ashamed to see a Man among them, who had crept into their College by Intrigue, and made it only a Screen to protect him in his Injustice. They made themselves Parties in the Case, and threatened *Cotta* to take the Cause of his Creditors into their Hands, if he did not pay them, or give them Security. This Steadiness in the *Tribunes* did much Honour to the Body, and taught the *Romans* not to canvass for publick Employments, to screen themselves from Justice.

ABROAD the Republick by her Authority made Peace to reign in all the Countries where her Name was known. The *Syrians*, the Kings of *Asia*, the *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Macedonians*, *Dalmatians*, and *Illyricans*, were all afraid to disturb the Peace, which *Rome* forced them to preserve among one another. No sooner did any Storm seem to threaten, but *Rome* dispersed it, with a Word. *Carthage* indeed began to know her own Strength, and was impatient under her Slavery, in the midst of Plenty. But if she had at this time any Thoughts of shaking off the *Roman* Yoke, she concealed her Preparations for War with all the Dissimulation that was natural to her. Whilst *Achaia* appeared openly displeased with the Proceedings of *Rome*, and complained, That the chief Lords of the Country were detained in *Italy*, when at the same time the Senate would neither condemn nor acquit them. The Fury of the *Achaëans* was not yet spent; they were not yet tired with the secret Murmurs, or respectful Petitions, with which they teized the *Romans*. Further *Spain* only had erected the Standard of Revolt. Her Armies kept the Field, and the new *Carthaginian* General which she had chosen, spread Discord every where. Since the Defeat and Death of *Calpurnius Piso*, the *Roman* Party being destitute of Defenders, weakened daily, and the *Lusitanian* Rebels triumphed. It was therefore the Business of the *Roman* Senate to prevent the Evils with which the Republick was threatened. The Danger was great, and required a speedy Remedy; and *Rome* provided against it with Prudence <sup>41</sup>.

EVER

<sup>40</sup> *Lapithus*, or *Lapathos*, as *Strabo* calls it, was formerly a considerable City and Port in *Cyprus*. It is now only a very poor Village, which still retains the Name of *Lapathos*.

<sup>41</sup> This Year 599 was closed with a *Census* of the People. One of the *Censors*, which were *Marcus Valerius Messala*, and *Caius Cassius Longinus*, performed the Ceremony of the fifty fifth *Lustration*. There were then reckoned up three hundred

twenty four thousand *Roman Citizens* fit to bear Arms, both with regard to Strength and Age. *Livy* observes, *Epit. B. 48*. That *Marcus Aemilius Lepidus* was declared *Prince of the Senate* the sixth time, by the new *Censors*. According to *Velleius*, *St. Austin*, and *Paulus Orosius*, these two Magistrates agreed with Undertakers to build an Amphitheatre between the *Lupercal*, and the Hill *Palatinus*, for the Convenience of the *Citizens*, who



Year of  
R O M E  
DC.  
Q. FULVIUS  
NOBILIOR,  
T. ANNIUS  
LUSCUS,  
Consuls.

EVER since the Year 531, it had been customary for the new *Consuls* not to enter upon their Office till *The Ides of March* <sup>42</sup>. But this Year, the Necessity of sending a *Consul* to *Spain* immediately, made the *Romans* anticipate their Elections. The People assembled in *The Field of Mars*, several Months before the usual time, and there chose the great Officers of State. Q. *Fulvius Nobilior*, and T. *Annius Luscus*, were promoted to the *Consulate*; and were the first *Consuls* that were installed <sup>43</sup> on *The Calends of January*. But from this time there was no further Alteration made, as to the time of Elections, during the whole time of the Republick. The two Collegues drew Lots for their Provinces. *Cisalpine Gaul* fell to *Annius*; and *Spain*, to *Fulvius*.

AND NOW, *Rome* was wholly intent on the important War she was going to carry on with the *Spaniards*. Above half this vast Continent was in a Flame, and the Fire had spread from *Lusitania* to the *Celtiberians*: So that it was equally necessary to send a *Roman* General, and a great Army, to each of the Provinces of *Spain*, to suppress the Fury of the Seditious. Preparations were therefore made at *Rome* as for the most important Wars. *Masniſſa* was desired to send to *Spain* from *Numidia* a certain Number of Elephants, and some *Numidian* Squadrons. A Fleet was fitted out with all Diligence, and the *Consul Fulvius* did not delay his Departure. He carried with him the *Prætor Mummius* <sup>44</sup>, who was chosen by the *Comitia* to command in *Further Spain*, and take the Place of *Calpurnius*, who had been killed the last Year, with his *Questor*, in *Lusitania*. *Mummius* embarked a great Number of new Levies, for a Reinforcement of his Predecessor's Army, which was extremely disordered: and the *Consul* and *Prætor* went together, one to begin, the other to continue, Wars which lasted twenty Years, and did not end, but with the Destruction of *Numantia*.

Strabo B. 3.  
App. in Iberic.

§. XVIII. As soon as *Fulvius* arrived at the Port of *Tarragona*, he heard of the extraordinary Commotions which were raised in *Celtiberia*. They were founded in what had been done some time ago. Formerly, after *Sempronius Gracchus* had subdued *Spain*, he had imposed Laws upon the Country, which had been accepted by all the Provinces, which he had forced to engage themselves to the *Romans*, by a perpetual Confederacy. These Laws were, *That none of the confederate Cities should repair their Fortifications, without the Consent of the Romans; That they should pay an annual Tribute to the Republick; and That in case of War, they should furnish the Roman Armies with a certain Number of Troops.* And these Laws were strictly observed, as long as *Rome* continued strongest in *Spain*, or used her Power with Moderation. But afterwards, some avaritious *Prætors* made the Yoke insupportable; and then the *Spaniards* shook it off. The Discontented be-

who were present at the publick Games. *Scipio Nasica*, who had been *Consul* and *Censor* himself, was grieved to see this Building go on. That Great Man had nothing more at Heart, than to preserve *Rome* from Luxury and Effeminacy; and he thought an Amphitheatre, where the People were to sit down, was a dangerous Superfluity. *Scipio* did not think that a proper Posture for a warlike and laborious People, who ought only to have looked on Shows, as a transient Amusement, and not as a Business of Importance. The least Relaxation, said he, of the ancient Discipline, opens a Door to Indolence and Idleness. And therefore out of Zeal for the publick Good, he made Remonstrances on this Head to the Senators assembled, who all allowed of the Force of his Reasoning. They passed a Decree, That the Edifice should be demolished, the Materials sold to the best Bidder, and the People continue to stand at the Shows. This is *Valerius Maximus's* Account, B. 2. c. 5. He observes on this Occasion, That this was the first Amphitheatre that was built within the Walls; and That it was ordered by the same Decree of the Senate, that no Works of this Nature should be built at less Distance than one Mile from *Rome*. *Velleius Paterculus* has preserved the Remembrance of this old Rule. What *Pliny* says, B. 17. c. 25. looked very

like a Fable. He affirms with great Seriousness, that in the *Censorship* of *Valerius Messala*, and *Cassius Longinus*, the *Roman* People saw with Admiration a Fig-tree start up out of the Ground all at once in the *Capitol*. And this Place, according to him, was already famous for the miraculous springing up of a Palm tree, which prognosticated the Victory of the *Romans* over *Perſes*, and the Conquest of *Macedon*. Add to this, that this *Marcus Messala*, who was now *Censor*, seems to be the same Person, who, according to *Valerius Maximus*, had been reprimanded and branded with Infamy, by one of the *Censors* of *Rome*.

<sup>42</sup> *The Ides of March* answer to our fifteenth Day of *March*.

<sup>43</sup> It is clear that the Year of the preceding *Consuls* did not end till the fifteenth Day of *March*: So that both the present *Consuls* abdicated the *Consulship*, on the first Day of *January*, which was long before their Year was expired, to make Way for the *Consuls* for the Year 600.

<sup>44</sup> This *Lucius Mummius* was the same Person, who some Years after acquired the glorious Sur-name of *Achaicus*, by the Conquest of *Achaia*, and *Corinth*. He succeeded *Lucius Calpurnius Piso Cæsoninus*.



gan first to shew their Uneasiness at *Segeda* <sup>45</sup>, a City then very populous, and formerly exceeding strong; but *Gracchus* had dismantled it. Through the Industry of the Inhabitants, the Number of the Citizens of this vast City, which was now only a great Village, increased prodigiously. People came thither from all the Towns and little Cities in the Neighbourhood: So that *Segeda* wanted nothing to make it formidable, but to be surrounded with Walls, Towers, and Bulwarks. The *Segedani* asked leave to build them; but the *Roman* Senate refused to grant it. They also rigorously demanded the Quota of Men and Money, which the *Segedani* were obliged to furnish, by the Treaty of *Gracchus*. Whilst on the other hand, the *Segedani* resolved to build themselves Walls, and absolutely refused to pay the Tribute, and furnish the Number of Soldiers demanded of them. The specious Pretence they made use of for it was this. *Gracchus*, said they, *only required the Spanish Cities not to repair their old Fortifications; but he did not command them not to build new ones. And the Republick has exempted us from Tribute, and from furnishing our Contingent, ever since Gracchus's time.* But these artful People suppressed a Clause which the *Romans* never failed to add, to all those Grants of Privileges; which was, *That the privileged Persons should enjoy those Privileges, only during the Pleasure of the Republick.* This was the Cause which the *Segedani* resolved to maintain by Force of Arms. They did not expect, that a *Consular* Army would so soon appear again in those Parts.

THEY were under the highest Consternation upon receiving the News that the *Consul Fulvius* was marching towards them at the Head of thirty thousand Men; and their Fear made them abandon defenceless Houses, which had no Ramparts to secure them. They fled for Refuge, and removed their Effects, to the Country of the *Arevacæ* <sup>46</sup>, a neighbouring People, who were uneasy under the *Roman* Dominion: So that the united *Segedani* and *Arevacæ* together, undertook to withstand all the Forces of a *Consul*. They jointly and unanimously chose one *Carus* for their General; a Man of Bravery and Resolution, whose long Experience in Arms had made him an able Soldier. Besides that the *Spaniards* of that time were naturally brave, as they now are; they had long learnt the Art of War, under the two Nations that best understood it of any People in the World, the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*. *Carus* therefore entered upon his Office with Confidence, and for his first Essay, performed a masterly Exploit against *Fulvius*. Three Days after his Election, he marched his Troops into the Field, to the Number of twenty five thousand Men, Foot and Horse; and his first Step was to lay all his Army in Ambush in a Wood, through which the *Consul* must necessarily pass. *Fulvius* came thither, and marched on his Troops, in as good Order as the Nature of the Ground would admit of; and *Carus* sallied out of his Ambuscade. The *Spaniards* followed him with the Swiftness of Stags, fell upon the *Roman* Legions with the Fury of Lions, and killed six thousand of them in the first Onset; So that the Victory was then unquestionable. But the Assailants did not know how to temper their Ardour. The *Spaniards* pursued the routed *Romans*. *Carus* gave his Soldiers the Example. He broke into the middle of the Fugitives, and made a terrible Slaughter of them, till they at length gained the Plain; and then the *Roman* Cavalry, which not being able to act in Ground covered with Trees and Bushes, had been left to guard the Baggage, had their Turn. They fell upon the *Spaniards* with their usual Valour, and made their Loss as great as that of the *Romans*. *Carus* himself did not survive his Victory, but perished in the Battel. Nevertheless, the News of this Defeat exceedingly affected the *Roman* Senate and People. Though each Party had lost about

Year of  
ROMAN  
DC.  
Q. FULVIVS  
NOBILIOR,  
T. ANNIUS  
LUSCIVS  
CONSULS.

<sup>45</sup> *Mariana* agrees exactly with *Appian* as to the Situation of *Segeda*. Both place it in the Country of the *Celtiberians*, between *Soria* and *Osma*, near the Ruins of old *Numantia*. The *Spanish* Author thinks the Remains of it are to be seen at the little Town of *Seges*, which belongs to *New Castile*. Some will have it to have stood on a Hill near *Canales*, in a neighbouring Place which still retains the Name of *Segeda*. *Bandrand* says there is another *Segeda* in *Extremadura Castilliana*. But some don't distinguish it from *Caocres* on the *Tagus*. Others confound it with *Zafra*. Add to this, that old *Segeda* must have been one of the greatest Cities in *Spain*, if, as

*Appian* affirms, it was forty *Stadia*, or near two Leagues in Circumference.

<sup>46</sup> According to *Ptolomy*, the *Arevacæ* took their Name from the little River of *Areva*, which the *Spaniards* now call *Arlance*. What the Ancients have said of these People makes us judge, that their Country was near the Springs of the *Duero*. There were several Cities in it; some of which are entirely destroyed, and others have changed their Name. The greatest part of *Old Castile* belonged to them. This Country now contains the Bishopricks of *Valladolid*, *Merida*, *Osma*, *Burgos*, and *Segovia*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DC.  
Q. FULVIUS  
NOBILIOR,  
T. ANNIUS  
LUSCUS,  
Consuls.

fix thousand Men on the Spot, the Action was looked on at *Rome*, as infinitely more to the Disadvantage of the *Romans*, than of their Enemies. The Republick thought the Loss of a Body of *Legionaries* transported into *Spain*, greater than that of the like Number of *Spaniards* in their own Country. And when the Senate understood that this unfortunate Battel had been fought, on the Day that a Festival was celebrated to *Vulcan*; they ordered that this Day should ever after be deemed <sup>47</sup> *Unlucky*, like those on which the *Romans* had lost the Battels of the *Allia*, the *Cremera*, *Cannæ*, and others. But was there not a little too much Animosity against the *Consul Fulvius*, in this Order?

§. XIX. HOWEVER, the *Segedani* and *Arevacæ* knew their Advantage. They assembled under <sup>48</sup> *Numantia* the same Day, and chose themselves two new Generals, to supply the Place of the brave *Carus* whom they had lost. *Ambo* and *Leuco* were the Names of these Generals; and *Fulvius*, who wanted to sound them, advanced near them, and came and encamped twenty four *Stadia* <sup>49</sup> from *Numantia*. There he received the ten Elephants, and three hundred Horse which the Republick obtained of *Masinissa*; and upon the Strength of this Reinforcement, the *Consul* drew up his Army in Battalia, and hid his Elephants behind his first Line, which had Orders to open itself on the first Signal, and give a free Passage to these furious Animals. The *Spaniards* of this Country had never yet seen any. The unexpected Sight of them must therefore probably frighten them; and the Success was at first answerable to the Expectations of the *Romans*. The first Shower of Darts was scarce thrown, before the *Hastati* of the first Line retired into the Spaces of the second. Then the Enemy's Battalions instead of *Romans*, had nothing before them but strange Beasts, laden with Men, who overwhelmed them with Darts, as from the Tops of Ramparts. The Stink only of the Elephants put the *Spanish* Horse into Disorder. They fled, and the Infantry followed them. But it fortunately happened, that *Numantia* was not far from the Field of Battel; and it served for a Refuge for the Fugitives.

THEN the same Ardour that had hurried on *Carus* to his Ruin, transported the *Consul Fulvius*. He thought to have been able to have broken down the Gates of the City, or at least scaled the Walls, by the Help of his Elephants. But the Project was a chimerical one, and he sunk under it. How could he take a Place by Assault, which was defended by a whole Army? Nevertheless he brought the Elephants near the Wall; and the Towers on their Backs supplied the Place of those moveable Machines, with which besieged Cities were usually surrounded. But *Fulvius* was soon made sensible, that little Dependence was to be had in such Enterprizes on Animals, which being wild by Nature, are easily affrighted. One of the Elephants was struck on the Head by a Stone, thrown from the Top of the Rampart. His Pain made him cry out much, and his Cries alarmed the other Elephants, and put them into Disorder. They retired, shook themselves, turned upon the *Romans*, broke through the *Manipuli*, destroyed the Order of the *Legions*, and dispersed with their Trunks, or trod under Foot, all that opposed them. The *Spaniards* saw this Disorder from the Tops of the Walls, and instantly made so brisk and vigorous a Sally, that they completely overthrew the *Romans*; though the Resistance of the latter was as courageous as it could be, in such Distress. The *Consul* lost four thousand Men upon the Spot, and his Enemies two thousand. The Joy of the *Spaniards* after their Victory is not to be expressed. They were Masters of the Field of Battel, stripped the Dead, and sent the Arms they had taken to all the neighbouring Cities, to encourage them to revolt. And lastly, they returned to *Numantia*, dancing. For Dancing was the most common Diversion of the old *Spaniards*. They used it in Camps; and in funeral Solemnities, it was customary to dance round the Pile.

As for the *Consul*, he would willingly have repaired his Losses by the new Levies he raised, in the Nations in Alliance with the Republick. *Biasius*, one of the Horse-Officers, set out to conduct the new Reinforcement to the *Roman* Camp. But the *Spaniards* were not ignorant of his March, lay in Ambush for him at his Return, beat him,

<sup>47</sup> See what we have said, Vol. 2. of the Superstition of the ancient *Romans*, with respect to *unlucky* Days.

<sup>48</sup> We shall have Occasion to give a particular Account of this famous City, when we come to

speake of the Siege it maintained with so much Glory against all the Efforts of the Republick.

<sup>49</sup> Twenty four *Stadia*, make three *Italian* Miles or one common League.



killed him together with most of the *Legionaries* of his Guard, and suffered the Squadrons of the Allies, which he was conducting to the *Consul*, to escape. At length, all these repeated Misfortunes gave the People of the Country, who had been most attached to it, a Dislike to the *Roman* Party. The City of *Ocilis* <sup>50</sup>, which the *Romans* had made their Magazine of Arms and Provisions, and where they kept their military Chest, voluntarily surrendered itself up to the Enemy. By that means *Fulvius* was deprived of his Provisions and Money, and he durst not any more separate his discouraged Troops, or quarter them in different Cantons. He kept them all the Winter in a Camp which he fortified, and defended as well as he could, both against the Injuries of the Air, and the Attacks of the Enemy. But the Season soon became so severe, and the Want so great in his Army, that the *Roman* Soldiers had need of all their Constancy, to continue in the open Fields in Frosts and Snows. So that many of the Wretches perished with Cold, Want, and Fatigues, in a Winter which was as pernicious to them, as the Arms of the Enemy had been during the Campaign. In this State *Fulvius* continued, till his Successor arrived.

Year of  
R O M E  
DC.  
Q. FULVIUS  
NOBILIOR,  
T. ANNIUS  
LUSCUS.  
Consuls.

§. XX. IN *Lusitania*, the *Prætor Mummius* made War with a little more Success than the *Consul*. Indeed, he had not the *Carthaginian* General to contend with, who had gained a bloody Victory over the *Prætor Calpurnius* the last Year. This brave General of the *Lusitanians* was killed by a Blow on the Head with a Stone, whilst he was besieging a City of the *Roman* Party. The Rebels had chosen a *Lusitanian* named *Cæsar* for his Successor; and the latter, though no less courageous than his Predecessor, was not at first so successful. *Mummius* offered him Battel, immediately after his Arrival; and *Cæsar* accepted it. The *Lusitanian* Army was beaten, and fled. But the *Roman* Generals were grown strangely precipitate, since they made War with the Rebels of *Spain*; and now the Desire of Revenge carried *Mummius* too far, after his Victory. He imprudently pursued the Enemy, who rallied, returned to the Charge, killed nine thousand of his Men, took his Camp, and plundered it. The *Prætor's* Army was then reduced to five thousand Men, and he durst not face the Enemy for a long time. However, he posted himself advantageously, and kept the small Remains of his Troops in continual Exercise. And at length an Opportunity offered, to gain some Advantage over his Conquerors. He was informed, that a Detachment of *Lusitanians* were removing from one Place to another, the Spoils which *Cæsar* had taken from him; and *Mummius* led his little Company to meet the Detachment, fell upon it on a sudden, cut it in pieces, and recovered the *Roman* Standards. A poor Comfort after so great a Misfortune! But it raised the Courage of his Soldiers, and kept them from Despair.

*Idem App. in  
Iberic. N. 286.*

AND this little Success made *Mummius* more enterprising. He found Means to enlarge his *Corps* with four thousand Men, doubtless of the Militia which he had raised in the Countries of the Allies. With this Reinforcement he passed the *Tagus*, and found the Nations on the other Bank of the River in as great a Revolt from *Rome*, as those of the Country, where he had fought his unfortunate Battel. The General of these new Enemies was one *Caucænus*, an audacious Man, who entered the Country of the *Cuneans* <sup>51</sup>, Allies to *Rome*, besieged the City of *Cunistorgis* <sup>52</sup>, and made himself Master of it. From thence he passed *The Streights*, pillaged the Coasts of *Africa*, returned to *Spain*, and attempted the Siege of *Ocila* <sup>53</sup>, a different City from the *Ocilis*, which had treacherously fallen off from the *Romans*. *Mummius*, with his weak Army of nine thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, followed close after *Caucænus*, killed fifteen thousand of his Men who were dispersed over the Fields for Plunder, and forced him to raise the Siege of

<sup>50</sup> All that *Appian* tells us of the ancient City of *Ocilis* is, that it was not far from *Numantia*. Some have confounded it with *Orcelis*, or *Oribuela*, as it is now called. Others place it in the Kingdom of *Leon*, upon the Banks of the *Duero*, near the River *Tormos*. They think this City the same as *Formosello*. But *Andrew Poza* thinks the Situation of *Ocilis* agrees better with that of *Zamora*.

<sup>51</sup> Father *Mariana* in his History of *Spain*, reckons the *Cuneans* among the People of *Bætica*. According to him, this Nation inhabited the Territory of *Niebla*.

<sup>52</sup> *Cunistorgis*, one of the greatest and most powerful Cities in *Spain*, was the Capital of the *Cuneans*. It is supposed to have been the same Place as *Niebla*. *Brietius* places it where *Couna* now stands in the Diocese of *Elvas*.

<sup>53</sup> *Ocila* seems to be the same Place which *Ptolemy* calls *Ocellum*. It was a City of *Galia*, pretty far up in the Country. Some think it stood in the Place where we now find a Castle, called by the *Spaniards*, *Otero del Rey*. But others make it the same City as *Modoneda*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DC.  
Q. FULVIUS  
NOBILIOR,  
T. ANNIUS  
LUSCUS.  
Consuls.

*Ocila*. Afterwards, he fell upon the Guard which was conducting the Booty taken from the *Cauceans*; defeated it; did not suffer one *Lusitanian* to escape; distributed a part of the Spoils among his Soldiers and burnt the rest, in honour to the Gods. And we would here add with *Appian*, that *Mummius* returned to *Rome* and triumphed, had we any Monument left of his Triumph. *Mummius* had not yet sufficiently repaired, by his late Advantages, the Loss which the Republick had suffered in his first Battel. Such were the beginnings of the new and long War of the *Romans* in *Spain*; and by this Beginning it is easy to see, that the *Lusitanians* and *Celtiberians* were no contemptible Enemies. The *Romans* stood in need of all their Valour, and all their Constancy, in order to overcome them.

§. XXI. HOWEVER, the Check the *Consul Fulvius* received in *Spain*, did not lessen the Respect which was paid to the *Romans* in other Places. In the *Levant*, *Eumenes*, the last King of *Pergamus*, had left a Son, whose Name was *Attalus*. During his Minority, the Infant-King continued under the Guardianship of his Uncle *Attalus*; a Prince equal in Point of Probity to the most virtuous of the *Romans*, whom he made his Patrons. As soon as the true Heir to the Throne was of Age to govern, his Guardian sent him to *Rome*. All Kings came thither to do Homage for their Crowns; and among the rest *Attalus* came, as it were to receive his, at the Hands of the Senate. He was introduced with all the Honours due to his Person and Rank; and there demanded the Friendship of the Republick, and the Continuance of the Rights of Hospitality, which his Father had so religiously observed with the *Roman* People. *Rome* with Pleasure acknowledged the Son of *Eumenes* to be King of *Pergamus*; renewed the ancient Treaties with him; and after many Caresses and Honours, permitted him to return to his Dominions. And the Prince who had been thus respected at *Rome*, and declared a Friend of the Republick, was received with great Demonstrations of Joy in all the Cities of *Greece*, through which he passed.

*Demetrius Soter* also, King of *Syria*, did much the same thing, with regard to the *Roman* People. He had a Son named *Demetrius* as well as himself: and believing that the young Prince would, some time or other, meet with Opposition in his Succession to the Throne, unless his Title was approved by the *Roman* Senate; *Soter* thought it necessary to rob himself of this dear Son, and send him to *Rome* to be brought up there. But at the Sight of him, the *Romans* called to mind their old Resentments against the *Syrian*, who had escaped from *Rome*, to take Possession of a Scepter which the Republick had not put into his Hands; and the Prince was very coldly received in the Capital of the World. No Preparations were made for his Reception; he was scarce acknowledged to be a King's Son. These Proceedings therefore were much resented by the young Prince's Governors; and they had scarce shewn him there, before they carried him back to *Syria*. Then *Rome* was offended in her Turn, at the Escape of the Son, which was almost as sudden as that of the Father; and she immediately revenged it. *Heraclides*<sup>54</sup>, one of the greatest *Syrian* Lords, had been at *Rome* some Months. He had been affronted by *Demetrius*, and had privately escaped from his Court, and brought with him sufficient Matter to raise a great Disturbance in *Syria*. There were then at *Rome* a Prince and Princess, who were said to be the Children of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the last King of *Syria*, and in all Appearance were so. *Heraclides* waited only for a favourable Opportunity to produce before the Senate these two Children of a King, whom the Republick had respected in his Life-time; and he seized this, when *Rome* was full of Resentment at the sudden Escape of young *Demetrius*. He demanded an Audience for<sup>55</sup> *Alexander*, and *Laodice*, which

<sup>54</sup> *Heraclides*, supported by the Authority of the Senate, was now wholly bent on raising Troops in all Parts. He brought into *Alexander's* Interest, the Kings of *Egypt*, *Pergamus*, and *Cappadocia*. A great Number of *Syrian* Lords joined him. He came with all Diligence to *Ephesus*; and from thence marched against *Demetrius* at the Head of a formidable Army. Add to this, That he was probably the same *Heraclides* whom *Antiochus the Great* had sent Am-

bassador to *Rome* in the Year 563, during the Consulship of *Lucius Scipio Asiaticus*. Nine Years after, near the Year 572, he was again sent Ambassador to the *Roman* Senate, with *Meleager* and *Sosiphanes*, about the Affair of *Cælo-Syria*; the Possession of which was disputed by *Ptolomy* and *Antiochus Epiphanes*.

<sup>55</sup> The prophane Historians all represent *Alexander* King of *Syria* as an Impostor. According to *Justin*, he was a Man of mean Extraction, whom *Ptolomy*



which were the Names of the Prince and Princess; and it being granted, *Heraclides* spoke for them in these Words.

Year of  
R O M E  
DC.

*The Senate now see at their Feet two illustrious Scleucida, the unfortunate Remains of a ruined Family. Antiochus their Father rendered himself worthy of your Protection, and in Asia merited the glorious Title of Epiphanes, or The Illustrious. The martial Spirit which he had imbibed among you, made him formidable to his Neighbours; but he knew how to restrain it with Prudence, and keep it subject to your Commands. He respected the Republick in the Persons of her Ambassadors. One Word from them was sufficient to stop him in his Career, though in Pursuit of certain Victory. This Monarch, who was so worthy to have perpetuated the Happiness of Syria, and to have there constantly preserved the Submission which was due to the City, which is Mistress of the World, left at his Death only three Children, which it has pleased Fate to make successively unhappy. The eldest, when very young, was destroyed with his Tutor, by Demetrius; that Fugitive from Rome, that Rebel against your Laws, and that Tyrant over a People who are your Allies. You know him, Conscrip Fathers, and my Complaints will add nothing to the publick Opinion of him. You have already openly discovered your Sentiments, by the Reception you gave young Demetrius. You did not think the Son of an Usurper worthy of your Education; nor would you form for the Throne, a Subject designed to perpetuate Injustice upon it. Nevertheless, You did not then know, Conscrip Fathers, That the two Children of the Race of Antiochus Epiphanes, who are still living, had survived their Father, and their Brother Eupator, who was cruelly assassinated. Appear then, Ye illustrious Offspring of one of the Heroes of Asia. I have rescued you from Want and Oppression, only to present you before the powerful and equitable Tribunal of Rome. Make your Demands your selves; and be assured that the Protection you will meet with, will be as favourable as your Cause is just.*

Q. FULVIUS  
NOBILIOR,  
T. ANNIUS  
LUSCUS,  
Consuls.

ACCORDINGLY *Alexander* spoke himself. He was of an Age to claim his Rights at the Head of an Army; and he said to the Senators, *All the Favour I ask, is, That you would remember King Antiochus my Father. If his Conduct was agreeable to you, You may as much depend on the Submission of his Son. Assist him with your Protection, and you may depend on his Gratitude. That Virtue was instilled into me with my Blood. But if you will not honour me with your Alliance, give me leave at least to return Home.* Many Romans looked on this Story as a meer poetical Fiction. *Polybius* also, who was then at Rome, (but displeased with the Republick, on Account of her detaining in Banishment so many *Achaean* Lords) thought this Appearance of two Children of *Antiochus*, a mere Fable, carried on by the Intrigues of *Heraclides*, to please the Romans. So that the People were much surpris'd to hear the Decree which the Senate passed in favour of *Alexander* and *Laodice*. It was this. *Having examined into the Petition of Alexander and Laodice, the Children of Antiochus Epiphanes King of Syria, the*

*Polyb. Legat.*  
N. 140.

*App in Syriac.*  
*Polyb. n. cita-*  
*to. Florus in*  
*Epit. Liv.*

*Ptolomy Philometor King of Egypt, Attalus King of Pergamus, and Ariarathes King of Cappadocia, set up against Demetrius their Enemy. This Cheat, says that Author, to conceal the Meanness of his Birth, changed his Name of Pompalus, or Pompamus into that of Alexander, and gave out that he was the Son of Antiochus Epiphanes. Being supported by all the Forces of the East, he ventured to assume the Title of King, to the Prejudice of the lawful Heir. Polybius, and after him Sulpicius Severus, and Eusebius in his Chronicon, represent him as a vile Person, who assumed a great Name, the better to compass his Designs. De Lyra and Andrichomius are much mistaken, when they say that this Usurper was the Son of Antiochus Eupator. It is certain this last Prince died at twelve Years of Age, at most; and left no Child behind him. Besides, the Authority of the sacred Historian, who acknowledges Alexander to have been one of the Children of Antiochus Epiphanes, is a decisive Proof against these two Authors. And it is no less false, that the Father of this pretended Adventurer was one Bala, as one of the Interpreters of Eusebius assures us. That was his Mother's Name, accord-*

*ing to Appian. But be that as it will, Alexander, in order to secure to himself the Kingdom of Syria, married Cleopatra, the Daughter of Ptolomy Philometor King of Egypt, in the Presence of the High Priest Jonathan Maccabæus. But at length, being become odious and contemptible in the Sight of his People, by his great Debaucheries, he lost both his Crown and Life together, after a Reign of five Years and an half, or thereabout. Alexander had a formidable Enemy in Demetrius Nicator, the Son of Demetrius Soter. This Prince, when stripped of his Dominions, took Advantage of the new Divisions which arose between the Kings of Syria and Egypt, in order to recover the Throne of his Ancestors. Ptolomy declared against the Usurper, took away his Daughter Cleopatra from him to give her to his Rival, and joined his Forces with those of Demetrius. Alexander being forced to give Way to the powerful Efforts of the two united Armies, fled into Arabia. There, being deserted by all the World, he was betrayed by one of the Lords of the Country named Zebet, according to some, or Diocles according to others. This perfidious Man cut off his Head, and sent it to the Conquerors.*



Year of R O M E DC. Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR, T. ANNIUS LUSCUS. Consuls.

1 Mac. 10. Jeph. B. 13. c. 3. & 8.

*Friend and Ally of the Roman People, we give the Son Leave to recover the Rights of his Father; and our Will and Pleasure is, that our Allies assist him in recovering his Dominions by Force.* Some prophane Authors have indeed pretended, that this Decree was purely the Effect of Policy, or Resentment in the *Roman Senate*, because *Alexander* was not the Son of *Antiochus*; but in vain. These Writers have in this only copied *Polybius*, whose Resentments against *Rome* made him throw out so severe a Reflection. A much surer Authority than that of this famous Historian, makes it indisputable, that *Alexander* was the Son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. The Sacred Books give us an infallible Proof of it. They affirm it; and *Jonathan*, that virtuous High-Priest of the Holy Nation, preferred his Alliance to that of *Demetrius*. We allow, that the Mother of *Alexander* was *Bala*, a Concubine of *Antiochus*; but Children born out of lawful Wedlock, were not in all Places excluded from succeeding their Fathers, in case of Failure of lawful Heirs: So that the Decree of the *Roman Senate* was not so unjust as *Polybius* pretends. Perhaps indeed the Republick might come into it, upon Motives of Interest. *Rome* was not displeased to set up a Rival against *Demetrius* in *Syria*. And as to *Judæa*, it reaped great Advantages by it. *Jonathan* followed the Directions the *Romans* had given the Nations of the *Levant*. In taking *Alexander's* Part, he joined with the strongest Side, and by favouring his Victory, procured the *Jews* perfect Liberty, and considerable Advantages. But to return to the Wars of the Republick in *Spain*.

*Livy in Epit.*

Year of R O M E DCI. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. VALERIUS FLACCUS. Consuls.

XXII. THE People at *Rome* were so confounded at the Misfortunes that had befallen *Fulvius* in *Celtiberia*, that they strictly examined into the Causes of the Insurrection of the *Spaniards*. Upon this Enquiry, they found that their Discontents had been occasioned by the Avarice of the *Prætors* who had governed them. The Administration of the latter was therefore rigorously examined into; and those who were found faulty, were punished with heavy Fines. After this *Rome* elected new Consuls. *Annius* presided in the *Comitia*,; and *M. Claudius* <sup>56</sup> *Marcellus*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, were promoted to the *Consulate*. The former probably was elected to this Office a third time, merely in hopes that he would cure the Disorders in *Spain*; and there is Reason to presume, that this Province was authoritatively assigned him, preferably to his Colleague. But be that as it will, it is certain, that with *Marcellus* was joined a *Prætor* named *Attilius Serranus*, whose Commission was to command the *Roman Army* in *Further Spain*.

1 Mac. 10.

WHILST *Marcellus* was preparing for his Departure, and was raising in *Rome* eight thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, *Alexander* appeared in *Syria* with a formidable Army. It consisted of the Succours he had received from the Kings of *Pergamus*, *Cappadocia*, and *Egypt*, at the Solicitation of the *Romans*. This Son of *Antiochus* had already made himself Master of <sup>57</sup> *Ptolemais* in *Phœnicia*. *Jonathan*, that faithful Ally of *Rome*, had brought all the *Jewish Nation* into the Interest of *Alexander*; and the Nations of *Syria* were submitting in Crowds to the new King, when *Demetrius* left the Retreat, to which the Love of Indolence and Pleasure had confined him. He then considered whence this Attack came. It was *Rome* that set up this Rival against him. He therefore endeavoured to appease the Senate, and sacrificed to *Rome* an Impostor named *Andriscus*, who pretended to be the Son of *Perfes*, and was at the Court of *Syria*, soliciting his Establishment on the Throne of his Father in *Macedon*. *Demetrius* sent this Mock-King to *Rome*; from whence he afterwards escaped, to disturb the Republican State, which had been settled in *Macedon*, under the Protection of the *Romans*. Nor was this all *Demetrius* did. He endeavoured to draw off *Jonathan* from *Alexander*; and made him the most tempting Offers. But both the *Romans* and *Jews* kept steady to the Son of *Antiochus*, who soon after gave the King of *Syria* Battel, routed his Army, and with the Battel *Demetrius* lost his Kingdom and his Life.

<sup>56</sup> *Cicero* commends the Consul *Marcellus*, in his Oration against *Lucius Piso*, and in his second Book *De Divinatione*. After he had been three times advanced to the Consulship, he was shipwrecked at Sea, and perished in the Waters.

<sup>57</sup> *Ptolemais*, a maritime City of *Phœnicia*, bordered upon *Palestine*. It was formerly the Refuge

of the Kings of *Jerusalem*, after the Loss of the Holy City. It is now almost entirely destroyed. This City, once one of the most famous in the East, is nothing but a miserably poor Village. It is known in the History of the *Croisades*, by the Name of *St. John d'Acra*.



Thus *Alexander* mounted the Throne of *Syria*, through the Protection of *Rome*, and the Assistance of her Allies in the East.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCI.

§. XXIII. THIS Success in *Syria* gave the *Romans* Hopes of the like in *Spain*, under the Conduct of the *Consul Marcellus*, and the *Prætor Attilius*. They arriv- ed at their respective Provinces; one in *Hither Spain* with a *Consular* Army; the other in *Further Spain*, to continue the War with the *Lusitanians*. The *Spaniards* had gained considerable Advantages the last Year over the *Consul Fulvius*, whose Army, which had suffered much in the Campaign, had been forced to spend the Winter in a miserable manner in a Camp. Proud therefore of their past Succes- ses, the Rebels hoped for new ones over the new *Consul* sent against them. To this end they prepared Ambuscades for him; but *Marcellus*, who was an old Sol- dier, found means to avoid them. Without receiving any Loss or Check in his March, he came and encamped before *Ocilis*, which had surrendered to the Enemy the last Year; and the Presence of the *Roman* General being enough of itself to intimidate Traitors, they surrendered at Discretion. However, *Marcellus* used his Advantage with Moderation, and did not punish the Inhabitants as they had de- served. He only demanded of them thirty *Talents* <sup>58</sup>, and forced them to give him Hostages; which mild Treatment encouraged the *Nergobrigians* <sup>59</sup> to implore the Clemency of the *Consul*. They sent to him to know whether it was possible for them to reconcile themselves to *Rome*, and upon what Terms they might be restored to her Friendship; and he only obliged them to furnish him with a hun- dred of their Horse to serve in his Army. This was the Flower of the Nobility of the Country, and would be so many Hostages for the Fidelity of their Country- men. But these perfidious Horsemen did not answer the Expectation of the *Con- sul*. They behaved themselves like Enemies, and fell on the Baggage of the *Ro- mans*. Upon this they were surrounded, seized, and examined; and their Answer was, *That they knew not what Agreement the Consul had made with their Chiefs*. But this was thought a bad Excuse, and the whole Nation were deemed Accompli- ces in the Hostility of the hundred Hostages. The *Roman* Army therefore dispersed themselves all over the Country, plundered it, sacked it, and the Booty was given to the Soldiers. Nor was this all. *Marcellus* besieged the Capital, which gave Name to the Country. *Nergobriges* was terrified to see a *Consular* Army round its Ramparts; and the Machines of War, and the Breach made in the Wall by the *Ram*, made the Rebels follow more salutary Counsels. They sent one of their Officers to the *Roman* General dressed in the Skin of a Wolf, to sue for Peace. It was customary among them to appear in this Dress when they treated with an Enemy, as much as it was in other Nations to shew a *Caduceus*, or Branch of Olive.

M. CLAUDIUS  
MARCELLUS,  
L. VALERIUS  
P. AGRIPPA,  
Consul.

App. l. l. c. 281.

Polyb. in Leg. N. 141.

*MARCELLUS*'s Point in view was, to settle a general Peace in *Lusita- nia*, that he might triumph at his Return, in quality of a Peace-maker; and there- fore he would not promise the *Negobrigians* Peace, but upon Condition, that the whole Country of the Rebels should lay down their Arms, after their Exam- ple. The Proposal was accepted; and nothing remained but to get it ratified by the Senate of *Rome*. The *Spaniards* therefore sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, and especially the *Arevacæ*, who had been most remarkably mutinous. With these went others from two Cantons, which were in Friendship with the *Romans*, namely, the *Belli* <sup>60</sup>, and the *Titthi* <sup>61</sup>; and some Messengers from *Marcellus*, with his In- structions.

Polyb. ibid.

THESE *Spaniards* from different Nations came to *Rome*, to act very different Parts, and met with very different Receptions. The *Belli* and *Titthi* were permit-

<sup>58</sup> The thirty *Talents* \* amount to thirty thousand French Crowns, or ninety thousand *Liures*, at the Rate of a thousand Crowns per Talent.

<sup>59</sup> *Nergobriges*, called also *Nertobriga*, and ac- cording to *Ptolomy*, *Virtobriga*, stood in *Catalonia*, between *Catalaynd* and *Tarragona*. Both ancient and modern Geographers give it this Situation. There was also another City of this Name in *Be- turia*, a Province of *Andalusia*, near the Place where *Prexenal* now stands.

<sup>60</sup> *Appian* speaks of the *Belli* in such a manner, as inclines us to judge, that these People were a

Part, and as it were a Branch of the Nation of the *Arevacæ*. This Historian places them in the Neigh- bourhood of *Osma*. *Ortelius* makes their capital City to be *Segeda*; a different Place from the *Se- geda*, which belonged to that part of *Bætica*, which was called *Estramadura Castilliana*.

<sup>61</sup> The ancient Geographers have not told us enough of the *Titthi*, to enable us to judge where they dwelt. *Appian*'s Account gives us room to conjecture, that they inhabited a District of the *Are- vacæ*, near *Numantia*.

\* 5812 l. 10 s. Sterl.



Year of R O M E DCI. The Senate assigned them a Place beyond the *Tiber*, where they lived in Tents till such time as it should please the *Conscript Fathers* to give them Audience. And at length the Day came for treating of the Affairs of *Spain*. The *Bell* and *Titthi* were first introduced into the Assembly. They had some Remains of Barbarism in their Manners; but there was a Fund of good Sense in the Representation they made of their Affairs. *All the Cantons in our part of Spain*, said they, *are divided into two Parties, which divide and trouble it. Some still hold out for the Roman Confederacy, and continue to observe the Laws which Gracchus imposed upon them. Others have shaken off the Yoke of the Republick, and treat their Neighbours who adhere to it, as Enemies. Your Enemies have weakened the latter, but not subdued them. Fear and Necessity oblige them to seek for a transient Peace, which they are fully resolved to break, as soon as the great Consular Armies have left our Continent. Will you then give us up to the Mercy of our Enemies, and your own? What Reproaches and what Violences shall we then suffer, for having persevered in our Alliance! We shall be treated as base Citizens and Traitors to our Country! And what will be the Consequence? The Countries which were formerly faithful, when destitute of your Support, will easily be carried away with the Stream, and you will lose Spain, by having been too mild to an Handful of factious Men. Continue then, Conscript Fathers, your Legions in our Country, and send thither every Year a Consul to command them. Don't trust to fallacious Pretences of Peace. The Arevacæ, and other Rebels, will no longer submit to you, than whilst the Dread of your Punishments makes them afraid to lift up the Heads.*

M. CLAUDIUS  
MARCELLUS,  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.

THIS sensible Discourse was a Justification to the Senate of *Fulvius's* Conduct the last Year. That Consul would not hearken to any Proposal from the *Arevacæ* till they were first entirely disarmed and had surrendered themselves up to the Republick at Discretion. This had brought some Misfortunes upon him; but *Marcellus* had lately repaired them by the Success of his Arms. All the Senators were therefore inclined to treat the Rebels with the utmost Rigour, when the *Arevacæ* were brought before them; and the bare Appearance of these proud *Spaniards* gave them ill Impressions of their Sincerity, in suing for Peace. Their Discourse was full of Rhodomontades and Threatnings. They at first put on an Appearance of Humility; but wholly ascribed the Overthrow they had received to the Inconstancy of *Fortune*, who pulls down, and raises up, when she pleases. They even ventured to insinuate, that all things considered, they had had the Advantage, in the general Battels they had fought with the *Romans*. Nevertheless, said they, *if Rome shall think fit to inflict some slight Punishment on us, we will submit to it, but upon this Condition only, That we shall be re-established on the Foot of the old Confederacy, which Tiberius Gracchus settled in the two Spains.* These haughty *Airs* ill became Supplicants, and made their Sincerity suspected. However, the Senate would not come to a Determination, till they had heard the Messengers from *Marcellus*.

THE *Conscript Fathers* easily saw thro' the Designs of the Consul. They were convinced, That he would not so readily have granted a Peace to the *Celtiberians*, on such easy Conditions; had it not been for the Sake of the Honour of having settled *Spain* in Peace, before the End of his Year; and in order to get a Triumph afterwards, at *Rome*. This they inferred from the Pains the Messengers took to incline the Assembly to favour the *Arevacæ*. However, upon these Discoveries, the Senate did not think proper to pronounce a definitive Sentence. They only told the Parties, That *Marcellus* should declare to them the Will of the Senate, upon the Spot. But they sent private Orders to the General-Officers under the Consuls whom they suspected, to continue the War with the *Arevacæ* with the utmost Fury; and immediately resolved, to send a Person to succeed *Marcellus*. As to the *Praetor Attilius*, he had made a successful Campaign in *Lusitania*. After having reduced to Obedience to *Rome* the City of *Oxthracæ*<sup>62</sup>, one of the chief Places

App. in Iber.  
N. 287.

<sup>62</sup> Appian is the only Author who mentions *Oxthracæ*. We know not its Situation; which is one of the Mysteries of the ancient Geography.



in the Country; he had turned his Arms against the Territory of the *Vettones*, taken many Cities by Force there; and then led his Army into good Quarters. The *Consuls*, on the other hand, spent the Winter at *Corduba*<sup>63</sup>, which was then only a Village, and which, if we may believe a celebrated Author, was made a great City by the Care of *Marcellus*. But his Project of a Pacification vanished, and *Spain* was threatened with a more cruel War than ever.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCI.  
M. CLAUDIUS  
MARCELLUS,  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.

§. XXIV. In the mean time, a War began to break out in *Africa*. *Carthage*, being continually harrassed with the Invasions of *Masinissa*, and tired out with the Injustice of the *Roman* Republick, formed a bold Design, which was the first Cause of her Destruction. The *Carthaginian* Senate resolved to make that *Numidian* King, who possessed the Throne of his Grandfather *Syphax*, take up Arms. He entered into an Alliance with *Carthage*, and led a great Army to the Frontiers of those Dominions which acknowledged *Masinissa* for their Sovereign. *Archobarzanes*, full of the Spirit of *Syphax* his Grandfather, came in Person, at the Head of his Troops, and threatened the Dominions of the King his Neighbour. *Rome* was not long without Advice of it. The Senate were informed of the Step *Archobarzanes* had taken; and almost all the *Conscript Fathers* looked on this single Act as a Breach of the Treaties made between *Rome*, *Carthage*, and the King of *Numidia*. Neither of these Parties was to have taken up Arms without the Consent of the predominant Republick. So that *Cato* had now a fair Opportunity to display the Hatred he had long had to the *Carthaginians*. *It is not so much against Masinissa, as Rome, said he, that these Preparations for War are levelled. The King of Numidia is only the Pretence. Italy is the Point in View. Hence that vast Number of Gallies which I saw in the Port of Carthage. To neglect my Advice, is to neglect the Glory and Safety of Rome.* But as great an Authority as *Cato* had in the Republick, *Scipio Nasica* had as much, if not more. This wise *Roman* had just been promoted to the supreme Pontificate. He thought there was more of Animosity, than of well-grounded Fear, in *Cato's* Speech; and was therefore against entering into a War precipitately. He rather advised, the sending another Embassy to *Carthage*, there to examine into the present State of Affairs without Passion; and more Regard was shewn to *Nasica's* Moderation, than to *Cato's* Heat. Perhaps the War which it had been resolved to carry on in *Spain*, suspended that which at another time would readily have been entered into in *Africa*. But be that as it will, the same *Nasica* who had advised the Embassy, was nominated Ambassador, and set out for *Carthage*. When he had been introduced into the *Carthaginian* Senate, with all the Respect the *Carthaginians* had for his Person, and all the Gratitude that was due to him for his Services, he harangued them with all that Liberty which he had a Right to assume, in a vanquished, subdued, and tributary Republick. He, without Ceremony, reproached the *Carthaginian* Senate and People, for the Liberty they had taken of assembling together so many Ships, and causing King *Archobarzanes* to take up Arms, without the Leave of the *Romans*. *It is an Infrañction of the Treaties, said he, which Rome would e're now have avenged, if I had not been your Defender, and your Support.*

Strabo.  
Livy in Epir.

Zonaras, B. 9.

THE Senate pleaded in their Excuse, Necessity which has no Law, the continual Hostilities of *Masinissa*, and the little Regard *Rome* had shewn for their Republick, in all her Quarrels. And then the wise *Nasica* displayed his Goodness and his Moderation. He, of his own Accord, offered to treat with *Masinissa*,

<sup>63</sup> *Corduba*, now known by the Name of *Cordoba*, has ever been thought one of the most considerable Cities in *Spain*. It stood in old *Bætica*, on the Banks of the River *Betis*, now the *Guadalquivir*. *Sigonius* is of Opinion, that *Marcellus*, who was *Consul* in the Year of *Rome* 601, built this City. But it must have been built before his time, since he put his Troops into Winter-quarters there, according to *Polybius*. Indeed *Strabo*, B. 3. gives us Reason to believe that it was built by *Marcellus*. But he might either mean some other *Marcellus* who lived before him here spoken of; or else he only meant, that a Colony of *Romans* settled there, under the Auspices of the *Consul*. This he seems to imply, when he says, that it was the first City in *Spain* which had the Title of a *Roman Colony*. To which

he adds, that several *Roman Citizens* settled there, as soon as it was built. They were probably drawn thither by the Fruitfulness of the Soil. *Mariana* the *Jesuit*, in his second Book of his *History of Spain*, takes a middle Way, in order to reconcile *Strabo* and *Polybius*. He supposes *Cordoba* to have been founded in the Year of *Rome* 584, when *Marcellus* governed all *Spain*, in quality of *Prætor*. Nevertheless *Silius Italicus* speaks of *Cordoba*, as of a City which was in being as early as in the time of *Hannibal*. And if so, we must say, That *Marcellus* was not the Founder, but the Restorer of it; whether only by contributing to its Decoration, or by obtaining the Right of *Roman Citizenship* for its Inhabitants.



Year of about the Lands in Dispute, which occasioned all the Quarrel. Could the King of *ROM E Numidia* refuse any thing to the Request of a *Roman* in so much Credit as the Ambassador? No; he granted all he desired; or rather, he complied with his Orders. So that all was ended, and *Carthage* had been saved, if a seditious *Carthaginian* had not by his Intrigues assisted *Fortune* in precipitating his Country into the greatest Misfortunes. This pernicious Citizen's Name was *Gisgo*; a Man in Office, and in Favour with the People. The Wretch harangued them in the Place of their Assemblies, and so highly enflamed the Populace, that they would have offered Violence to *Nasica* himself, if he had not escaped the Fury of the mad Rabble, by Flight. And then *Gisgo* carried his Rage still farther. There were about forty Persons in the Senate of *Carthage*, who had Sense enough to approve of the Peace which *Nasica* had negotiated with *Masinissa*. *Gisgo* represented them to the Commons, as Friends to the King of *Numidia*; caused them to be condemned to perpetual Banishment; and made the People swear, that they would never receive those Exiles into their City again, or suffer their Restoration to be mentioned. So that these Victims to popular Fury had no Refuge to flee to, but the Dominions of *Masinissa*; and there they were continually stirring him up to make War with their own Country. As for *Archobarzanes*, he was touched with the ready Compliance of *Masinissa* with *Nasica's* Request, and disbanded his Troops.

DCI.

M. CLAUDIUS

MARCELLUS,

L. VALERIUS

FLACCUS,

Consuls.

Liv. in Epit.

App. in Punic.

Florus.

Plut. Life of

Cato.

Cicero.

At *Rome* the Return of *Nasica*, and the Insults offered him in *Africa*, much affected the Senators; and nothing suspended the Vengeance of the proud Republick, but the War already proclaimed with the *Celtiberians* in *Spain*. *Cato* was charmed to see *Nasica* agree with him, That *Carthage* ought to be utterly destroyed. But nevertheless, his Joy was much damped by his Grief for the Death of the *Pretor Porcius*, his Son by his first Wife. He had always loved him tenderly, and neglected<sup>64</sup> nothing in his Education. One Historian<sup>65</sup> says, That *Cato* was so very poor that he buried *Porcius* without any Pomp or Ceremony. But this Thrift ought rather to be imputed to the Philosophy or Avarice of the Father, than to his Indigence. We know that *Cato the Censor* amassed great Wealth by Trade and<sup>66</sup> Usury. However, he was not sparing of moral Reflections at least, on this Loss, which afflicted him. *Alas!* cried he, *must I be forced to carry to a Funeral Pile the Body of a Son, who ought to have carried me to one! I shall follow thee, my dear Cato, very soon. Thy Soul is gone but a few Days before me, into that delicious Place, where we shall meet, never to be parted more. This Hope is my only Comfort.* Nevertheless, *Cato* had still one Son living. He was borne him by his second Wife, was named *Cato Salonius*, and was the Stock from whence the famous *Cato of Utica* afterwards descended.

§.XXV. At the Time appointed, the *Roman* People assembled in the *Field of Mars*, to chuse new Magistrates; but there was no *Consul* to preside in the *Comitia*.

<sup>64</sup> See what we have said above of the Education *Cato* gave his Son.

<sup>65</sup> This Historian is *Florus*. But he is contradicted in this Particular by all the Ancients. *Cicero* himself, *Cato's Panegyrist*, in his Treatise *Of Old Age*, does not disown that this rigid *Censor* had a great Estate; and *Plutarch* more expressly affirms it.

<sup>66</sup> He neglected no means, says this last Author, to improve his Fortune. He was poor before he was promoted to the Dignities of the Republick; and then boasted, That he found his Husbandry and Oeconomy an inexhaustible Fund. But afterwards he was much more intent upon heaping up great Riches. He then did not think Agriculture, either a sure, or short Way enough to get Money. He for the future considered it only as an agreeable Amusement. He made it his whole Business to get Ponds, Lands which produced mineral Waters, Woods, and Pastures; and neglected no means to improve them, by settling Manufactures upon them. The considerable Sums they annually produced him by this means, were an ample Revenue, which was not subject to the Inconveniencies of the Seasons; or as he expressed himself, *Which were out of the Reach of the Anger of Jupiter himself*. He also had Recourse to unworthy Artifices, in order to raise an immense

Fortune, with little Expence. The Usury that was most condemned by Men of Honour, was that of Shipping, as it was called at *Rome*; but *Cato* was not ashamed to pursue a Method condemned by the Laws. He lent Money to a certain Number of Merchants, upon Condition, that they should enter into a Society, to trade by Sea. These Traders engaged not only to return him the Money lent, but he was likewise to share all the Profits of their Trade with them. And in order to secure the Gain he was to have, *Cato* committed the Care of his Interest, to one *Quintio* his Freedman, who embarked with the Merchants. But *Christians* are less scrupulous on this Account, than the ancient *Romans*, who were brought up in the Principles of *Paganism*.

<sup>67</sup> *Pliny* tells us, *B. 7. c. 14.* That *Cato* had his second Son surnamed *Salonius*, when he was full fourscore. His eldest Son, which he had by his first Wife, was surnamed *Licinianus*, and went into the Family from which he descended. This Surname gives us room to conjecture, That *Cato's* first Wife's Name was *Licina*. That of his second Wife was *Salonia*, and therefore her Son chose to be surnamed *Salonius*.

He



He who had continued in *Italy*, died towards the Close of the Year. So that *Marcellus* being absent in *Spain*, and *Valerius* dead, the Republick sunk into an *Interregnum*. The Senator (of the five who had the Care of the Republick) who was in Office for the Time being, presided in the Assembly; and *L. Licinius Lucullus*, and *A. Postumius Albinus*, were chosen *Consuls*. *Sulpicius Galba* was chosen *Prætor* to govern *Further Spain*; for it was resolved to send one of the *Consuls* to continue the War in *Hither Spain*, notwithstanding that *Marcellus* had promised to settle Peace there. Indeed *Rome* was almost solely intent on *Spain*; in order to finish, the next Year, that troublesome War there, which retarded that which the *Romans* were willing to make in *Africa*. Orders were given to the *Consuls* to raise Levies, for her *Legions* immediately; and then appeared the Difficulty of raising Troops for *Spain*. None of the *Citizens* would undertake to go thither, either as Officers or private Soldiers. *Spain*, said they, is a destructive Country, which unpeoples *Rome*. How many of our Men has it devoured? It is a Gulph out of which no Man returns alive. *Marcellus* had great Reason to make Peace with it, to save *Roman Blood*. Why then has not the Senate complied with his Desires? Would they have us all fall, one after another, by the Swords of the Spaniards? The Soldiers whom *Fulvius* had brought from *Spain* the last Year, had caused these Murmurs to spread. They described, in a lively Manner, the Miseries they had suffered during the Campaign, and the Rigour of a Winter spent in Tents, and in the greatest Want. And in short, the Aversion to going to *Spain* increased to such a Degree, that the old *Romans* declared the Republick had never met with so much Opposition to her Commands. To increase the Misfortune, the <sup>68</sup> *Tribunes of the People* complained as well as the Mutineers; and protected those who refused to enlist themselves. The bravest Soldiers in the Republick protested, That they would not follow the *Consul*, to whose Lot *Spain* should fall, if they were offered the Commissions of Lieutenant-Generals, or *Legionary Tribunes*. And as for the *Roman Youth*, it was in vain to cite them to enroll themselves. None appeared; and the Number of the Disobedient was too great for the State to attempt to punish them. Besides, the *Tribunes* protected them. They even went so far, as to carry the two *Consuls* to Prison, because they would spare no Body. Indeed the wisest of the *Romans* were surprized at the Imprudence, as they called it, of the *Tribunes*, and the Obstinacy of the People. What is become, said they, of the old Ardour of the *Romans*, to take the military Oaths? It was turned into an open Revolt; and what could put a Stop to it!

THE Senate and *Consuls* were embarrassed, when the Love of his Country stirred up a young *Roman*, not more than thirty three Years of Age, who extricated them out of their Difficulties. This was *Scipio Æmilianus*, the Son of *Paulus Æmilius*, who was adopted in the *Cornelian* Family, and thereby become the Grandson of the Great *Scipio Africanus*. His Age would not yet suffer him to enjoy any Civil or Military Employment. He was yet scarce known, but by the Names of the Families from which he descended, and into which he was entered, and by a greater Prudence than was usual for Men of his Age. One Day, when the People were assembled that they might enroll themselves, he desired Leave to speak, and spake thus. *Hitherto, Romans, I have held my Peace in your Assemblies, on account of my Age, and out of pure Respect to you. But now that Examples are more necessary to influence the People than Words, I venture to ascend The Tribune. I come to offer my Service to the Governours of the Republick, in this Distress of my Country. Let them dispose of me as they please. I will readily go and serve in Spain, in any Capacity which they shall appoint. I freely give up an Employment of Consequence to me, in order to encourage the Youth to go to Spain, which they dread. I have been invited to go this Year to put an End to the Differences in Macedon, which would certainly be of some Advantage to me. But Spain*

<sup>68</sup> Upon the Authority of *Cicero*, in his third *Philippic*, the Promulgation of the *Scatinian Law* is generally fixed to the Year 501. *Scatinus*, a Tribune of the People, is said to be the Author of it. By this Law, the Persons who were convicted of having committed, or solicited others to commit the Crime, which was punished with Fire from

Heaven, were condemned to pay a Fine of ten thousand \* *Roman Denarii*, or five thousand French \* 322 l. 18 s. 4 d. *Sterling*. *Livres*: A slight Punishment for so monstrous a Crime. The Law likewise probably inflicted corporal Punishments on those who could not pay the Fines.



Year of R O M E DCII. L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS, A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS, Consuls.

*shall have the Preference. I dedicate my self to the Spanish Service. The Son of Paulus Æmilius, and the Grandson of the Great Scipio has not learnt from one or the other, either to fear Danger, or to prefer his own private Interest to the publick Good. I will then go with Joy to a Country which the Scipio's my Ancestors have stained with their Blood, and made famous for their Victories. After my Grandfather's Example, I will accept, nay, I will solicit for, a Service which terrifies so many others. No, no; we shall not find in Spain three Carthaginian Armies to conquer, and three famous Generals to overcome, as the Great Scipio did. The Dangers of the Enterprize are magnified to us; and we are terrified with Phantoms instead of Realities. I know some timorous Men have filled Rome with Terror. Where are her brave Youths? Your Fathers were not afraid of all the Forces of Spain and Carthage united. Will you then degenerate from their Virtue? What! Can an Handful of revolted Barbarians make you tremble? Follow the cowardly Sentiments which are instilled into you, as much as you please; for my part, I am ready to go wherever Glory, my Governors, the publick Good, or the Will and Pleasure of the Senate, call me.*

This Discourse had its desired Effect. In the first Place, the Consuls and Heads of the City ran and embraced *Æmilianus*; for we shall call him by this Name for the future. They thought he would prove a second *Paulus Æmilius*, or *Africanus*; and were not mistaken. After he had given this first Proof of his Virtue, he made such Progress in the Paths of Honour, that it may be doubted whether he did not even surpass his Father, and his Grandfather. At present, People of all Sorts, after the Example of *Æmilianus*, began to rouse their ancient Virtue. Both among the old Officers and the People, there were some who were even solicitous, either to get military Employments, or to have their Names enrolled. Then the Consuls drew Lots for their Provinces. *Spain* fell to *Lucullus*, and *Cisalpine Gaul* to *Postumius*. Nevertheless, in order to humour the People whose Minds were yet uneasy, the two Generals would not themselves chuse their own Officers, or *Legions*. Contrary to Custom, it was determined by Lot which of the Lieutenant Generals, *Tribunes*, and Soldiers should follow *Lucullus* to *Spain*, and which continue in *Italy* with *Postumius*. Only *Æmilianus* was reserved for *Spain*, without that Trouble. He had publickly devoted himself to that Service. Some say *Lucullus* made him one of his Lieutenant Generals; others, that on Account of his Age, *Æmilianus* served only in quality of a *Legionary Tribune*. But be that as it will, we are now going to see the young Hero begin his Career with uncommon Distinction, eclipse the Glory of his General, and return to *Rome* with a Reputation which daily increased, and at last made him the Wonder of his Age.

§. XXVI. WHEN *Lucullus*, and the *Prætor Sulpicius Galba* were landed in the Ports of *Spain*, the two Generals enquired into the State of their respective Provinces; and were informed, that *Marcellus* on one hand, and *Attilius Serranus* on the other, had entirely pacified, one *Celtiberia*, and the other *Lusitania*. All the time that *Marcellus* had resided in *Spain*, whether as *Consul*, or *Prætor*, till his Successor arrived, he had made it his whole Business to reconcile all the revolted Nations to *Rome*.

INDEED the Senate had sent Orders to *Marcellus* to continue the War with the *Celtiberians*, and prefer it to a feigned Peace. But these Orders had been ill observed. During his whole *Consulship*, *Marcellus* had been bent on granting the *Celtiberians* advantageous Terms, in order to induce them to lay down their Arms. And very lately, this *Roman* General had had long Conferences with the Ambassadors, which the *Celtiberians* had sent to *Rome*, and which had been so ill received there. In short, he had at length persuaded them, That in the end their Revolt must prove fatal to them or their Children; That they could not do better than accept the Conditions which he offered them; and That upon his return to *Rome*, he should have Interest enough in the Senate to get them ratified by them. His Scheme was, to grant the *Celtiberians* a general Amnesty, procure them perfect Liberty, and demand nothing of them but certain Sums of Money, to make the Republick amends for the Expences of the War.

NEVERTHELESS *Numantia*, a proud City, still held out for War, and could not resolve to lay down her Arms. A leading Man of Reputation, named *Litenno*, encouraged the *Numantini*, and kept them steady in their Revolt. *Marcellus* had therefore drawn near to the City, and encamped five *Stadia* from it. The Gar-

rison



rison had ventured at a Sally, but had been repulsed with Loss. Then *Litenno* Year of  
had immediately demanded a Conference with the *Roman* General; and in the *R O M E*  
Interview it had been agreed, That the *Arevacæ* should pay the *Romans* three hun- *DCII.*  
dred *Talents* \* for *Tribute*. Which proves, that these People were wealthy, not-  
withstanding the Barrenness of their Soil. *Numantia* had given *Marcellus* Hostages; *L. LICINIUS*  
and *Marcellus* had granted the *Celtiberian* Rebels their Liberty, and the Friendship *LUCULLUS, A.*  
of the *Romans*. After this he had set out for *Rome*, in full Hopes of obtaining a *POSTUMIUS*  
Triumph. But it is said, that he died at Sea, near the Coasts of *Africa*, doubtless *ALBINUS,*  
in his Passage from *Spain*. The *Prætor Attilius* had also left *Lusitania*, because he *Consuls.*  
thought it in Tranquillity, and had retired into Winter-quarters. \* 58125 L.  
*Cicero in Piso.*

THIS News surprized *Lucullus* and *Sulpicius* after their landing. Nevertheless  
the *Prætor* went to take Possession of his Province, and govern it. But the *Consul*  
was utterly disconcerted. The Commission he had received from the Senate was,  
to make War with the *Celtiberians*; but upon his Arrival, he found that his Prede-  
cessor had granted them a Peace. So that it ill became him to destroy what *Mar-*  
*cellus* had done, and bring Disgrace on his Republick by the Infraction of so late  
a Treaty. He therefore determined to find himself Employment out of the Coun-  
try of the *Arevacæ*. *Lucullus* was a pretty good General, enterprising, and auda-  
cious. Besides, he was covetous to excess, and did not make War so much for the  
Glory of conquering, as the Profit of the Spoils of the Vanquished. So that left *App. in Iberic.*  
he should continue idle all his *Consulship*, which he wanted to reap some Profits  
by, he went to seek for Enemies to fight with, in the Corners of *Spain* which were  
till then unknown to the *Romans*, or at least had no relation to them. He resolved  
of his own Head, without Orders, to go and make War in the Countries of the  
*69 Turduli*, and *Cantabri* <sup>70</sup>. These Provinces were yet untouched, and there-  
fore promised the greedy *Consul* plenty of Booty. In order to get to them, he  
must cross the Country of the *Vaccæi* <sup>71</sup>. He therefore passed the *Tagus*, came  
and encamped before <sup>32</sup> *Cauca*, a City of the *Vaccæi*, and was ready to lay Siege  
to it. These unexpected Enemies, whom they had not drawn upon themselves by  
any Acts of Hostility, terrified the *Vaccæi*; and they sent to the *Roman* General, to  
know what Offence they had committed to deserve his Resentment. A frivolous  
Pretence will serve for a Reason, with a Man greedy of Gain and Plunder. *You*  
*have been at War*, said he, *with the Carpetani, and I, who have taken upon me to*  
*maintain their Quarrel, am come to punish you for it.* Upon this Answer, the  
*Caucans* resolved to defend themselves, and sustain the Attacks of the *Consular* Ar-  
my. They often sent out Parties, which fell upon the *Roman* Soldiers as they were  
cutting Wood in the neighbouring Forests. Their way of Fighting was to throw  
their Darts whilst they were hovering about the Enemy, and keep in continual  
Motion. They were well skilled in this Sort of Skirmishing; but were not at all  
inured to fight, keeping their Ground. When therefore they were to come to a  
general Action, they only threw their Javelins, with surprising Readiness and Suc-  
cess, and then returned in all haste to their Ramparts. But they were not success-  
ful in their Retreat. The *Romans* followed close after these Fugitives, who had  
thrown all their Darts, and were exhausted with Fatigues; and killed three thou-  
sand of them, before they entered the City. This Blow discouraged them, and  
made them turn their Resistance into humble Submissions. They came out of  
their City with Olive Branches in their Hands, and threw themselves at the *Consul's*

<sup>69</sup> The Country of the *Turduli* reached the East and West, from the Port *Mæstheus*, now the Port *St. Mary*, beyond the *Gnadalquivir*, a little below *Cordoba*. It ran up into the inland Country, almost to the Confines of *Bætica*, along the Mountains of *Morene*, now called *La Sierra Morena*. We have mentioned these People several times already.

<sup>70</sup> The *Cantabri* formerly possessed *Biscay*, *Gui-  
puzcoa*, part of the *Asturias*, of *Santillana*, and of  
the Kingdom of *Leon*. So that it was not true, as  
some have imagined, that only the *Biscayans* were  
the ancient *Cantabri*. *Mariana* speaks of a City of  
*Campania*, which was formerly the Capital of the  
Country. He places it upon an high Hill, which  
commands the Banks of the *Ebro*, beyond *Logroño*

and *Viana*; And says that the Place where it stood  
is called *Cantabria* to this Day. *St. Eulogius* the  
Martyr, mentions a River which he calls *Cantaber*.  
Some Geographers take it for the *Ebro*, or *Ega*,  
into which the little River of *Aragon* runs. But  
others pretend, that the latter was the *Cantaber*.  
Add to this, that *Cantabria* was destroyed in the  
Reign of *Leovigilda*. It had then the Title of an  
Episcopal City.

<sup>71</sup> The *Vaccæi* possessed part of the Kingdom of  
*Leon*, on both sides the *Duero*, and part of *Old*  
*Castille*. We have spoken of them elsewhere.

<sup>72</sup> The City of *Cauca*, or *Gancia* still retains the  
same Name. It stands in *Old Castille*, between *Se-  
govia* and *Valladolid*.



Year of Feet. He demanded of them a hundred *Talents* † and Hostages, and was obeyed. *R O M E* But the *Caucans* had scarce executed these Orders, how unjust, and how rigorous soever, before the *Consul* made new Demands upon them. *I will give no Quarter*, said he, *unless you receive a Roman Garrison*. And Necessity obliged the unfortunate Inhabitants of a City, which had been guilty of no Offence against *Rome*, to comply with this Demand likewise. They received two thousand *Legionaries* within their Walls. And then, what Treachery followed! What greater Cruelty could Barbarians have been guilty of? As soon as the *Romans* were in Possession of *Cauca*, they opened the Gates to their Army. The *Consul* entered it, and put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, without Regard to Age, or Sex. The Slaughter was terrible. Of twenty thousand *Caucans* very few escaped; and in short, the City was plundered, and *Lucullus* found wherewithal to glut his Avarice.

DCII.  
L. LICINIUS  
LUCULLUS, A.  
POSTUMIUS  
ALBINUS,  
Consuls.  
† 19375 A.

§. XXVII. THEN the Terror and Infamy of the *Roman* were soon spread together thro' the whole Country. The *Spaniards* abandoned their Towns, set fire to their Houses, destroyed all they could not carry away, and retired to inaccessible Places, or the best fortified Cities: So that the *Consular* Army crossed a vast Desert before it came to 73 *Intercatia*. This was also a City of the *Vaccei*; and as the Enemy was expected, all the Militia of the Country were assembled there, to the Number of twenty two thousand Men. The *Spanish* Army was equal to the *Consular* in Number, but the love of Plunder quickened the Ardour of the *Consul*. He thought every thing possible that would enrich him; and he sent to summons the *Intercatians* to surrender. But the Example of *Cauca* was too fresh in their Minds, and too affecting for them to trust to the Promises of a General, so infamous for Breach of Faith. The Deputies of *Intercatia* ventured to reproach him with his Perfidiousness to his Face. *We have had time enough to know you*, said they, *since you entered into our Regions. The Misfortunes of Cauca, have shewn us but too plainly your true Character*. But the Truth of these Reproaches served only to exasperate *Lucullus*. He began with sacking the neighbouring Country about *Intercatia*. Then he endeavoured to draw out of the City the numerous Army of *Spaniards* which had shut themselves up in it. He often offered the Garrison Battle; but they without running the Hazard of a general Action, only marched out in Detachments to skirmish. Challenges were frequently made by the brave Men of the two Armies; and the *Spanish* Troopers often invited the *Romans* to single Combats. Among these Champions there was one *Vaccæan* in particular, of a gigantick Stature, who generally appeared in the Field, and with great Cries, challenged the boldest of the *Romans*, to come and fight him; and as none came, he returned triumphantly to the City, beat the Air with his glittering Arms, and reproached the Enemy with Cowardice.

*Fell. Patere.*  
B. 1. c. 12.  
*App. in Iberic.*

YOUNG *Emilianus* then served in the *Consul's* Army, as *Legionary Tribune*. He had too much Equity, to approve of an unjust Enterprize, undertaken without Orders, in a Country hitherto very peaceable; or of his General's Rapines. But after all, he was only a Subaltern; and Obedience was his Province. He was piqued in point of Honour to see the swaggering *Spaniard*, who continually repeated his Bravadoes, and desired leave to fight him. *Emilianus* was not large of Stature, but he was robust and active; and his Art and Address made Amends for his want of bodily Advantages. He engaged his Adversary on Foot, and killed him. By this first Act of Valour the young *Roman* gained a great Reputation, raised the Courage of his Countrymen, and a little disconcerted the *Vaccei*. The Siege was continued, notwithstanding that the *Romans* began to want Provisions. The *Consular* Army for want of other Food, lived only on the Flesh of Deer, and Hares, with which the Forests and Fields abounded, and which they ate raw, without Salt or Bread. This brought Distempers among the Soldiers, who died in great Numbers of the Bloody-Flux; and this made them neglect their Duty. Only weak Guards were set round the Camp; and for that Reason the *Consular* Army was struck with a Pannick. In a dark Night, as the *Spanish* Horse were returning from foraging,

73 The City of *Intercatia* was also called *Ingalaria*, and *Imaria*, if we may believe *Andrew of Poza*. He pretends that it stood near *Gironne*, at a little Distance from the Town of *Junquera*. If so, there were formerly two Cities of that Name in Spain. It is certain, that this which *Appian* here mentions stood in *Old Castille*, between *Valladolid* and *Burgos*.



they found the Circumvallation round the City finished, and made great Shouts, that they might be heard by the Garrison. The Garrison answered them with great Shouts from the Town, and this Noise which was heard in the *Roman* Camp, filled it with Terror for some Hours. The *Romans* were afraid that their advanced-Guards were attacked: but the Alarm ceased, as soon as the Sun appeared.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCII.

L. LICINIUS  
LUCULLUS, A.  
POSTUMIUS  
ALBINUS,  
Consuls.

However, the *Consul* was not a Man that would desist for slight Obstacles, and he ordered *Intercatia* to be battered with fresh Fury. The Machines were built round the Place. A Breach was made with the *Ram*, whilst the *Romans* scaled the Walls on another side; and then *Emilianus* signalized himself. He first mounted the Wall, and had his Valour been seconded, would have taken the Place. But the Besieged made so vigorous a Resistance, and brought such Numbers of Men against the Besiegers, that they were forced to retreat, and come down from the Ramparts. Nevertheless the Action was not estimated by its Success, but by the Intrepidity of *Emilianus*. He had obeyed imprudent Orders, with a Valour which gained him the Esteem even of his Enemies. However, the Attempt itself turned to the Disadvantage of the *Romans*, and cost the *Consul* dear. As his Men were returning from the Assault, a great Number of the Soldiers, who were not well enough acquainted with the Place, fell into Pits of Water, which the Enemy had dug round their Ramparts, and there perished. In the mean time, the *Intercatians* spent the whole Night in repairing the Breaches, and the City seemed to be in as good a Condition as ever. Whereas the Attacks grew Feint on the side of the Besiegers. They were destroyed both by Want and Distempers. So that the *Consul* would have retired with Shame, if he had not observed a Languor in the Looks of the Besieged, like that of his own Troops. The Multitude of its Defenders had exhausted the Provisions in the City. They wanted every thing there, and had no means of procuring themselves Food. This extreme Necessity therefore to which both Parties were reduced, disposed the *Consul* to offer favourable Terms, and the Garrison to accept them. In short, they treated. Some Deputies from the City came to the Council of War in the *Roman* Camp; and the only thing that hindered the Conclusion of the Treaty, on the part of the Besieged, was their fear of depending on *Lucullus's* Word. His Perfidiousness to the *Caucans* continually came into their Thoughts; and *Emilianus*, who perceived it, offered to be Guaranty for the Capitulation. With that Air of Sincerity which was natural to him, he protested to them, That the Conditions should be faithfully observed; and upon the Assurances of a Subaltern, they laid aside all their Distrusts. It was agreed, That *Intercatia* should furnish the *Consular* Army with Stuffs to cloath six thousand Men; should send to the *Roman* Camp a certain Number of Sheep and Goats; and should give Hostages. But to *Lucullus's* great Mortification, nothing was said of Gold or Silver. Though all the other *Spaniards* had them, the *Intercatians* despised these Metals, and made no use of them. So that the *Consular* Army was not very well satisfied; and *Emilianus* had gained all the Glory that was acquired in it. Besides the Reputation he had gained for Valour and Probity, which made him esteemed even by Barbarians, his General could not refuse him two distinguishing Marks of Honour, which he had merited. *Lucullus* gave him a *Mural*, and a *Civic* Crown; one for having first mounted the Walls of *Intercatia*; and the other for having, during the Battel, covered a *Roman* Citizen with his Buckler, when one of the Enemy's Soldiers was going to stab him. So that the Glory of the *Tribune*, eclipsed that of the *Consul*; and we cannot say, whether Jealousy was not *Lucullus's* real Motive, to send *Emilianus* to *Numidia*, under Pretence of desiring some Elephants of King *Masniissa*. However, we shall soon see, that wherever an Hero appears, he shines.

§. XXVIII. FROM *Intercatia* the *Consular* Army marched towards 74 *Palentia*. The avaritious *Consul* imagined, that by taking of this Place he should make himself some Amends for having gained so little by the Siege of *Intercatia*. And indeed *Palentia* was thought a rich City. Though deemed to belong to the Country of the *Vaccæi*, it abounded with Gold and Silver. This was the great Attractive that brought the *Consul* thither. His Friends in vain advised him to turn his Arms another Way. *The City*, said they, *is strong, and the Spa-*

74 *Palentia* still retains its ancient Name. It formerly called *Pisoraon*, and now *Pisuerga* waters belonged to the Kingdom of *Leon*. The River its District, and afterwards falls into the *Duero*.



Year of  
ROM E  
DCII.  
L LICINIUS  
LUCULLUS, A.  
POSTUMIUS  
ALBINUS,  
Consuls.

nish *Militia* are assembled there from all Parts to defend it. Nevertheless *Lucullus's* prevailing Passion got the better of the Remonstrances of the Council. He considered nothing but the immense Riches which he hoped to get by plundering it; and he came before it, and encamped near it. But in this Siege he suffered the Shame that was due to his Injustice, and his Obstinacy. The *Palentini* had posted round the Place Squadrons of light Horse, which laid the Country waste, and fell on the Convoys of Provisions which were brought to the *Roman* Camp. By this means the *Consular* Army was reduced to so great Want, that they could not possibly subsist in a ravaged Country. Nor could the *Roman* retreat quietly. The *Palentini* followed close after him, as far as to the River *Durius* <sup>75</sup>, and never left off harassing him, till he had passed it. From thence *Lucullus* went to take up his Winter-quarters, in the Country of the *Turdetani*; from whence his restless Temper soon brought him to *Lusitania*.

THE *Prætor Sulpicius Galba* had indeed made as shameful a Campaign in *Lusitania*, as the *Consul Lucullus* had done, among the *Vaccei*. Though his Predecessor had left him his Province almost pacified; the latter had found Reason to renew the War there. The *Lusitanians* had entered the Countries of the Allies of *Rome*, and kept them blocked up. This News exasperated *Galba*, when he was yet upon his March to take Possession of his Province; and with the Reinforcement of Troops he brought, he made all haste to join the Enemy, and marched Day and Night, without giving his Army any Rest. He marched fifty *Stadia* <sup>76</sup> in four and twenty Hours, and led his Men thus fatigued to the Enemy. The Rebels thought this too fair an Opportunity to be lost, and they gave Battel. Nevertheless, as fatigued as the *Romans* were, as long as they had nothing to do but to sustain the Shock of the Enemy, they had Vigour enough to repulse them, and continue the Fight as they retreated. But at length the Strength of the Victorious failed. Some were forced to take Breath, whilst others pursued the Fugitives in Confusion, without keeping their Ranks; and this occasioned the entire Defeat of these separated *Manipuli*, which had been victorious when united. *Galba* fled in his Turn, and took Refuge in a City called <sup>77</sup> *Carmelis*; after he had lost seven thousand of his *Romans* on the Spot: So that the *Prætor's* Resource was in the Auxiliaries of the Allies. Of the Remains of his Soldiers, and of the *Spaniards* his Friends, he formed an Army of twenty thousand Men, which he put into Winter-quarters, in the Country of the <sup>78</sup> *Cunæans*.

In the mean time, *Lucullus* was uneasy at sitting still in the Country of the *Turdetani*, to which he had retired. The Nearness of *Lusitania*, and the Progress of the *Lusitanians* after the Defeat of *Galba*, were continually prompting him to suppress the Insolence of these People, and lay their Country waste. He began with sending such Detachments thither as were fit to make Incursions. His Lieutenant Generals were successful in the first Battel they fought with the *Lusitanians*. The latter had drawn too near to *Turdetania* <sup>79</sup>; and the *Romans* killed four thousand of them. The second Action was not so bloody, but it disconcerted the Rebels. Fifteen hundred of them were slain near *Gades*. And at length the *Consul* himself entered *Lusitania*, and satisfied his Thirst for Plunder.

§. XXIX. THE *Prætor* seeing the Diversion the *Consul* made took Advantage of it, in order to gratify both his Revenge, and his Avarice. *Galba* was as selfish as *Lucullus*, and more cruel. What Monsters did *Rome* then send to command her Armies in *Spain*! *Galba* penetrated into *Lusitania*; destroyed every thing with Fire and Sword; and glutted himself with the Spoils and Blood of these unhappy People.

<sup>75</sup> We have already spoken of the *Durius*, or the *Duero*, one of the greatest Rivers in *Spain*.

<sup>76</sup> At this rate, they marched no more than two Leagues and an half, or seven thousand two hundred and fifty geometrical Paces.

<sup>77</sup> We know of no City in old *Lusitania*, which was called *Carmelis*. *Appian* is the only Author that mentions it. Some take it for *Carmona*, a City on the Banks of the *Bætis*, between *Seville* and *Cordoba*.

<sup>78</sup> The *Cunæans* possessed a Canton of *Andalusia*, between the *Guadalquivir*, and the *Guadiana*, in-

clining towards *Portugal*, and pretty near *Niebla*. The City of *Cunistorgis* of which we have already spoken, is thought to have been the Capital of these People.

<sup>79</sup> The *Turdetani* possessed that part of *Andalusia* which lies between the *Guadiana*, and the *Guadalquivir*. Afterwards the Neighbourhood of *Tervel* in *Arragon* was inhabited by a People of the same Name; this Canton having been conquered by the *Turdetani* of *Andalusia*, or the latter having settled a Colony in this Country. We have spoken of these People in the preceding Volumes.



The Horror which he spread through all the Country, obliged the Inhabitants at last to sue for Peace; and they sent to *Galba*, to desire that *Rome* would receive them again on the same Conditions, which the *Prætor Atilius* had offered them the last Year. Indeed the *Lusitanians* had then rejected these Conditions, and had taken up Arms after the Departure of *Atilius*. But should an Act of Levity have been punished, with the most notorious Perfidiousness? *Galba* received the *Lusitanians* with Demonstrations of Friendship. *I am well satisfied*, said he to them, *that your Revolt proceeded more from Necessity, than any Malice or Hatred to the Roman Name. You live in a barren Country, which does not supply you with Necessaries. Hence your Readiness to invade the Territories of your Neighbours, and our Allies. You are become our Enemies, without designing it. Let us then for the future find a Remedy for the Calamities which your Wants have brought upon you. Indeed it is not in my Power to remove you all into one fruitful Country, where you may live in Plenty. But if you will divide your selves into three Bodies, you shall be carried into different Countries, where you shall live at Ease.*

Year of  
R O M E  
DCII.  
L. LICINIUS  
LUCULLUS, A.  
POSTUMIUS  
ALBINUS,  
Consuls.

These credulous *Lusitanians* were silly enough to divide themselves, and to suffer themselves to be transplanted into other Countries. Each third part of the People were carried into a new Country, removed their Effects thither, and settled there. The *Prætor* had taken care to leave a great Tract of Land between each of the three Settlements; and nothing was more natural, than to let these Rebels live in Peace, after they had been so divided, as to put it out of their Power to do any more Mischief. They quietly waited in their several Allotments for the coming of *Galba*, to distribute among their Families the Ground which he had put into their Possession. The *Prætor* came; but with an armed Force. He first entered the Division that was next to him, and afterwards the two others. He ordered the People of the first, to deliver up their Arms, which were become useless, since the Pacification. Then he surrounded them with Barricadoes; sent in his Soldiers among them; and massacred them almost all. This done, he repeated the same Cruelties in the two other Plantations. They who did not lose their Lives, were sold to the best Bidder. Some say, that in these three Butcheries thirty thousand *Lusitanians* were killed. Others reduce the Number to nine thousand. However, as Providence, generally speaking, rewarded the Virtue of the *Romans* with temporal Prosperities, when they made themselves worthy of them; so it now signally punished the execrable Treachery of the *Prætor Sulpicius Galba*. It suffered one Youth to escape from the Slaughter of these unfortunate People, who was a Man of singular Valour, and whose Arms proved fatal to the Republick. This was the famous *Viriathes*, who long harassed the *Romans* in *Spain*, killed more of their Men than *Galba* had sacrificed of the *Spaniards*, confounded their Generals, and performed Exploits equal to those of the *Roman* Heroes. We shall hereafter admire his Behaviour at the Head of the Armies of his Country; and shall see in his Success the Hand of an avenging God. Indeed, after these unjust Proceedings of the *Consul Lucullus*, and the *Prætor Galba*, in the two *Spains*, it is surprising, that the former was not condemned, or so much as accused, either before the Senate, or People. The *Romans* were so prejudiced against the *Spaniards*, that they thereby authorized in some sort the Injustice of their Generals. And therefore we shall not be surprized to see the Revolt continue in that Country.

§. XXX. INDEED, the Expectation of an approaching War with *Carthage*, ought alone to have determined *Rome* to have treated the *Spaniards* with more Humanity, if not to have appeased them. News came to the Senate from several Quarters, that Preparations were making at *Carthage* for an open Declaration of War with *Rome*. *Gulussa*, the Son of the King of *Numidia*, who was lately come to *Italy*, confirmed these Reports; greatly alarmed the City and Senate; and sometimes by Suspensions, sometimes by well-grounded Complaints, made the *Carthaginian* Name odious to the *Romans*. *I went to Carthage myself*, said he, *with my Brother Micipsa, to desire leave for those to return thither, whom the factious People had banished. These Exiles are Friends to Rome, and to my Father Masinissa. It was their Fidelity to us, which drew upon them the Rage of the People. Judge then from thence, what Affection the Carthaginians have for your Republick. As for my Brother and myself, the Head of the Carthaginian Nation would not vouchsafe us an Audience. He denied us Entrance into the Capital. We were re-*

App. in Punic.



Year of *tiring with Shame, when one Hannibal, surnamed Samnis, sallied out of an Ambush*  
 R O M E *which he had prepared for us, fell upon us, and obliged us to separate. Is treating*  
 DCII. *the Friends of Rome in this manner, and insulting her most faithful Allies, to be re-*  
 L. LICINIUS *conciled with the Respect that a vanquished and tributary People ought to have*  
 LUCULLUS, A. *for her?*

POSTUMIUS  
 ALBINUS,  
 Consuls.

UPON hearing this Speech, the *Conscript Fathers* were divided in Opinion. *Cato*, still an implacable Enemy to the *Carthaginians*, repeated what was so often in his Mouth, *There is no Safety for Rome, till Carthage is utterly destroyed.* But *Scipio Nasica* was again of a contrary Opinion. This great Man had indeed been personally affronted in *Africa*. But the very Resentments of *Nasica* were of Service to the *Carthaginians*. He was scrupulous of hearkening too much to his own Passions. Out of an Excess of Probity he was afraid, lest his Resentments should influence his Judgment; and therefore inclined to Clemency. *We ought not to declare War with Carthage*, said he, *till we are absolutely certain of her bad Designs. Shall we oppress a flourishing Nation which has rivalled us in Glory, upon bare Suspicions, or uncertain Reports? Too much Precaution often degenerates into Injustice. Let us take care how we bring Dishonour on our selves, by giving the World Reason to believe, that we are too fearful of Carthage!* And this Opinion was followed. Before *Rome* would conclude on a War, she sent ten Deputies to *Africa*, with Orders to watch the Steps of the *Carthaginians*, visit their Ports, and inform themselves upon the Spot, of the Preparations they were making by Sea and Land.

THESE Deputies soon returned to give an Account of their Commission. It was visible at first Sight, that *Carthage* had a Design to make War in some other Place, besides the Continent of *Africa*. Her Fleet was numerous, and well fitted out, and her Land-Forces made a formidable Army. Upon this Report, the Senators trembled. *Gulussa* confirmed the Report; and *Cato* would have gained all the Votes of the Senate by his Eloquence, if he had not been again contradicted by *Nasica*, who had a greater Interest, and higher Reputation for Virtue. The one was more sincere in his Philosophy, the other took more Pains to appear so. Notwithstanding the Mask *Cato* put on, the Strength of his Passions was seen through it. Whereas *Nasica* seemed never to have had any, or to have brought them into Subjection to Reason. The latter was the most learned in the Civil Law, the former most eloquent. *Cato* had made himself many Enemies, by the Violence of his Accusations. *Nasica* had merited the Surname of *Corculum*, by the wise Advice which he freely gave to all who consulted him; and had gained the Affections of all People. Both these great Men had served the Republick in Arms, but *Cato* with a more impetuous kind of Valour; *Nasica* with a Conduct more temperate and altogether as efficacious. In the Decline of their Lives, they were the two main Springs which governed all the Resolutions of the Senate.

IN this last Deliberation about *Carthage*, *Nasica* again got the better of *Cato*. He, by his sole Authority, suspended the Decree which was going to be pronounced against the Capital of *Africa*. *We ought to try all means*, said he, *before we come to Extremities. Carthage, it is true, has been guilty of an Infraction of the Treaties; but may she not repent of her Fault? And does it not become the Magnanimity of Romans, to give her room for it? Let us order the Carthaginians to burn their Fleet, and disband their Troops; and then regulate our Resolutions by their Submission or Disobedience.* The immovable Moderation of *Nasica* was again applauded, and all the Senators came over to his Opinion. *Rome* gave the *Carthaginians* time to breathe, and to submit.

§. XXXI. AND now, the Regard the People at *Rome* had for *Nasica* increased beyond Expression. He did whatever he pleased. Even the smallest Affairs were wholly settled by his Advice; and the Republick gave the two following remarkable Instances of her Deference for his Judgment.

1. *NASICA* had taken for his Companion in his Studies the famous *Polybius*, whose Works have gained him great Reputation, and who was a greater Philosopher than Historian. By the Agreeableness of his Conversation, and the Regularity of his Life, the *Achaean* had gained the Confidence of the *Roman*. And *Polybius* made use of his Interest in *Nasica*, to procure by his Interposition the Deliverance of the Lords of his Country, whom *Rome* had long detained in a tedious Banishment. *Nasica* granted *Polybius* his Request, and by his Interest, obtained a

Favour,



Favour, which had been refused many others. The Senate gave the *Achæans* Year of Leave to return Home; but their Number was much diminished. Of the thou- *R O M E* sand that came from *Achaia*, no more than about three hundred returned thither. *DCII.* The rest had perished in *Italy* with Hunger or Grief. As for *Polybius*, he did not desert the Friends he had made himself at *Rome*. He either lived with *Nasica* to be a Comfort to him in his old Age; or with *Emilianus*, to attend him in his military Expeditions.

2. THE *Censors* had ordered a very fine Theatre to be built, for acting the Comedies which the *Roman* Poets than made, upon the Model of the *Greeks*. The Foundation of it was laid, and the Walls already raised above the Ground. But the virtuous *Nasica* thought it a Scandal to have a Theatre built at the Expence of the Publick. He complained of it to the Senate; and represented to them the Inconveniencies of a School for Licentiousness and Effeminacy, where the *Romans* would learn to become Vitious by Imitation. The Remonstrance he made to the *Conscrip*t Fathers was full of that Zeal, which prompted him to attempt a Reformation of Manners, in an Age already corrupted by the Licentiousness of *The Scenic Games*. And whatever Respect the Senate had for *Games* instituted in honour to the Gods, they had some Regard at least to *Nasica's* Request. They passed a Decree, whereby it was enacted, *That the Theatre begun to be built should be demolished; That all the Materials bought for decorating the Stage should be sold to the best Bidder; That no Theatres should be built within the Walls; That no Comedies should be acted nearer than one Mile to Rome; and That the People should not be permitted to sit at them.* A wise Regulation, which in effect is highly commended by a great *Christian* Writer, when he is doing Justice to the Author of it. *St. Austin* says, *That Nasica, by proscribing all theatrical Performances in Rome, better deserved to be honoured in the Temples, than the Divinities to whom those Games were consecrated.*

§. XXXII. As for the Republick, the Weight of all the Affairs that sprung up one after another, in the three parts of the World, could not sink her. In the East of *Europe*, *Macedon*, which was reduced to a tributary Republick, was tired with the *Roman* Yoke, and wanted a King. In the West of *Europe*, *Spain*, which had been worse treated than ever by villainous Governors, was wholly bent on revolting; and *Celtiberia* and *Lusitania*, which joined together, were in a Flame. *Asia* indeed was in more Tranquillity. The Kings of *Pergamus*, *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, which were at Peace with one another, kept up a faithful Correspondence with the *Roman* Senate, and were easy enough under their Subjection. *Judea* also enjoyed some Repose, under the Administration of the High-Priest *Jonathan*, and the Persecutions had ceased there. In *Africa*, the War which *Carthage* was preparing to make with *Masiniſſa*, was only a Trial of what she proposed to do some time or other, in *Italy*: So that the Republick had three Enemies to fear at present, and soon after three Wars to maintain, in three very distant Countries. *Lucullus* and *Galba* continued their Ravages among the *Spaniards*. *Andriscus* made himself a Party in *Macedon*, and aspired at nothing less than the Inheritance of *Perses*, whose Son he pretended to be. And lastly, the *Carthaginians* were arming both by Sea and Land, and gave the *Romans* greater Grounds for Jealousy than bare Suspicions.

THIS was the Situation of Affairs when the *Consuls*, *T. 80 Quinctius Flaminius*, Year of and *M' Acilius Balbus* entered upon their Office. They were chosen in *The Field* *R O M E* *of Mars*, more in Compliance with Custom, than from any Want *Rome* was in *DCIII.* of new Heads, to lead her Armies into the Field. Though the Republick was threatened from different Quarters, she had no Troops but in *Spain*. *Lucullus* and *Galba* were sufficient to keep the *Spaniards* in Awe, and the Proceedings of these two Generals, notwithstanding the Injustice of them, were not disagreeable to the

80 Most of the Ancients and Moderns differ as to the *Prænom*en of the Consul *Quinctius*. *Cassiodorus* calls him *Lucius*; as *Cicero* does in his Book *Of Old Age*. *Pliny* calls him *Gaius*, *B. 7. c. 36*. But upon the Authority of the most correct Copies of *Cicero's* Works, we give him the *Prænom*en of *Titus*. He is so called in the *twelfth* Book of the

*Epistles to Atticus*. Nor do the same Writers agree better as to the Name, and *Prænom*en, of the second Consul. And though some call him *Marcus Acilius*, others *Manlius*, or *Attilius*, we adhere to the *Faſti Capitolini*, which say, that the Collegue of *Titus Quinctius Flaminius*, was *Manius Acilius*.

Senate :



Year of Senate: So that they were suffered to exercise their Violences against the *Lusitaniens* and *Celtiberians*, at least for the greatest part of the current Year. As for the two new *Consuls*, the Historians have not told us what was done with them. It seems probable, That they were made to draw Lots for their Provinces; That one of them had *Spain*, and the other *Cisalpine Gaul*, as usual; and That he, to whom *Spain* fell, was detained at *Rome*, on several Occasions. There was one Regulation in particular, which it seemed very natural to commit to the Care of the *Consul*, who was detained in the City. This was the punishing and putting a Stop to the Poisonings, which had grown more and more frequent in *Rome*, for some time past, and created terrible Disorders there. But after all, there were scarce any but Women <sup>81</sup>, who were found capable of these cowardly Assassinations. The Wives of these Blood-thirsty Husbands, seem to have been permitted by Heaven, to revenge at Home, the Cruelties they exercised in War. Nevertheless they deserved to suffer the utmost Severity of the Laws, for their Fury. Several of them were condemned to die; but one of them was saved from Death, by the Piety of her Daughter. The Story was much admired by the Ancients; and plainly shews us, That if there were then many vicious Women in *Rome*, there were also others, whose Virtue took off the Reproach from the Nation.

*Plin. B. 7. c. 36. Festus in Littera P. Val. Max. B. 5. c. 4. §. 7.* A <sup>82</sup> Woman of free Condition, but of the meanest of the People, was convicted of being an Accomplice in some of these Poisonings, and had been delivered up by the *Triumvir Capitalis*, to the Goaler, to be put to Death in a private Dungeon. (For Women were scarce ever publicly executed at *Rome*.) The Goaler shewed her so much Favour, that he would not immediately strangle her; but chose rather to let her be starved to death, in the deep Hole to which he had confined her. In the mean time, the Daughter of the Prisoner, a young Woman, who had just lain in, obtained Leave to visit her Mother; and before the Dungeon was opened she was searched, and care taken that she should not carry any Provisions to the Criminal. But this Search was vain; the Daughter carried in her own Body enough to prolong the Life of her Mother. She offered her her Breast and let her suck. The young Woman came very often, and at last was suspected. The Goaler was surprized to find his Prisoner still alive, notwithstanding the great Care he had taken to keep all sorts of Provisions from her; and he watched the Daughter more narrowly, and caught her offering her Breast to her Mother. The Adventure was new, and related by the *Triumvir Capitalis* to the *Prætor*, and by him to the Judges, who had pronounced Sentence of Death upon the Mother. All approved of the Charity of the Daughter; and *Rome* thought her self obliged to record it. In regard to her, the Mother was pardoned. And in order to perpetuate the Memory of an Action, which might be a good Example to others, and of Service to the Publick, this Prison was turned into a Temple. *Acilius Balbus*, one of the *Consuls* for the Year, built it, and dedicated it to *Piety* <sup>83</sup>, that is, the Affection Children owe their Parents. Nothing was talked of in *Rome*, but the new Prodigy of a Daughter's suckling her Mother; and the Senate ordered a Maintenance to be given them both, for Life.

§. XXXIII. ALL was quiet at *Rome*; but in *Africa* all Preparations were made for War. *Masimissa* had been extremely exasperated by the Treatment the *Carthaginians* had given two of his Sons. They had not only denied them Entrance into *Carthage*, but had laid Ambushes for them in their return, and had like to have killed them. And the Affront partly affected the *Romans* too. Some of their Ambassadors had accompanied the two *Numidian* Princes, and they likewise had

<sup>81</sup> *Valerius Maximus* has preserved the Names of two of these Furies, *B. 3. c. 6*. The first, who was called *Publicia*, got rid of her Husband *Aulus Postumius Albinus*, by Poison. He had been *Consul* in the Year of *Rome* 602. At the same time one *Claudius Asellus* had been poisoned by his Wife *Sulpicia*. This enormous Crime was soon proved upon them. The *Prætor* referred it to their Relations to punish them. They did not wait for the Judgment of the Magistrate, but exerted the Right the *Roman* Laws gave them on such Occasions. Sentence of Death was pronounced upon them; and *Publicia* and *Sulpicia* were immediately strangled.

<sup>82</sup> *Festus* and *Solinus* relate the same Fact. They say the Father of the young Woman was condemned to be starved to Death. But their Authority is not of Weight enough, to bear down the whole Torrent of ancient Writers, who say, that it was the Mother, and not the Father, on whom the Magistrate pronounced Sentence of Death.

<sup>83</sup> This Temple consecrated to *Piety*, was built near the *Flaminian Circus*. Some Authors, deceived by the Resemblance of the Names, have confounded this Building with that which *Manius Acilius Glabrio* had dedicated to the same Goddess in the *Herb-Market*, about the Year of *Rome* 572.



been refused Entrance into the City. *Masiniſſa*, notwithstanding his great Age, Year of had as much Vivacity as ever: And under Pretence of avenging the Cause of the *R O M E* *Romans*, and in reality to revenge himself, he resolved to besiege <sup>84</sup> *Oroſcopa*, a City belonging to the *Carthaginians*. Upon the first News of this Siege, *Carthage* T. QUINCTI-  
US FLAMINI-  
NUS, M' ACI-  
LIUS BALBUS,  
Consuls.  
App. in Punic.  
N. 38. sent out twenty five thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse, under the Command of *Asdrubal*, then the Head of the Republick. And even this Army would not have been equal in Strength to that of *Masiniſſa*, if all the Forces he had on Foot had continued faithful to him. But it happened, through a Levity not uncommon with the *Numidians*, that two Officers of the King's Cavalry, one named *Aſaſis*, and the other *Suba*, quarrelled with the Officers of the *Numidian* Infantry, and being reprimanded by *Masiniſſa*, they drew off from him six thousand of his best Horse, and carried them to the Enemy's Camp. Then *Asdrubal* with so considerable a Reinforcement, and at the same time so great a Diminution of the King's Forces, thought himself in a Condition to attempt any thing. He drew near to the *Numidian* Camp, and fought several small Battels, in which he had almost always the Advantage.

*MASINIſſA* was now an old Officer, who had been inured to War from his Youth, and who, after he had served an Apprenticeship to Arms against the *Romans*, had become their Friend, and learnt the Art of War, under the Great *Scipio*. This skilful King knew how to profit even by his Disadvantages. He gave way before the Enemy, and drew them insensibly into a Place, where he could fight more conveniently. He retired, affected Fear, and encamped farther and farther off, still drawing nearer to his own Country. *Asdrubal* followed him, and thought himself sure of destroying a fugitive Army, which trembled at the Sight of his. At length they arrived in a dry sandy Plain, surrounded with Hills; and there the *Numidian* King resolved to give Battel, and restrain the Audaciousness of the fiery *Asdrubal*. He therefore encamped in the Place which he had chosen, and to take off all Suspicion from the *Carthaginians*, suffered them to seize the Eminencies, and fortify themselves there. The two Armies continued some Days in Sight of each other, to pave the Way for a general Action. Every one admired the Head of the *Numidian* Army, this old King now almost ninety; whose Age had neither abated the Vigour of his Mind and Courage, or the Strength of his Body, so as to render him unable to sustain military Labours. He mounted and dismounted his Horse with the Activity of a young Man. He rode the Steed he used in Battel without a Saddle, and continued all Day, and sometimes all Night, on Horseback. He could live upon a little dry Bread, as well as the meanest Soldier; and though never so hard, his Teeth were strong enough to bite it. In short, *Masiniſſa* was not old in any respect, but his long Experience in Business and Arms, and his more extensive Memory of past Events.

ALL Preparations were making for a Battel, which was to be fought the next Day, when News was brought to the *Numidian* Camp, That *Scipio Æmilianus* was come from *Spain* to *Africa*; and That he, in the Name of the Consul *Lucullus*, desired some Elephants to carry into *Spain*, where *Rome* was making War. Upon the bare Name of *Scipio*, *Masiniſſa*'s Affection and Gratitude for a Family to whom he owed his Grandeur, revived. *Æmilianus* indeed was only the Grandson of his Benefactor, and that only by Adoption. But at *Rome* the Adopted inherited all the Rights of the Families into which they were entered; and the Will of the Adopter gave them the same Claims, as if they had been of his Blood. *Masiniſſa* therefore looked on *Æmilianus* with the same Regard, as if lineally descended from *Scipio*. He would have gone in Person to have met the *Roman*, if he had not been engaged in preparing for the Battel, which was to be fought the next Day. And being thus prevented, he sent the Princes his Sons, with all his Cavalry, to receive and guard him. When *Æmilianus* came into the Camp, he seemed to bring with him some of that Success which always attended him, when at the Head of the *Roman* Armies. Not that he took up Arms, either for the *Numidians*, or *Carthaginians*. He was barely a Spectator of one of the greatest Battels that had been fought in *Africa*. *Rome* had not yet broken with *Carthage*, and

<sup>84</sup> We know nothing certain of the Situation of *Oroſcopa*. Only it is conjectured, from *Appian*'s Account, that this City bordered upon the Territory of *Carthage*.



Year of she was in Alliance with *Masiniſſa*. The *Conſul's* Meſſenger therefore did not think it lawful for him to engage in either Party, or have any Share in the Action. He poſted himſelf on the Ridge of an Hill, at the Foot of which he ſaw a hundred and ten thouſand Men drawn up in Battalia. As the Battel was going to be fought on the Confines of the *Carthaginian* and *Numidian* States, great Numbers of Soldiers daily arrived in both Camps, and both Armies increaſed.

ROM E  
DCIII.  
T. QUINCTI-  
US FLAMINI-  
NUS, M<sup>r</sup> ACI-  
LIUS BALBUS,  
Conſuls.  
App. in Punic.  
N. 39.

§. XXXIV. EARLY in the Morning began the Action, which was not to end but with the Day. Both Parties performed great Exploits, and the Victory was long in Suſpence. But at length, towards Night, it declared for *Masiniſſa*. Then *Emilianus* came down from his Eminence on which he ſpent the Day; and often declared afterwards, that he had never ſeen a finer Sight. What was the Show of a Company of Gladiators in an Amphitheatre, in Compariſon to that of a hundred and ten thouſand Men fighting in one Plain? If, ſaid he, according to Homer, Jupiter had ſo much Satisfaction, in looking from the Top of Mount Ida, and Neptune from the Shores of Samothrace, on the Greeks and Trojans, as they were fighting by Sea and Land; what Pleaſure muſt it have been to me to ſee an Engagement between two ſuch great Armies, and to be at the ſame time free from Care or Concern my ſelf? After this agreeable Day, *Emilianus* returned to the Conqueror's Camp, and congratulated him upon his Victory. *Masiniſſa*, on this joyful Occaſion, doubled his Careſſes of the Roman, renewed the Bonds of that Friendſhip which he had had always for the Family of the *Scipio's*, granted him the Elephants he deſired, and kept him with him as long as he could.

App. in Punic.  
ibid.

BUT after all, the Battel which *Emilianus* had ſeen was not deciſive. The *Carthaginians* continued ſtill in their Camp, and were reſolved not to abandon it. They thought to have made their Advantage of *Emilianus's* Preſence in the *Numidian* Camp, and ſent to deſire him to be the Mediator between the two Parties. This was too glorious an Office for the young Roman (who had not yet paſſed through the *Curule* Offices) to reſuſe; and being appointed Arbitrator between *Masiniſſa* and the Republick of *Carthage*, he heard what both had to offer. *Masiniſſa* inſiſted, That the Territory ſo long in diſpute ſhould be given up to him; That he ſhould be immediately paid two hundred *Talents* \* in Money, for the Expences of the War; That *Carthage* ſhould be obliged to pay him eight hundred † *Talents* more, at different Payments; and That ſhe ſhould deliver up to him the Deſerters who had fled to *Aſdrubal's* Camp, under the Command of *Aſaſis* and *Suba*. And the *Carthaginians* agreed to every thing but the Surrendry of the Deſerters. They were immoveable as to that Article; and upon this the Conferences were broken off. *Emilianus* returned to Spain, ſtrongly attached to *Masiniſſa*, and as much enraged againſt the *Carthaginians* for their Obſtinacy. This was the firſt Opportunity he had to know them. But we ſhall ſoon ſee him humble their Pride, and puniſh them an hundred-fold, for their unjuſt Attempts againſt Rome and her Allies.

\* 38750 l.  
Sterl.  
† 155000 l.  
Sterl.

§. XXXV. AFTER the Conferences ceaſed, Hoſtilities were renewed between the King and *Aſdrubal*, with more Animosity than ever. They continued encamped in the ſame Place, and were continually fighting ſlight Battels. *Masiniſſa* ſo blocked up the *Carthaginian* Camp, that no Convoys could be brought to it, or Detachments ſent out of it, without great Difficulty. But in the mean time, the King himſelf began to want Proviſions. However, his frugal Management of what he had, and the Abſtemiouſneſs of his Troops ſupported them. The *Numidians*, as well as their Horſes, could live upon very little Food; and very ſeldom drank any Wine. They were uſed to long Abſtinences, and by that means prolonged their Lives to an extreme old Age. But the *Carthaginians*, who were more uſed to the Plenty Trade produces, could not ſo well bear Want. Nevertheleſs they flattered themſelves without Grounds, That *Masiniſſa* would firſt ſink under the preſent Diſtreſs; and That they ſhould find it eaſy to make a Prey of his Troops in their Retreat. And therefore *Aſdrubal* reſolved to continue upon his Hills. But he ſoon felt the ill Effects of his Obſtinacy. He was ſurrounded on all ſides by the Works, and advanced-Guards of the Enemy, and ſaw the Famine daily increaſing in his Camp. However, he ſtill kept up his Courage, and was at length told, That there were ſome Ambaſſadors come from Rome, to put an end to the Differences between *Numidia* and *Carthage*, in an amicable Manner. But *Aſdrubal* knew not the Reſolutions



ments of the *Roman* Policy. These Ambassadors had private Instructions, not to put an end to the War, unless *Masinissa* was overcome. If, on the contrary, he got the better, their Directions were to encourage him to continue his Hostilities. So that the *Romans*, who knew what Advantages the King of *Numidia* had, suffered him to surround the *Carthaginian* Camp, and reduce it to the last Extremity by Want.

INDEED the *Carthaginian* Troops wanted Corn, Wine, and Meat; and at first lived upon the Flesh of their Horses. Then they boiled the very Skins of the Harnesses of their Carriages, and for want of Wood, which *Masinissa's* flying Camps would not suffer them to cut, they burnt their Bucklers and the Shafts of their Arrows. How then could Soldiers, pining away with Want, and in a manner disarmed, resist the Army that invested them? The Famine produced a Plague, and the Plague carried off more Men than had been killed in the Plain. It was a terrible Sight, to see under the Tents Heaps of dead Bodies which were rotting, and which none durst remove to bury them. The Heat of the Climate also, which was then most intense, increased the Infection. The whole Air about the Camp was burning-hot, and full of deadly Poison. And in this Extremity, *Asdrubal* consented at last to surrender up the Deserters to *Masinissa*, pay him all the Sums demanded, put him in Possession of the Country in dispute, and receive at *Carthage* all those who had been banished from thence, for being Friends to the *Romans* and the King. Upon these Conditions the *Carthaginian* Soldiers were permitted to return home, half naked, with one single Tunick only, and after they had passed under the Yoke. These Wretches, though thus branded with Ignominy, and so weak that they could scarce stand, comforted themselves with Hopes of seeing their native Country again. But Revenge inspired *Gulussa* with a very cruel Design. He remembered the Ambush that *Carthage* had prepared for him, at his return to *Numidia*; and to revenge this perfidious Act by another, he let loose the *Numidian* Horse on the disarmed Multitude. Whether *Masinissa* consented to his Son's Design, or whether the latter gave these Orders of his own Head, was never known. But be that as it will, the *Numidian* Horse soon came up with the Foot Soldiers, who were exhausted with Hunger and Distempers; and the *Carthaginians*, on whom the *Numidians* fell suddenly, had neither Courage enough to resist them, nor Strength enough to fly from them. They were butchered like so many Victims: So that of an Army of fifty eight thousand Men, only *Asdrubal* and some other Officers of Distinction returned to *Carthage*. A Loss, which how great soever in itself, did not so strongly affect the *Carthaginians* at present, as the fatal Consequences of it afterwards did. *Rome* took Advantage from thence, to declare War with them, and utterly destroy them.

§. XXXVI. THE *African* Republick was sensible of her Weakness, and dreaded the Danger with which she was threatened. She had on one Side a powerful Enemy in *Masinissa*; and on the other, had not acted with Caution enough with respect to *Rome*. In her Prosperity, she had not been fearful enough of giving Umbrage to these Masters of the World. And to her great Misfortune, the Persons she had displeased in *Italy* and *Africa*, were united against her both in Interest, and by old Alliances. So that if *Rome* should attack *Carthage*, she had no Succours to hope for from *Masinissa* her near Neighbour; and if *Masinissa* should renew the War, *Rome* had already given but too plain Proofs of her favouring his Pretensions. Nay, it was not improbable, that both *Romans* and *Numidians* would join together to ruin her. However, she had just concluded a Peace with *Numidia*, and had nothing to do, but to appease *Rome* by all kinds of Submission. The *Carthaginian* Senate therefore thought it proper to send an Embassy thither, and the Orders of the Ambassadors were to leave it to the Senate to propose their own Terms, and not reject any that should be offered them. This they thought was carrying their Submission as far as possible: but it was not enough to satisfy *Rome*. *Cato* had so often told the Senate that *Carthage* must be destroyed, that he had prepossessed them with an Opinion, that the Republick could never enjoy any perfect Security, as long as her Rival subsisted. The Ambassadors were brought into the Assembly of the *Conscript Fathers*; were permitted to declare their Weakness, and make their Submissions; and then were ordered to withdraw, whilst the Senate deliberated about the Fate of their Capital.

It

Year of  
R O M E  
DCIII.T. QUINCTI-  
US FLAMINI-  
NUS, M' ACI-  
LIUS BALBUS,  
Consuls.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCIII.

T. QUINCTI-  
US FLAMINI-  
NUS, M' ACI-  
LIUS BALBUS,  
Consuls.

It is natural to believe that the Senators were divided in Opinion concerning the most proper Method to put it out of the Power of Carthage to hurt Rome: And at length Cato spoke in his Turn. He was not content with saying as usual, *Carthage must be destroyed*; but he employed all his Eloquence, to prove to the House what he had so often asserted. *Is it possible, Conscrip Fathers, said he, that the Remembrance of what is past, should not make us wise for the present? Perhaps indeed my great Age, and my having lived nearer to the Times when Carthage first became our Enemy, may have been one Cause of my having early learnt to know her and detest her. In my earliest Infancy I heard it said, That these Republicans, who came originally from Phoenicia, had made themselves the Tyrants of the Seas; That they had usurped the Islands; That when they were become Masters of Corsica and Sardinia, they threatened all Sicily with approaching Slavery; and That they had both by gentle and forcible Methods endeavoured to get into our Ports in Italy. Indeed we assisted the Sicilians; but how many Battels were we forced to fight, before we could drive out these bad Guests? Both Land and Sea were a thousand times dyed with Roman and Carthaginian Blood. Neither the Destruction of our Forests, (which we were forced to cut down on a sudden to fit out the Fleets which it was necessary to put to Sea;) nor the dispeopling of Rome by the Death of our bravest Citizens, nor the exhausting our Finances, then discouraged us. And at length by Valour, Constancy, and the Favour of the Gods, we became superior to Carthage. She submitted, and signed a disadvantageous Treaty. But with what Sincerity? The Author and Negotiator of the Peace himself, only gave us up Sicily, to carry the War into Spain. And with what Fury! Before Hamilcar left Africa he swore his Son upon the Altars, that he should be an eternal Enemy to the Romans. An execrable Oath! which did not indeed free Hannibal from the Engagements he had entered into with us, in the Presence of the Gods! But nevertheless Hannibal was true to the Hatred he had imbibed. Such is Carthaginian Fidelity! He broke the Peace, took Saguntum from our Allies, and utterly destroyed it. Unfortunate City! Thy Ruin is not yet sufficiently avenged! Nothing but the reducing Carthage to Ashes can repair the Injuries thou hast suffered! After this first Act of Injustice and Perfidy, the Son of Hamilcar broke through all Bounds. He aimed at nothing less than the Destruction of our Cities, Houses, and Temples; and his Hatred lent him Wings. He crossed the Pyrenees, and passed the Alps. The Cruelties he committed before our Eyes, are fresh in Memory, and our Tears on their Account are scarce yet dried up. He appeared before our Gates, as thirsty of Blood as an African Tyger. Alas Rome! What would have become of thee, if Jupiter thy Protector had not sent thee Relief from the Capitol! However, we have since had our Revenge. Carthage saw Scipio as near her Gates, as Hannibal was to those of Rome; but with this Difference, that Carthage had recourse to mean Supplications, as soon as she found herself oppressed. And then, some strange Fit of Compassion softened you. We spared Carthage the Treatment which Hannibal would have given Rome with Pleasure, if he could have made himself Master of it. He would have sacked, and demolished it. Not that I pretend to reproach you for an Act of Clemency: it does you Honour. Nor did you proceed without Prudence. You reduced your Rival to such a low State, as put it out of her Power to enter into Competition with us. You cut off her Nerves, if I may so speak; and no other City would ever have risen again, after so great a Dejection. But strange as it is, her advantageous Situation, her trading to the Ports in Europe, Asia, and Africa, and in all the Countries of the World, have raised her, even from this low Condition. She is become rich and proud. She grows weary of her Dependence. She multiplies her Ships, fits out Fleets, and keeps sixty thousand Land-Forces in Pay. She attacks our Allies, and is ready to fall upon us. Hannibal did not enter Italy with more formidable Forces, than those she lately sent into the Field. Indeed, Masinissa has weakened them; and let us not stay, till they are recruited. Let us seize this Opportunity, when the African Serpent is stunned, to give him the fatal Stroke. His Head must be crushed. The Capital must be destroyed. Perhaps it may yet produce another Hannibal, more terrible than the first. Shall the News of this Misfortune be brought me to the Elysian Fields, to which my Son invites me, and whither I must by Course of Nature soon follow him! O ye Gods, Let me but live to*



see Carthage buried in Ruins, and thereby my Children, Grandchildren, and my Country, absolutely secured; and I shall be satisfied!

§. XXXVII. THIS Discourse of Cato seemed to contain many important Truths, and it caused many Speculations. Then Scipio Nasica rose up in his Turn, and spake a very different Language. *What will become of the Manners of the Romans, said he, if Carthage should cease to be her Rival! Indeed, whilst we have been under Apprehensions from her, we have preserved good Order among ourselves. There is something very stimulating in Emulation, which animates the Slothful, conquers Vice, and awakens Virtue. We are ashamed to trip before a Man who is jealous and watches our Steps; and that perhaps with the more Attention, the more sensible he is of his Inferiority. I will venture to affirm, That we owe the best Parts of our Conquests to Carthage. As much humbled as this great Republick is, she still excites our Ardour, and in a manner forces us to take care not to suffer her to run away with any part of our former Reputation. She is now in such a Condition, as to be useful to us, without being able to hurt us. Her Territories are large; and she commands Respect enough to keep our Virtue always in exercise. But when once Carthage is no more, the Romans will fall into the same Faults that are common with Powers, whose Dominion is very extensive, and meets with no Opposition. Our Provinces will be plundered by our Prætors; our Allies will be tired out with our Exactions; our Enemies will be made untractable by the Pride of our Generals; and our Unfaithfulness will make us the Curse of all neutral Powers. For the Truth of this, Conscript Fathers, I even appeal to yourselves. Has not the Consideration of Carthage a great deal of Weight, in the equitable Decrees you daily pass for and against the People of the East, West, and South? When we are to pronounce concerning the Fate of Foreigners, don't we privately say to ourselves, and often aloud, Let us act with Moderation; Let us not exasperate Nations which may enter into Measures with Carthage? What Happiness then so great, as that of having a continual Restraint upon us; which keeps us from Acts of Injustice, and giving a Loose to our Desires! It is to thee, Carthage, that we are indebted for that Reputation for Probity, which makes us the Masters and Arbiters of the World! Shouldst thou fall, the true Glory of the Romans will fall with thee! When we have nothing more to fear Abroad, what will become of us at Home? Indeed Union and Peace are now preserved here, whilst Carthage makes a Figure, and forces us to continue united. But when she shall cease to be formidable to us, the Commons will rise up against the Senate; the Tribunes of the People will want to get the Ascendant over the Consuls; and the Subalterns will put themselves upon an equal Foot with their Generals. Instead of Wars Abroad, we shall have intestine ones at Home; and Rome, for want of other Enemies, will become the most cruel Enemy to herself. O ye Gods, Avert, I beseech you, the Evils I foresee! It is your Business, Conscript Fathers, to prevent them. Keep up then in Africa, what will be a continual Exercise for your Valour, a Barrier against the Prevalence of Injustice, and a Preservative against civil Broils. That is, Let Carthage stand. Weaken her as much as you will. But what am I saying? In the Condition to which Masinissa has reduced her, what impending Danger can she now threaten you with? You will say, her Commerce will enrich her, and she will by Degrees recover herself. I grant it; and therefore would have such a Superiority always kept over her, as will enable us to sink her again in Proportion to her new-gained Wealth. Let her Merchants trade if they will; so much the better for Rome. It will always be in our Power to reap the Fruits of their Industry. Upon their first Breach of Fidelity, we will enrich ourselves with the Taxes we lay upon them; and Carthage will be a perpetual Fund of Treasure for Rome. Perhaps she may produce another Hannibal! Vain Terror! Idle Prognostick! As much as Africa abounds with Monsters, she does not produce new ones every Day. The Fates think it enough to have shewn the World one Hannibal. Take Courage then, Conscript Fathers; Chastise Carthage, and impoverish her; but don't destroy her. And this indeed was the Part Rome chose to act. It ought not to be taken for granted, that she formed the Design of destroying Carthage so early as from the beginning of the third Punic War. It was the Chain of Events which led her to take this surprising Resolution; which perhaps cost the Romans more than the Carthaginians. When we see Carthage reduced to Ashes, we shall find all the Predictions of Nasica verified. Rome will become cruel to her Subjects, insupportable to her Allies, unjust in her Decrees,*

Year of  
R O M E  
DCIII.

T. QUINCTI-  
US FLAMINI-  
NUS, M' ACI-  
LIUS BALBUS,  
Consuls.



Year of crees, coverous, incontinent, restless, tempestuous, fruitful in civil Wars at Home, and almost as contemptible Abroad, as terrible. This will fully appear in the Course of this History.

DCIII.  
T. QUINCTI-  
US FLAMINI-  
NUS, M<sup>r</sup> ACI-  
LIUS BALBUS,  
Consuls.

However, before the People declared the third *Punic* War in the *Comitia*, the Senate took proper Measures to pave the Way for it. They ordered, That the *Consuls*, who should be chosen at the ensuing Election, should go together into *Africa*; and one Command the Fleet, and the other the Land-Forces. Not that *Rome* had not important Affairs to carry on in *Spain* and *Macedon*; but she seemed to be wholly intent on the *Carthaginian* Expedition: So that the *Tribes* were assembled in all haste, in *The Field of Mars*; and *L. Marcius Censorinus*, and *M<sup>r</sup> Manilius Nepos*<sup>85</sup>, were chosen *Consuls*. The same Assembly chose *Prætors* also, who drew Lots for their Provinces. *C. Vetilius* was appointed to go to *Spain*; and succeed the *Pro-Consul Lucullus*, and the *Pro-Prætor Galba*, who had both made themselves hated in their Provinces, by their Rapines and Cruelties. *Macedon* fell to the *Prætor P. Juventius Thalna*. *Lucullus* and *Galba* returned from *Spain*, and with them *Æmilianus*, who had gained great Glory in his first Campaign. The two *Prætors* beforementioned went each to his Province, and there we shall for the present leave them, to attend the *Consuls* into *Africa*, whither they went to begin that famous War, which ended in the utter Destruction of the City and Republick of *Carthage*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCIV.  
L. MARCIUS  
CENSORINUS,  
M<sup>r</sup> MANILIUS  
NEPOS, Con-  
suls.

85 We have an incontestable Proof of the *Prænomina*, Names, and Surnames, of the *Consuls* for the Year 604, in the *Fasti Capitolini*. Their Au-

thority is decisive against those of the Ancients, who give the second *Consul* the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*, or *Manilius*.





# T H E

# Roman History.

## B O O K XLVIII.

§. I. **A**S soon as the two Collegues, *Marcus* and *Manilius*, were entered upon their Office, they caused Proclamation to be made in the *Comitia* of the People, in due Form of Law, That the *Carthaginians* should for the future be treated as Enemies to the *Roman* People, who were required to pursue them with all sorts of Hostilities. The Reasons for this Declaration were; That, contrary to her Covenants in the last Treaty, Carthage had fitted out and armed a great Number of Ships of War; That she had gone beyond her Limits, to attack the King of Numidia, the Friend and Ally of the Roman People; and lastly, That she had refused to let *Gulussa*, the Son of *Masinissa*, enter within her Gates, though conducted by Roman Ambassadors.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCIV.

L. MARCIUS  
CENSORINUS,  
M. MANILIUS  
NEPOS, Con-  
suls.  
*App. in Punic.*  
N. 43.

Nor one of these Accusations was frivolous, or forged. The *Carthaginians* themselves were conscious of the Justice of these Proceedings, and dreaded the Consequence of them; and therefore made it their whole Business to appease the Anger of a Republick, which was superior to them in Forces, and justly provoked. To make the *Romans* believe, that the last Enterprize against *Masinissa*, and the Affront offered his Son, were not to be imputed to the Body of the Republick, but to the Fury of some private Persons; they pronounced Sentence of Death against *Asdrubal*, the Head of the Expedition, and *Carthalo* his Lieutenant General. This Sentence was proclaimed by an Herald; but it was not put in execution. And the Senate of *Rome* were not to be imposed upon by so gross a Decit. Nevertheless, the *Carthaginians* thought it might succeed, and sent away an Embassy to *Italy*. The Instructions of the Ambassadors were, to make the best Use of the publick Disavowal of the Conduct of the two rash Magistrates, and to throw all the Blame of the last War on *Masinissa's* Ambition. They were admitted into the Senate; and their Justification was heard with Patience. But when they touched upon the Article of the Sentence of Death pronounced upon *Asdrubal*, and his Accomplice, a Senator interrupted them. If Carthage, said he, did so much disapprove of the rash Enterprize of these two Chiefs, why did she not condemn them, till after their Defeat, and till after the Romans had declared War? We are not to be imposed on by an Artifice so ill contrived. You have long had nothing in view but a Revolt. You have made Preparations for it; and your Numidian War was only a Specimen of what you wanted to do in *Italy*.

This confounded the Ambassadors; and then from Apologists they became Supplicants. Since then you think us so highly criminal, said they, tell us at least by what Means we may appease your Anger. By making full Satisfaction, replied the President haughtily; and immediately dismissed them.

Upon their return to *Carthage*, the Ambassadors increased the Uneasiness there, and filled the Senate with Perplexity. The most timorous fancied, that the Satisfaction *Rome* demanded would be most severe and most intolerable. Nevertheless, even their Imaginations fell short of what it really was. They, who loved to flatter themselves, thought that *Rome* would content herself with enlarging the Tribute *Scipio* had laid upon them, and with only obliging them to put *Masinissa* in full Possession of the Territory which had been the Cause of the Dispute. They did not know to what Excess the *Romans* carried their Resentments. In order therefore to discover more fully what *Rome* intended to do with them, the *Carthaginians*



Year of  
R O M E  
DCIV.  
L. MARCIUS  
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M. MANILI-  
US NEPOS,  
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*ginians* sent another Embassy, and ordered their Ambassadors to enquire explicitly, what Reparation it was that they were condemned to make. *We are ready to submit, said they, and are come to know by what Atonements we may recover your Favour.* To which the *Conscript Fathers* ordered this Answer to be given, with more Coldness than before, *That they ought to proportion the Punishment to the Offence; and That no body could judge better, either of the Crime, or the Satisfaction, than themselves.* And Answers so indeterminate doubled the Terror in *Carthage*.

§. II. In the mean time, the *Romans* continued their Preparations by Sea and Land, in order to fit out a Fleet, and get ready an Army, worthy to be commanded by the two chief Magistrates in the Republick. Besides the two *Legions*, which were always the main Strength of the *Consular Armies*, the Senate had the last Year ordered considerable Levies to be made in the *Colonies, Municipia*, and among the Allies in *Italy*; and they were all ready in time. Nothing now remained but for the two *Consuls* to draw Lots. The Command of the Fleet fell to *Marcus*, and that of the Land-Forces to *Manilius*. All things were settled; when the Affairs of *Africa* took a new Turn, upon the Arrival of some Ambassadors at *Rome* from *Utica*. This was the most considerable City in the *African Republick, Carthage* only excepted. It stood on the same Coast as the Capital, and was but six Miles distant from it. *Utica* had long been tired with the severe and insupportable Government of the *Carthaginian Senate*; and as she only waited for a favourable Opportunity to shake off the Yoke, she seized the present one, as soon as she heard that War was declared between *Rome* and *Carthage*. The *Uticans* sent to desire *Rome*, to continue her Protection to them, and receive them into Alliance with her; and they surrendered up themselves and their City to her, at Discretion. This new Accident much raised the Courage and the Pretensions of the Republick. *Rome* was now sensible that she spread great Terror in *Africa*, since she drew over to her the strongest Cities in the Country. The Senate made new Reflections on the present State of Affairs, and resolved to pursue their Advantages as far as possible. The *Conscript Fathers* assembled again, accepted the Offers of the Inhabitants of *Utica*, and as if they had been sure of Conquest, gave their *Consul* the most severe Orders before their Departure. They insisted, That they should neither give any Quarter, nor put an end to the War, till *Carthage* was utterly destroyed: So that the Surrendry of *Utica* contributed more than all *Cato's* Harangues and Hatred, to the Destruction of one of the most flourishing Cities in the World.

Liv. in Epit.  
Valer. Antias  
ex Varrone.

BEFORE the *Consuls* set sail, they first paid some Regard to the Piety of the *Romans*. It was customary for them, before they began any important Expeditions, to render Heaven propitious by some extraordinary Ceremonies of Religion, and thereby to encourage both the People and the Soldiers. The *Secular Games*, some of the most august of any *Rome* had instituted, happened very opportunely to coincide with the Year of *Rome*, which was to give Birth to the third *Punic War*. This Festival had been but three times celebrated, since the Foundation of *Rome*; and the last time was so long since as the first *Carthaginian War*. The *Decemviri* therefore consulted the *Sybilline Books*, which they interpreted so as best suited the present Views; and pretended to find out there, that the time was come, for offering the God of Hell that Sacrifice, which was not to be repeated till after a Century. The Ceremony was performed on the Banks of the *Tyber*, in the Place called *Tarentum*, according to its first Institution; and it is easy to judge, that an Year distinguished by so auspicious an Epocha, was thought a very fortunate one, by the superstitious *Romans*.

§. III. THE *Consuls* went on board, amidst the Acclamations and good Wishes of the People, and embarked their Troops. *Scipio Æmilianus* followed them, and served in the Land Forces, as one of the *Tribunes* of the fourth *Legion*. He was not to derive his Lustre from his Rank, or Employments, so much as from his Valour and Merit. As soon as *Carthage* understood that the *Roman Fleet* was at Sea, she shuddered for fear. How could she possibly avert the Storm? What! Surrender to the *Romans*! And from being tributary, become subject to them! *Utica* had

1 See what we have said of the Origin, Institution, and Solemnity, of *The Secular Games*, Vol. 1. p. 223, Note 85; Vol. 2. p. 128. Note 102; and Vol. 3. p. 7. Notes 13, 14.



prevented her in that Scheme, and by her Surrendry lessened the Merit of so dangerous a Step. Besides, it seemed now too late to make this Satisfaction; and in all Probability, *Rome* would not be content with it. Indeed the *Carthaginians* had depended on this as their *dernier resort*; to which they would not have recourse, till reduced to the last Extremity; but the Advances of the *Uticans* seemed now to have rendered it useless. Formerly, said the *Carthaginian* Senators, *our Fathers chose rather to suffer any Calamities than be enslaved to Rome. But now, we are under a Necessity of delivering our selves up to her, though uncertain, whether she will vouchsafe to accept of our Homages! O ye Gods! This was your Will! And we must submit to your Decrees. Enslave us then, since we cannot preserve any Remains of Liberty. However, let us make our last Efforts to appease the Roman Senate! Let us send to Rome other Ambassadors, with Orders to pronounce on our behalf, the terrible Word DEDITION! O Fortune, it is thou who dost extort it from us! Ought it ever to have come out of the Mouth of a Carthaginian?*

THE Consequence of DEDITION, according to the Law of Nations, was the lowest State of Servitude and Misery, to which a State, Province, or City, could be reduced. To deliver itself up to another by way of DEDITION, was to give up all its Rights, Authorities, and Titles whatsoever. It was giving Foreigners an absolute Authority over every thing in the Country, Cities, Towns, Lands, Rivers, Temples, and Tombs; and over all the Inhabitants, Men, Women, and Children. And this was the Method *Carthage* was obliged to take. Her Ambassadors sailed for *Rome*; but did not arrive there till after the Departure of the *Consuls*, and their Troops. Nevertheless they were introduced into the Senate; and then with Tears pronounced the fatal Word DEDITION. The *Conscript Fathers* were satisfied with it; *Rome* readily accepted the Offer; and the Ambassadors began to be graciously received. The Senate immediately gave them to understand, That since their Republick had submitted to Reason, Regard would be had to their Submission; and then they were told, That *Rome* would not only accept of their Offer, but also remit a part of the Punishment, which they had inflicted on themselves. *We restore you,* said the President of the Senate to them, *your Liberty, Goods, Lands, the Use of your Laws, and in short, all your Privileges and Enjoyments both publick and private, upon Condition, that you send to Sicily, to our Consuls who are there, three hundred Hostages, all Sons of Senators, or of your most considerable Citizens. We demand these Hostages, as Pledges of your Fidelity, in putting in execution the Injunctions of our Consuls.*

THIS unexpected Success gave the Ambassadors, if I may so speak, new Life. They immediately took their Leave of the Senate, and flew to *Carthage* with the good News. The Eyes of the *Carthaginians* were dazzled with this Moderation, at first Sight. But afterwards, when they came to consider, and examine into it, they began to suspect, that *Rome* concealed some Artifice under this Appearance of Clemency. *Why,* said they among themselves, *did she make no mention of our Cities in this Restitution; when she was so very particular, as to other Matters, our Fields, our Goods, and our Liberty? Has Rome a Design upon the fortified Towns, and strong Holds in Africa? If so, her Present is not so considerable as is pretended.*

THESE first Suspicions grew up into Complaints and Murmurs, which were made in the *Carthaginian* Senate; and Fear and Anxiety appeared painted on every Face. In this almost universal Disquietude, a Man of good Sense rose up, and removed their Fears. His Name was *Mago*, and his Surname *Bretius*. *After the Step that we have taken,* said he, *and delivered up our selves to the Romans by way of DEDITION, all Deliberations are vain. We had time to deliberate before we sent that Message. But now we are bound down by our Engagements. To what Purpose is it, for us to enquire here, what Injunctions the Consuls will give, and within what Bounds they will confine themselves? To foresee Misfortunes at so great a Distance, is to labour to torment ourselves before the time. Shall we make Resolutions on mere Conjectures? Let these Consuls speak first, and explain themselves! If they run into such Excesses as are not to be borne, it will then be time enough to consider, whether it will be better to endure all the Calamities of War, or to submit. Since we have voluntarily run to meet our Chains, we have now nothing to do but to obey like Slaves. Let us bear the Yoke; at least till some extremely unjust Orders oblige us to shake it off!*



Year of  
R O M E  
DCIV.

L. MARCIUS  
CENSORINUS,  
M' MANILI-  
US NEPOS,  
Consuls.  
*App. in Punic.*  
N. 44.

THIS Discourse was thought the Dictates of Wisdom itself; and the Senate of *Carthage* passed a Decree, commanding, That *Rome* should be obeyed at present; and That the three hundred Hostages should be sent to *Lilybæum*, where the *Roman* Fleet lay at Anchor. But when this Order came to be put in execution, the Consternation of the People increased. The Grief of the *Carthaginians*, when they saw that the Children of the greatest Families must be torn from them, is not to be expressed. The Mothers long opposed it; and filled the Air with their Shrieks and Lamentations, when they found they must deliver up to the Mercy of the *Romans* those who were most dear to them. They accompanied their Children to the Port in Tears, saw them embark, and pursued them with longing Eyes, till they were out of Sight. The *Consuls* received these Youths as the First-fruits of a City which they were going to abolish. They were sent on board a Squadron to *Italy*, and carefully guarded. Then the Fleet and *Consular* Armies immediately crossed over from *Sicily* to *Africa*. The *Consuls* had a sure Retreat in *Utica*, which had surrendered to the *Romans*; and there they landed. This vast Armament was very terrible to the *Africans*, who viewed it from the Shore. Fifty *Quinqueremes*, together with a great Number of Flutes, Barks, flat-bottomed Boats, and Brigantines, brought on board them seventy four thousand Men, Horse, and Foot: So that all *Rome*, and all *Italy* seemed to have borne its part in this famous Expedition. The People were very forward to follow the *Consuls*.

§. IV. THE *Roman* Fleet sailed into the Port of *Utica* with great Pomp, amidst the Acclamations of the Inhabitants. And as soon as the Troops were landed, *Manilius* went to take Possession of the same Ground, on which the Great *Scipio* had encamped, when he invested *Carthage*, and forced her to receive the Peace. It is easy to judge of the Trouble, which the Neighbourhood of a terrible Enemy must spread, in a City threatened with utter Destruction. At the same time that the *Carthaginians* saw the *Romans* at their Gates, they heard that Declaration of War proclaimed, which had hitherto been kept a Secret from them. And then they were sensible when it was too late, that they had depended too much on the Submissions they had made to *Rome*, and on the fine Words which the *Roman* Senate had given them. *Carthage* wanted the necessary Stock of Provisions to sustain a Siege; and had neither Auxiliaries, nor Mercenaries. Besides, all the Flower of her Youth had been destroyed in the last Battel with *Masinissa*; her Fleet was not fitted out; and that of the *Romans* was stronger, and barred up her Port. However, she still built some Hopes upon the ready Obedience she resolved to pay to all the Orders of the *Consuls*. The *Carthaginians* waited with Impatience to hear the *Roman* Generals declare themselves; continued unactive whilst the *Roman* Army refreshed themselves after their Fatigues; and no Act of Hostility was committed on either Side.

*ÆMILIANUS* chose this time of general Inaction, to pay a Visit to *Masinissa*, who was an Ally of the *Romans*, a Friend of the *Scipio's*, and personally attached to himself. The *Numidian* King received the adopted Grandson of the Great *Scipio*, with great Marks of Affection. The old King oft embraced the young *Roman* with great Tenderness; and with Eyes lifted up to Heaven, cried out, *O thou Sun, who rulest the Lives of Men, and ye Gods, who prolong or shorten it at Pleasure, what Thanks have I to return you, for suffering me to see Scipio Æmilianus once more before I die!* Their Conversation turned upon the present State of the *Roman* Republick, and *Numidia*. They both reposed a mutual Confidence in each other, and conversed with great Freedom. After a fine Entertainment, the two Friends continued their Conversation till the Night was far advanced, and spake much of the Great *Scipio*. *Masinissa* yet remembered a thousand private Actions, and Maxims of that great Man, which were very fit to animate his Grandson to Virtue; and the old King continued his Discourse, till he perceived that his Guest wanted rest. *Æmilianus* was indeed tired with his Journey, and slept soundly all the Night. And this was what gave Occasion to *Cicero*, in his Book *De Republica*, to feign that *Æmilianus* had a Dream, which he calls *Scipio's Dream*, wherein the Maxims of the most sound Philosophy were imprinted afresh on his Mind. Soon after, *Æmilianus* returned to the *Roman* Camp, and was there a Witness of the Transactions we are going to relate.



§. V. The *Carthaginians* had at length resolved to send Deputies to the *Consuls*, to learn their Fate. All things were got ready in the Camp, to receive the Envoys in great Form. Never did any *Roman* Generals affect to shew any Ambassadors a finer, and at the same time a more terrible, Sight. They ordered all their Soldiers to stand to their Arms; the Deputies passed through two long Lines of Men drawn up on each Side of them, Colours flying; and were conducted, by Sound of the military Instruments of Musick, from the Gate of the Camp to the *Consul's* Quarters. There the two Collegues had ordered two very high Thrones to be erected, and sat upon them. They were surrounded by their Lieutenant Generals, and *Legionary Tribunes*, who were divided from the Crowd by a Bar, within which the Ambassadors themselves were not suffered to enter. So that they were admitted to Audience, at a pretty great Distance from the *Consuls*, and their Council of War. At first the Deputies continued some time in Silence. They expected that the *Consuls* would order them to speak. Till at length the Noise of the Trumpets and the *Roman* Soldiers ceased, and then the *Carthaginian* Orator began thus. *No Nation upon Earth is ignorant of the Origin of the ancient City we inhabit. A Phœnician Queen founded it, and the Colony she settled in it, signalized themselves by Sea and Land. As soon as the Roman Republick was well settled, we made an Alliance with her. In the mean time our Arms prospered in several Places. The Carthaginians extended their Dominions in Africa, made themselves dreaded in Sicily, and settled in Spain. But we had the Misfortune to have the Romans our Rivals. We were twice overcome by them, and as oft submitted to the Terms which they thought fit to impose upon us. But it is in vain for the Unfortunate to call to mind their past Grandeur, in order to make an ostentatious Show of it. The Recapitulation would be glorious only to You, who have obscured it; and shameful to us, who have lost it. Nevertheless, let the humble State to which you have reduced us, serve at least to raise some Sentiments of Compassion in your Hearts! Are you not yet satisfied with the Shame we have suffered? Our Ships once covered the Seas; but we have now burnt them by your Orders. Our Elephants formerly appeared in our Armies like so many walking Citadels; but at your Command we have disciplined no more. We had enriched ourselves by Commerce; but our Riches are now exhausted by the Tributes you have demanded of us. We used formerly to demand Hostages of vanquished Nations; and now we have more than once delivered up the Flower of our own Nobility into your Hands. Your Fathers were satisfied with humbling us; and often readily acknowledged our Punctuality in the Observance of our Treaties. And surely these Treaties oblige mutually; and You are no more at Liberty to increase the Burden, than we to break the Conditions, of them. If then we have observed them, why are these Fleets and numerous Armies brought to our Gates? Why this terrible Apparatus for War? Why do you thus rather begin, than proclaim it? What does Rome complain of? Have we insulted your Ships at Sea, or brought our Army into Italy? The Pretence we know is, that we have made War with Masinissa. But are we forbidden by our Treaties to guard our Provinces against the Invasions of an ambitious Neighbour? How often have we sacrificed our Interests, to the Regard Rome has for him! Yet still the Numidian breaks the Peace by repeated Usurpations. Shall Carthage then be called to an Account for the Violences she has suffered? Will the generous City of Rome make an ill Use of the lamentable State, to which Masinissa, or rather Fortune, has reduced us? If we are guilty, have we not made Amends for the Fault charged upon us, by all possible Satisfaction? We have sent no less than twenty Ambassadors to you, to desire that you would yourselves be Arbitrators of our Differences. Nay, Carthage has submitted so far, as to offer to renew the Peace upon what Conditions you pleased. And in the last Place, we have even delivered up our Estates, Lands, and Goods, to Rome, at Discretion. Will you then treat your Subjects as Enemies? Let me ask once more, whence comes this Pomp of War, and these Menaces of speedy Hostilities? Is it in order to seize our Dominions, and drive us out of our Provinces? What? Can Consuls be ignorant of the Decrees of their Senate? That House has been pleased to accept our Offers, and has restored us the Possession of our Goods, and our Liberty. Let us then enjoy your Favours; and don't turn our Gratitude into Despair.*

THE Head of the Embassy was going on, when the *Consul Marcius* interrupted him. *Carthaginians*, said he, *You desire us to give you our Reasons for making War here.*

Year of  
R O M E  
DCIV.

L. MARCIUS  
CENSORIUS,  
M. MANILIUS  
NEPOS, CON-  
suls.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCIV.  
L. MARCIUS  
CENSORINUS,  
M' MANILIUS  
NEPOS, Con-  
suls

here. Can you be ignorant of them? The Senate of Rome fully informed your Ambassadors as to that Point. Indeed you have surrendered yourselves up to us; and have at last pronounced the fatal Word DEDITION. I commend you for it. You have by that Act, and your Readiness in delivering up your Hostages to us, avoided many Calamities. But you deceive yourselves, if you imagine that you have nothing more to do. The Senate told you at Rome, and we repeated the same thing to you in Sicily; That we had Orders, which we were not to impart to you till we came to the Gates of your Capital. Let us begin then, with that which requires most Dispatch. We will afterwards communicate the rest gradually. Since you are under the Protection of Rome, and sincerely desire Peace, what Use have you for that vast Number of Arms with which your Magazines are filled? Bring them hither, and thereby give us a fresh Proof, that your Love of Peace is not verbal only. The Ambassadors were at first stunned with the Proposal; but afterwards, they recollected themselves, and their Head remonstrated to the Consuls, That Carthage must necessarily have had other Enemies to resist, besides Romans, and therefore could not be without Arms. That Asdrubal, added he, whom we have condemned to die, has gone into the Cities in our Dominions; has hastened from Province to Province since his Banishment; and has already got together a Body of twenty thousand Men. What then will become of Carthage, if she should be disarmed, and he should attack her when she wants the necessary Weapons to stand to her own Defence? To this the Consul briskly replied. Be easy, Carthaginians. Rome will take care to provide for your Safety. Do you only obey, and rest satisfied as to every thing else. What then could they do, but submit? In a Word, the Ambassadors promised to prevail on the Carthaginians, to deliver up to the Romans their Arms, Machines of War, and Ships. Upon this, the Consuls sent to Carthage, the two Quæstors, Scipio<sup>2</sup> Nasica the Son of the Pontifex Maximus, and Scipio<sup>3</sup> Hispallus; with Orders, to burn all the Gallies in the Capital, and to convey all the Instruments of War that they found there to the Roman Camp. And how great was the Surprise of the Romans, when they saw the long Train of Carts, loaded with Arms, which were brought to the Camp by the Carthaginians themselves? Some Historians say there were enough to have armed all Africa. At least it is certain, That there were put into the Consul's Hands, two thousand Catapultæ, Cuirasses and complete Suits of Armour two hundred thousand; and an infinite Number of Swords, Darts, Javelins, Arrows, and of those Beams armed with Iron, which were thrown from Ramparts by the Ballistæ. And indeed, one would have thought this peaceable Sacrifice enough, to have appeased the Anger of the Romans: But the Consuls had still more severe Orders to put in execution. They discovered them by Degrees only, for fear of driving the Carthaginians into Despair; and by this means, one paved the Way for another.

§. VI. THIS Convoy of Arms brought from the Magazines of Carthage, was attended by the most venerable old Men, and by the Priests of all the Temples in the City, dedicated to the Gods of the Country. This numerous Embassy of Men, well qualified by their Character and Age to mollify the Romans, appeared before the Consuls, when seated on their Tribunals; and expected, to have been treated with some Compassion. They were dressed in their white Robes of Ceremony; they ranged themselves along the Bar which separated the Consuls from the Assembly; and there heard such Words as threw them into a Consternation. Marcius, who had more Fluency of Speech than his Colleague, put on a very serious Air, and spake thus. We are well pleased with these first Instances of your Obedience, and therefore cannot help congratulating you upon them. Nothing can be more punctual than your Obedience to the Orders of the Senate, both as to your giving Hostages, and delivering up your Arms; and I have now but one thing more to require of you, in the Name of the Roman People. I will therefore, without further Preamble, or

<sup>2</sup> Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, the Quæstor, was the Son of the famous Nasica, who was chosen Pontifex Maximus after the Death of Marcus Lepidus, and who by his singular Prudence, procured himself the Surname of Corculum. But the former, notwithstanding his great Birth, and the Virtues he inherited from his Father, could not escape the mortifying Surname of Serapio. Which was the Name given to one who killed the Vic-

tims, according to Valerius Maximus; or to the Servant of a Pig-Merchant, according to Pliny. It was said that Nasica was like this worthless Man in the Face.

<sup>3</sup> The other Quæstor, Cneius Cornelius Scipio Hispallus, seems to have been the Son of Cneius Hispallus, who was Consul in the Year of Rome 577.



*Digression, plainly declare to you an Order, on which the Safety of your Republick, the Preservation of your Goods, your Lives, and your Liberty, depend. Rome requires that you would abandon the City where you live, and build yourselves another where you please; provided it be at least eighty Stadia from the Sea, and provided this new Carthage be built without any Walls or Fortifications. We will take upon ourselves the Trouble of demolishing your old Walls and Houses. A little Courage and Strength of Mind will conquer the Affection which generally attaches us to our old Habitations, and which is founded more in Habit than in Reason.*

Year of  
R O M E  
DCIV.  
L. MARCIUS  
CENSORINUS,  
M' MANILIUS  
NEPOS, Con-  
suls.

AT these Words the Carthaginian Deputies felt their Blood run cold in their Veins. Some stood stupified and senseless, through Excess of Grief. Others expressed their Sorrow in Cries and Lamentations. Some lifted up their Hands to Heaven, to call for Vengeance for the Cheat that had been put upon them; others uttered Imprecations and bitter Reflections on the *Romans*. After this first Fit of Rage, which gave them no time to think, they became downright raving upon Reflection. Some laboured to exasperate the *Roman* Soldiers, thereby to provoke them to kill them. Some lay down upon the Ground, and bit it with Rage. Others struck their Foreheads on the Ground, and tore off their Hair like Madmen. Several of them swooned, and lay upon the Ground groveling, and half dead. This was so terrible a Sight, that even the pitiless *Roman* Soldiers were affected with it. But the *Consuls* on their Tribunal shewed no Concern. They viewed these lamentable Scenes without Emotion, and gave the Wretches free Leave to vent these first Transports of Despair. *These sudden Fits, said they, wear off by Degrees. Time and Necessity teach the most Unfortunate to bear the Calamities with which they are overwhelmed. The Carthaginians, when they recover their Senses, will choose to obey.* But the *Consuls* were mistaken in their Conjecture. The Rage of the *Africans* increased with Time; and Reflection only made them the less tractable.

App. in Punic.  
N. 47.

IN the mean while, the Deputies a little recovered their Spirits. Their Transports ended in Tears, and they spake with more Temper. But at the same time they suddenly called out upon their Wives, and Children, and even their Country, as if it had been present. The Priests among others addressed themselves to their Gods; sometimes invoked their Assistance, and sometimes blasphemed their Names, and reproached them with the Incense which they had squandered away upon them. But the wisest remonstrated to those who were most distracted, that by such Expressions of an extravagant Fury, they only exposed themselves, without lessening the Calamity. *In our Situation, said they, what have we to do, but to have recourse to Supplications? Carthage has no Arms, and her Ships are burnt. At the same time powerful Enemies surround us. On one side the Romans, on another Masinissa, and on a third Asdrubal threatens us with an intestine War. Our Children are delivered up to our Enemies for Hostages; and those Enemies are Masters of our Lands. Fortune has left us nothing but our Lives and Walls to save. How then can we secure ourselves, otherwise than by the most submissive Remonstrances, and Entreaties? Hanno, surnamed Gillas, who was more composed than his Countrymen, thought he might venture to make a new Representation to the *Consuls*. Accordingly, he desired Leave to speak, which was granted; and he expressed himself in this manner.*

S. VII. *Give me leave, illustrious Consuls, to trouble you once more with another Address to you. I don't pretend, contentiously, to dispute your Rights over Carthage, or tax your Proceedings with Injustice. All I aim at, is to raise some Compassion in your Hearts, and draw from you one of those propitious Regards, which Rome, as well as the Gods, knows how to vouchsafe to Mankind. Shall we alone be excluded from that universal Clemency, which has been experienced by all the World? It is always glorious to forgive; but especially the Unfortunate, whose past Services have rendered them not altogether unworthy of Pardon. Ever since the Great Scipio forced us to accept the Peace which he dictated to us, in what Marks of the most sincere Attachment have we been wanting? Philip, Antiochus, and Perces, three Monarchs who had not offended us, became our Enemies, because they were yours. Did we refuse to assist you with Troops, Elephants, Ships, or Provisions, in the Wars you made with them? No; we have constantly persevered, in behaving ourselves to you like faithful Allies. As Allies then, and faithful in our Alliance, cast one favourable Look upon us. We now no longer rival you in the Empire of the Seas,*

App. ibid.



Year of Seas, and Land. You are in Possession of the Superiority which we have long since given up to you. Upon the first Intimation of your Pleasure, we delivered up our Hostages; and at your Command, we have stripped ourselves of our Arms. Can we then imagine that Rome will yet vent her Rage against defenceless Houses and Walls? Your Senate sent us Word that we should live according to our Laws. Is it not then the first and most ancient of them, that we should be under the Jurisdiction of a Capital, that is capable of procuring herself Respect, and in a Condition to repel the Insults of Malecontents? Shall we live according to our Laws, when our Metropolis is sunk into Contempt? If your Orders are capable of any Mitigation, interpret them, illustrious Consuls, by the very Words of the Answer we received from Rome. If not, vouchsafe at least to hear our Sighs, and behold our Tears. What Object of Compassion can equal this! Carthage in Tears at your Feet! Carthage, that ancient City, which was founded by the Order of the Gods! That City which was formerly famous for her Exploits at Sea, is now frequented by all Nations of the World, and is yet full of Sanctuaries, whither all the Gods of Heaven come, to receive the Prayers that are made to them! There are the Tombs of our Fathers; There we hoped to mix our Ashes with theirs; There is the Abode of our domestick Gods. Hear then the Voice of the Immortals, who desire you not to drive them from their peaceable Habitations, and overturn their Altars: Suffer Juno to dwell in the fine Habitation which Dido erected for her. If the Inhabitants of Carthage have offended you, take away their Lives. Fill the City with Blood and Slaughter. But spare our innocent Walls, Houses, and Temples, which could not be Accomplices in our Crimes. It is better for us to perish in the Bosom of our Domestick Gods, than to go and lead a languishing Life, in an inland Country. The Carthaginians are used to the Sea, and cannot live without it. We have breathed that Air from our Infancy. It procures for some Plenty, and for others Necessaries. Do not then load yourselves with Infamy, Romans, by an Act of Cruelty never yet heard of in any Nation in the World. Did ever any Barbarians condemn a City to be demolished, which had surrendered to the Enemy, given Hostages, and delivered up all her Arms? Surely it is impossible, that the Roman Senate could have attended to the Inhumanity of their Decree, when they drew up your Orders. Give us Leave then to go once more, and remonstrate to them, that their own Glory is nearly concerned, in not suffering it to be put in execution. The Passage from hence to Rome is not long. As uneasy as this Delay will be to us, the Anxiety of it will at least be abated by the Hopes, of softening and influencing the most equitable Senate in the World.

HANNO's Harangue was long. For under great Afflictions it is difficult not to multiply Words. Nevertheless the Consuls heard him without interrupting him. But when he had finished, Marcius answered him in these Words. It is with Reluctance that I tell you, That we can neither amend the Orders of the Senate, nor suspend the Execution of them. Perhaps we are at this instant accused at Rome of Dilatoriness. And give me leave to tell you, That if we remove you some Stadia from the Sea shore, we have your Interest more in view in it, than our own. The Sea has been only a Gulph of Misfortunes to you, which have at last swallowed you up. It was by Sea that you attempted the Conquest of Sicily, and were driven from it. It was by Sea that you passed over into Spain, where you often stained the Ground with your Blood. It was by Sea that you exercised your Violences against Corsica and Sardinia; and that we have chastised your Pirates. If this unsettled Element has procured you some slight Advantages, it has brought more real Evils upon you. And this was the Case of Athens. It was joined to the Port of Piræus, by a Range of long Walls, and thereby became a maritime City. This tempted her to pass the Seas. She enriched herself, and raised the Jealousy of others. Her Enemies destroyed her Fleets, took Pleasure in humbling and impoverishing her, and at length forced her to demolish that Range of Walls that led to the Port: So that she is become an inland City; and now she enjoys Tranquillity. As to every thing that tends to the real Happiness of Life, Agriculture abundantly supplies the want of the Plenty that Commerce produces. The Earth enriches with more Certainty, and less Disquietude and Hazard, than the Sea. Trade is as subject to Storms, as the Seas on which it is carried on. It is an alternative of Gains which swell, and of Losses which grievously deject, the Heart. So that the maritime Cities



ties are like the Ships which they are continually building; they are afraid of Storms, and are not without their Distrusts, even in a Calm. These are the Motives which have induced us to remove you to some Distance from the Sea. There you will not be any longer suspected by us, and will live in more Tranquillity. But don't imagine that we desire to demolish your Temples, or violate the Tombs of your Ancestors. They will still remain after your Removal, and your ancient Worship, and your burial-Places will continue the same as before. As you will have nothing to do but to place yourselves near enough to your Temples and Tombs to be able to frequent them, Religion will not suffer by your Removal. Our Design is only to ease you of the Trouble and Noise of a Port, where People are continually in Motion, loading and unloading Ships. Be gone then as soon as possible; and get out of the Sight of those fine Keys, large Magazines, noble Barracks for your Soldiers, and spacious Stables for your Horses, and Elephants. These Amusements detain you, and make you neglect more substantial Benefits. The shortest and safest Way is to forget them. A City so strong, and well fortified as Carthage, will always be an Object of Jealousy to us. We shall always be your Enemies, as long as your Ramparts are in being. If then you fear us, or love Peace, sacrifice them and your Houses to it. You will soon be accustomed to the Place of your new Abode. Your Founders left Phœnicia; and the Coasts of Africa became as dear to them as their own Country in Asia. In short, every Place where he comes, is a wise Man's Country. Your new Habitation shall not be, if you please, above fourscore Stadia from the Sea. There you may enjoy the Sweets, and reap the Advantages which the Neighbourhood affords. Rome is a hundred Stadia from the next Port to it; and is it therefore the less the Capital of Italy? Happiness does not consist in strong Walls, and Towers, and fine Moles lined with the most costly Marble. You will not be the less Carthaginians, or the less valuable People, for not dwelling upon the same Spot of Ground, as before.

THESE Words threw the Carthaginian Deputies into profound Contemplations. But the Consul drew them out of them, by again assuring them, That the Orders of the Senate were immutable, and must immediately be put in Execution. Then these Envoys perceived, how difficult a Task it would be to bring their Countrymen to comply with the Will of the Senate; and were afraid of being massacred at their return, in the first Commotions of the People. They demanded a private Conference, for some Minutes, with the Consuls; and some of them were let within the Bar, but the rest were kept at a Distance by the *Lictors*. When they were brought into the General's Tent, they said, *Since you will not suffer us to have Recourse once more to the Senate, and since we must necessarily obey you without Delay, grant us one Favour at least, which will turn to your own Advantage. The News we are going to carry to Carthage, will naturally cause a Disturbance there, which may cost us our Lives, and which will infallibly end in an open Disobedience to the Orders of Rome, if care be not taken to prevent it. We therefore desire you to send away your Fleet, with Orders to appear in the Road of Carthage, the Moment we arrive there. Fear will keep the Inhabitants in Awe, and make them receive the News of the last of our Misfortunes, with the better Temper. How melancholy a thing is it for us, to bring your Forces against our native Country! But who regards Punctilio's of Honour, when oppressed with the greatest Calamities?*

§. VIII. MARCIUS readily granted the Request of the Deputies. He ordered twenty *Quinqueremes* to get ready to sail, and went on board the *Prætorian* Galley himself. This great Squadron appeared in sight of Carthage, before the Deputies entered it. Nevertheless, even this did not remove all their Apprehensions. Some of these timorous Men would not return into the City, but retired into the Country. Others, in a greater Number, took the great Road to Carthage, without saying one Word all the Way. The Carthaginians waited for their Return, with inexpressible Impatience. All the People lined the Ramparts; and as this Delay foreboded no Good, some of them tore off their Hair, out of Grief, at the Foresight of their Misfortunes. At length they perceived at a great Distance, the Company coming from the Roman Camp; and many out of Curiosity left the City to meet them, and got the earliest Notice of the State of Affairs. But by the Silence of the Deputies, and the Sorrow that appeared in all their Faces, they took it for granted that all was lost. Some burst out into Tears, others were struck dumb, and all were in the utmost Consternation. They who had Relations or Friends

Year of  
R O M E  
DCIV.  
L. MARCIUS  
CENSORINUS;  
M. MANILI-  
US NEPOS;  
Consuls.



Year of Friends among the Deputies, took them aside to learn the Secret ; but they had agreed not to divulge it, till they came before the Senate. The Crowd increased at the Gate of the City, and the Deputies had like to have been stifled. Nevertheless, as they would not say one Word, a Way was made for them ; and a free Passage given them to the Hall where the Senators assembled, merely out of Impatience to know the Fate of *Carthage*. The Deputies only were admitted into the supreme Council of the Nation ; and the People continued about the Palace, very impatient to learn the Decision of so important an Affair.

THE Senate heard the Report of the Deputies with a pretty deal of Patience ; but when they came to the capital Article, there arose a Cry which was heard to the Place where the Multitude continued. The People answered the Voice of the Senators with louder Clamours, and without knowing what their Misfortunes were, took it for granted that they must be extremely great, and past all Remedy. The Deputies continued their Discourse, and related the Proposal they had made of sending again to *Rome*, to obtain some Limitations to the Decree ; and while they were speaking, the Silence was equally great in the Senate-house, and the Market-Place. But when the Envoys added, that this was refused them, the Senators began to cry out again ; and then the People were no longer to be restrained. They forced open the Gates of the Senate-house, and crowded into it, as if actuated by so many Furies. They first attacked those who were the Authors of the Decree, concerning the sending the Hostages into *Italy*, and were not sparing in Reproaches, or any other bad Treatment of them. Then they vented their Rage against those who had voted for delivering up to the *Romans* the Arms in the Magazines, and the Ships in the Port. The Deputies themselves were not spared. The People threw Stones at them, and dragged them through the Streets with Ignominy, as inauspicious Ambassadors, who brought nothing but bad News. And lastly, the Rage of the People was most furious against the *Italian* Merchants, of which there were a great Number in *Carthage*. They plundered their Houses, and beat them ; and said, *It was by way of Reprizal, for burning their Ships, and taking away their Arms*. In short, the whole City was nothing but Horror and Confusion. There was only one Way to save a Man's Life, which was to fly for Sanctuary to the Temples ; and when he came there, he heard nothing but Exclamations and Blasphemies against the Gods. At the Sight of the Port, Magazines, and Arsenals, the Fury of the People redoubled. *Why*, cried they, *did we suffer them to be emptied ? Would it not have been better to have sustained a Siege, and to have been buried under these Walls, than to have deserted them ?* These were universal Complaints, but uttered with most Rage by the Women, whose Children had been forced from them for Hostages. They, like so many Furies, attacked all that passed by them without Distinction, reproached them with their Losses, and concluded their Invectives with this mad Sneer, *And now, you are justly punished for having betrayed us !*

NEVERTHELESS, among this great Number of raving People, there were a few Citizens sensible enough, to act with some Appearance of Reason. They who were least transported shut up the Gates of the City, and gathered together upon the Ramparts some Heaps of Stones, to defend themselves, in case of a Surprise. And at length, when the first Commotion was a little appeased, some Senators assembled, and in their present Heat resolved on War. But how could a City that was stripped of her Arms, and destitute of Provisions, maintain it ? Rage made them attempt more, than Reason would have suffered them to undertake. It doubled their Courage, and made them find out Expedients, in the most desperate Case. The *Carthaginians* began with taking the Malefactors out of Prison, giving the Slaves their Liberty, and joining them with the Militia of the Country. Then a Pardon was granted to *Asdrubal*, who had been condemned to die, only to please the *Romans* ; and he was invited to employ the twenty thousand Men he had raised, in the Defence of his Country. Another *Asdrubal*, whose Mother was the Daughter of *Masfiniffa*, was chosen to command in *Carthage*, during the War ; and the *Carthaginians* imagined, that these new Preparations would intimidate the *Consuls*, and make them the more ready to give them Leave to send a new Deputation to *Rome*. They therefore sent to desire them to abate of their Rigour in that Particular, and to grant *Carthage* a Truce of thirty Days ; but it was in vain. The two *Roman*

Generals



Generals adhered stily to their first Determination, and thereby reduced the *Carthaginians* to despair. Upon this Report they all cried out, that they would either save their City, or perish in its Ruins.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCIV.

AND they carried their Resolutions beyond what they could have hoped for. They found means to make new Arms, furnish their City with Ammunition, and to have an Army without the Walls, to guard their Convoys, and harraßs the Enemy. What cannot Despair compass! By order of the Senate, the Temples, Portico's, and in short, all the large covered Places in the City, were turned into so many Work-houses, where Men and Women were continually employed, some in making *Cuirasses*, others in cutting Wood for the Arrows and Darts, and others in sharpening the Heads of the Lances and Javelins. All these Workers lived in common, at the Expence of the Publick; and their Provisions were brought them, at stated Hours. And as they encouraged one another in their Work, and lost no time in procuring themselves the Necessaries of Life, they every Day made a hundred and forty four Bucklers, three hundred Swords, a thousand Darts for the Hand or Machines, and five hundred Lances and Javelins. As to *Ballistæ* and *Catapultæ*, though they even wanted proper Materials for them, their Industry supplied that Defect. They wanted Cords for working the Machines, and it came into their Heads to make some of human Hair. First the Women-Slaves were shaved; and then the Ladies of the first Rank, readily dedicated to that Use the finest Ornament of their Heads. All sorts of Metals were indifferently employed in these Works. For want of Iron and Steel they made use of Brass, Gold, and Silver. They melted down the Statues, Vases, and some Utensils of private Families. In this great Necessity, the most covetous became liberal.

L. MARCIUS  
CENSORINUS,  
M. MANILI-  
US NEPOS,  
Consuls.

WITHOUT the Walls, *Asdrubal*, now reconciled to his Country, employed the Troops he commanded, in getting together Provisions on the Coast, and conveying them safe to *Carthage*. By this means, there was as great a Plenty in the City, as in the *Roman* Camp. The *Consuls* could get their Provisions only from *Utica* 4, *Leptis*, *Adrumetum*, and two or three Villages. Whereas, all the other Cities in *Africa* sent Provisions to their Capital. Besides, *Masinissa* did not interest himself very heartily in the Success of the *Romans*; and therefore gave them no Assistance. He had just Cause for being so cool towards them. The *Roman* Republick, which was ever haughty, had resolved upon this new War, without consulting the *Numidian* King. Nay, she had refused, after Application had been several times made for it, to give him leave to march against *Asdrubal*, and intercept the Convoys he was continually sending to *Carthage*. What, said *Masinissa*, ought not Rome to have placed some Confidence in a Prince, whose Fidelity she had so often experienced? She suffered me to begin Hostilities at my own Peril. My Arms weakened *Carthage*; and when I had mowed down all the Flower of her Youth, the *Romans* came and sowed in the Field which I had cleared. Did not I then deserve to share the Victory, or at least to have been made privy to the Design? These Republicans are too proud. They treat their Allies with less Respect than they do their own Subjects. The *Numidian* therefore in his Turn, put on an haughty Air. The *Consuls* sent to pay him their Compliments; and their Messengers, by way of Conversation, sounded him, as to the Assistance he might give the *Roman* Army. I will consider of it, answered the King coldly, and will assist you when I think it necessary. And we, replied the *Romans*, with more Coldness, will desire it of you, when we think it expedient. These Coldnesses, which were understood in the worst Sense, served only to render useless to the *Romans* the Prince, who was the most faithful, and most ready to help them, of all their Allies.

Zonaras, B. 9.  
c. 26.

IN the mean time, the *Consular* Armies still delayed drawing near to *Carthage*, and beginning the Attacks upon it. The *Romans* hoped to see the Inhabitants soon submit to Reason, acquiesce, evacuate the City, and choose themselves an Habitation elsewhere. How can they defend themselves, said they, in the Condition to which we have reduced them! Their Rage may support them for some Days; but fear will bring them to their Duty. The *Consuls* pleased themselves with the Thoughts that *Carthage* was disarmed. They did not know, That it was in a bet-

4 We have already given an Account of the three Cities of *Utica*, *Leptis*, and *Adrumetum*, in the preceding Volumes, when we treated of the first and second *Punic* Wars.



Year of ter Condition to sustain a Siege than ever; and That the Citizens had made them-  
 R O M E selves new Arms, built Machines, and brought thither great Quantities of Corn,  
 DCIV. and Ammunition. But their Delays and Ignorance cost their Republick many Bat-  
 tels, and much Blood. Indeed *Carthage* was in itself a destructive Place for a Siege;  
 L. MARCIUS and was defended by Men determined to die, rather than be forced into Banishment  
 CENSORINUS, from their native Country. But before we relate this memorable Siege, it seems  
 M<sup>r</sup> MANILI- not to be improper to give a Description of the City, by collecting together in  
 US NEPOS, one view, all the Particulars that many Authors have told us of it.  
 Consuls. Strabo; App; Justin; Diod.  
 Sic; Oros; &c.

§. IX. *CARTHAGE*, which was built above sixty Years before *Rome*, had been placed by its Foundress in a very spacious Gulph. At the Bottom of the Gulph there was a piece of Land annexed to the Continent, which jettied out into the Sea, like a Peninsula. It was three thousand Paces deep, and not above five thousand and forty in Circumference. The main Body of the City was in this Peninsula, and was in point of Shape oblong, reaching from North to South, that is, from the Sea to the main Land. Generally speaking, the City was fortified with only one Wall, and a single Rampart, with Towers which flanked the *Courtines*. It was almost surrounded by the Sea, on all Sides. On the Land-side, towards the Southern-parts, it was encompassed by a Lake of Sea Water, which was called *The Pool*. Between this Lake, or rather Gulph, and the Walls of the City, there was only a narrow Slip of Land, which ran from East to West, served for a sort of *Fausse-Bray* to the City, and reaching to a great Length, formed a Bason, which was fit for receiving Ships. For this Reason it was called *The Old Port*. And as the Eastern Point of this Neck of Land was the only part of the City which Nature had not fortified, that Defect was supplied by Art. It was surrounded by three Walls, of thirty *Cubits* high. The Towers, which flanked the *Courtines* at two hundred *Perches* distance from each other, had four Stories, and were forty *Cubits* high. These Walls were so thick through their whole Length, that there was in them a kind of Ground Floor of Rooms, and another Floor over it. In the lower, were Stables for the Elephants, and War-Horses, and Magazines of Forage. Above, were Lodgings enough to hold twenty four thousand Men, Horse and Foot. These vaulted Rooms supported the Wall, and probably the flat Roofs of them served for a Rampart. They were two and twenty *Cubits* deep. The Citadel called *Byrsa*, which was divided from the City by Walls, was higher than all these Works, and overlooked them. On the Point of the Rock on which it was built, stood a Temple dedicated to *Æsculapius*. The Temple of *Juno*, the Protectress of *Carthage*, was built in the Center of the City, and surrounded by a Sacred Wood. And lastly, in the Southern Extremity of the City, in the *Isthmus* that joined to the Continent, there was a Suburbs, or, if you will, a new City, called *Megalia*, or *Megara*. This Place, which was also encompassed with a Wall, and washed to the right and left by the Sea, covered *Carthage*, on the Land-side. Such was the Situation of this stately City, towards the Continent.

TOWARDS the Sea, the Coast which was semicircular terminated in two Promontories, and naturally formed the finest Port in the World. An Island, called *Cothon* for its Smallness, or if you will a great Rock, which was almost of a round Figure, shut up the Entrance into the *Road*, and guarded the Ships against the North-wind. There was no entring into the Bay formed by the Sea over against

5 According to *Virgil*, *Livy*, *Appian*, the Compiler of *Trogus Pompeius*, *Justin*, *Herodian*, and many other Authors, the Term *Byrsa*, alluded to the Stratagem *Dido* made use of, to mark out the Circumference of the Citadel of *Carthage*. They say, That the Inhabitants of the Country granted her as much Ground as she could contain within a Bull's Hide; and That she cut a Hide into very small Thongs, and thereby made it encompass Ground enough for the Citadel to be built on. Hence, say they, comes the Name of *Byrsa*, which in *Greek* signifies a *Skin*.

*Mercatique solum, facti de nomine Byrsam,  
 Taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo.*

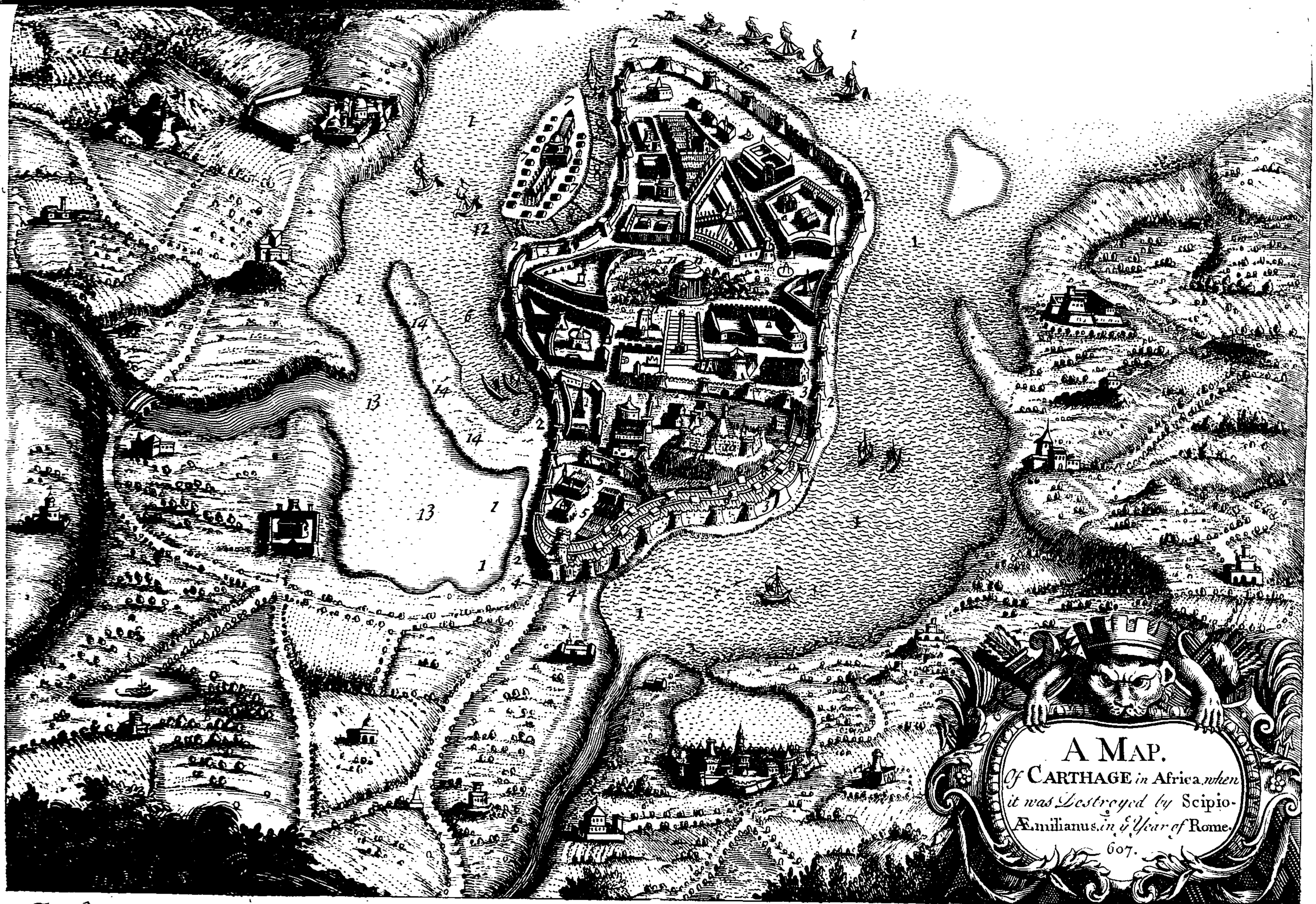
*Æneid* 1.

*Donatus* is of Opinion, but without Reason, that the Fort we speak of was so called, because *Dido* paid for the Ground in *Leather-Money*. Nor do several other Writers Reason more solidly than *Donatus*, when they say, that the Foundress bartered Oxen, which she had brought from *Tyre*, for this Ground in *Africa*.

*Bochart* derives the Word *Byrsa* from the Language of the *Phœnicians*, or *Hebrews*. They, says he, call all Fortifications whatsoever *Bosra*; which the *Greeks* changed long after into *Byrsa*. The Criticks who adopt this Conjecture, quote in Proof of it, *Jer.* xlviii. 24. *Judgment is come upon Kerioth, and upon Bosra, and upon all the Cities of the Land of Moab, far or near.*

*Carthage.*





1. The Gulph of Carthage. 2. The Peninsula. 3. The City and its walls. 4. The Isthmus which joyn'd the City to the Continent. 5. The City called Megalia or Megara. 6. The Old Port. 7. The Island of Cothon. 8. The New Port. 9. The Treple wall 30 Cubits high. 10. The Citadel called Byrsa and y temple of Esculapius. 11. The Temple of Iuno with a Sacred Grove. 12. The two narrow entrances into The New Port. 13. The Pool or Marsh. 14. The narrow piece of land which formed The Old Port. 15. The Mole.



*Carthage*, but by two narrow Passages at the two Extremities of this Rock; and these two Channels were shut up at Pleasure, by Chains which reached from the Continent to the Points of the Island. Add to this, that *Cothon* was neither a desert Place, nor destitute of Ornaments. There were two Portico's supported by Columns of the *Ionick* Order, at the two Ends of the Island. There was a fine Key all round it, and nothing but Shops and Magazines were to be seen bordering upon this Key. In the Center of the Rock stood the Governor's House, like a Tower. He had from thence a Prospect of the main Sea, to a great Distance; and he there watched the Harbour, and by Sound of Trumpet, gave the Citizens Notice of what Ships were going to enter it. This inner Part, which was called *The New Port*, was chiefly used for Ships of War, and the Gallies of the Republick. There they were always afloat, had their Docks for refitting them, and Sheds to guard them from the Heat of the Sun. As to the Merchant-Ships, they seem to have seldom put in at any but *The Old Port*, and to have sailed round the City from North to West, in order to come at it.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCIV.  
L. MARCIUS  
CENSORINUS,  
M. MANILIUS  
NEPOS, Con-  
suls.

§. X. BUT how difficult soever the Siege of *Carthage* might prove, the *Consuls* determined to undertake it. It was a little late indeed; but they thought to have made Amends for their Dilatoriness, by the Activity of their Troops. The two *Consular* Armies therefore appeared before the City, and invested it. Being still full of that false Opinion, That in her present Condition, *Carthage* was undertaking more than it was in her Power to perform; the *Romans* flattered themselves, that they needed only to make an Assault on the Place, and they should immediately reduce the Inhabitants. The two Generals divided the Attacks between them. It was resolved that *Manilius* should make one, at one of the Extremities of the City, on the Side of the *Isthmus*, which was fortified with a triple Wall; and that *Marcus* should make another, at the weakest part of the City, and so near the Sea, that he could plant his scaling Ladders on his Gallies, in order to mount the Walls. And this Enterprize would have succeeded, if the *Carthaginians* had been without Arms, as it was presumed they were. But to the great Surprise of the Assaultants, they found the Ramparts lined with a prodigious Multitude of Defenders, shining in the Armour they had newly made: and this Sight alone terrified the *Romans*. They drew back and would have retired, if the *Consuls* had not led them on to the Charge. However, the second Attempt was not more successful than the first. The *Romans* gave way; and now thought of nothing but encamping round the Place, in order to besiege it in form. *Carthage* could not now be taken by Assault. Besides that it contained seven hundred thousand Souls, and a great Number of its Inhabitants were fit to bear Arms; it was the Capital of three hundred Cities, of which the *Carthaginian* State in *Africa* consisted. Hence the numerous Troops which *Asdrubal* had assembled together, from all the Places subject to the *Carthaginians*. This General was already drawn near to the City to defend it without, as the Inhabitants did within. The Contest was now a difficult one, and must be drawn out into a great Length. Any other Nation but the *Roman*, would have been discouraged, and would have abandoned the Enterprize; but Constancy was the peculiar Virtue of that People.

App. in Punic.

WHILST their Fleet was besieging the Port, the two *Consuls* encamped separately; *Marcus* between the Pool and the City; and *Manilius* nearer to the City, on the Side where it was surrounded with a triple Wall. As for *Asdrubal*, he pitched his Camp within reach of the *Romans*. After some Days repose, *Marcus* saw that he wanted Materials for making the Machines necessary for Sieges; and he therefore sent the Carpenters of his Army to cut down some Trees, in the neighbouring Forest. But *Asdrubal* sent after the *Roman* Detachment *Himilco*, surnamed *Phaenias*, the General of the *Carthaginian* Cavalry. The latter with his Squadrons fell on the Workmen, killed five hundred of them, took up their Arms, and sent them to *Carthage*, where they served for such of the Inhabitants, as were not yet armed. Nevertheless the *Romans* saved the Wood they had cut, and carried it to *Marcus's* Camp. These Provisions encouraged the *Roman* Troops to try two new Attacks. *Manilius* demolished a part of the Wall on his Side; but when he saw that behind this there was a second, and behind that a third, he desisted and retired. *Marcus* widened the Neck of Land that led from the Marsh to the Wall of the City, and there built two *Rams*, which he had room enough to work with Ease. Then he

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Year of  
R O M E  
DCIV.  
L. MARCIUS  
CENSORINUS,  
M. MANILIUS  
NEPOS, Con-  
suls.

set these two terrible Machines at work, one by the Land Soldiers, and the other by the Marines. The Emulation between these two Bodies increased the Activity of both. The *Rams* were driven against the Wall so violently and so often, that at length they made a large Breach. The City was already open; the Houses next the Rampart visible; and *Marcus* hoped to have been able to have entered it, through this Breach. Accordingly he sent in some *Legionaries*, who were repulsed by the *Carthaginians*, and returned to the Camp covered with Wounds. Then Night came on; and the Besieged spent it in repairing the Breach with a new Wall. Nevertheless, as it was too fresh to resist the *Rams* long, the Besieged thought it necessary to make a Sally, and set Fire to these Machines. Some bore Arms which were proper to drive off the Enemy; others armed themselves only with lighted Torches. And the Sally had at least some Success. Indeed the *Romans* who ran to defend their Machines, prevented the *Rams* being entirely reduced to Ashes. But they did not come soon enough to preserve them from being damaged. The *Carthaginians* with their Fire made them useless. And hitherto the *Romans* had shewn neither much Conduct, nor much Valour in the Attacks.

WHEN the Terrors of the preceding Day, and the Shades of the Night were dispersed, the *Romans* perceived that the Breach was not entirely repaired. They saw through the opening a little Place in the City, where the *Manipuli* which entered it might easily rally, and draw up in Battalia. Immediately therefore *Marcus* gave his *Legionaries* leave to penetrate into the City through the Opening; and two *Tribunes* led their *Manipuli* through it. *Scipio Emilianus* then served in the Army in quality of *Tribune*; but he was too wise to fall into so ill-contrived a Snare. He contented himself with forming his *Legionaries* without, at the Foot of the Wall, and there waiting for the Event of an Action which he thought rash. And indeed there was a prodigious Number of *Carthaginians*, partly regular Troops, and partly armed with Staves and Stones, waiting to receive the *Romans*: So that the Dispute was not equal. The Besiegers were repulsed, defeated and fled. And then *Emilianus's* Foresight was of Use. With his fresh *Manipuli* he covered the *Romans* who were retreating in Disorder, and suppressed the Audaciousness of the *Carthaginians*, who were proud of their Success. By this means *Emilianus*, though a subaltern Officer in the Army, got more Esteem than the General. *Though a private Tribune only, say they, he foresaw what the Consul ought to have foreseen, but did not.* We find the young Officer always consistent with himself, in *Africa* as well as *Spain*, in the Cabinet, as well as in the Field.

§. XI. AND now, the *Consuls* were sensible of all the Dangers of the Enterprize in which they were engaged. They found it difficult to get Provisions by Sea or Land. The City hindered the Ships from bringing them Stores; and *Asdrubal* intercepted the Convoys by Land, with his numerous Cavalry. Besides, a Sickneſs was got into *Marcus's* Camp, by its being so near a Marsh, where stagnating Waters, and the Exhalations drawn out of it by the Heat of the Season, infected the Air. He therefore ordered the Fleet to draw as near to the Shore as possible to receive his Troops, and transport them into a healthier Place, but still within reach of *Carthage*. *Asdrubal*, who commanded in the City, was informed of the Motion of the *Roman* Fleet, and he ordered the People to observe what Rout it took. Then perceiving that a brisk Wind blew towards the Place where the Enemy's Gallies lay at Anchor, he formed a Design to burn them, though he had no Fleet. What cannot Rage and Necessity compass! The *Carthaginian* Commander ordered all those old Barks to be got together, which the *Romans* had spared, as of no Use in the Defence of the Place, and filled them with Faggots, Tow, Sulphur, Bitumen, and other combustible Materials. They were first towed along the Gulph, in which was the Port of *Carthage*, and ranged in order, without being perceived by the *Romans*. Then as soon as they were near enough to the Enemy's Fleet, the *Carthaginians* hoisted Sails upon them, set Fire to them, and let them drive with the Wind. They were instantly among the *Roman* Ships, which had no time to get ready to sail, and caused such a terrible Fire among them, that they were almost all consumed.

THUS had the *Consular* Armies made but a sad Campaign. Autumn was approaching; and *Rome* called for one of the *Consuls* to preside in the Elections. *Marcus* set out for *Italy*, and in his Passage sought to make himself Amends at Sea, for the



Losses he had had on the Continent. He took *Ægimurus*<sup>6</sup>, an inconsiderable Island between *Sicily* and *Africa*. A poor Comfort, after the considerable Losses he had suffered before *Carthage*! Nevertheless, his Absence revived the Courage of the *Carthaginians*. They thought the Removal of one of the *Consuls* a happy Pre-  
 sage of a speedy Deliverance: and therefore the Besieged acted with new and uncommon Boldness. They did not value squandering away the Lives of their Soldiers, in Sallies which were always dangerous. *Carthage* abounded in Men; and their Fury made the most cowardly of the Inhabitants courageous. One Night, a great Body of *Carthaginians* differently armed, silently marched out of the City with an Intention to surprise *Manilius's* Camp, and cut the Throats of the *Romans* during their Sleep. The Company was already advanced, without Noise, to the Enemy's Entrenchments, and were beginning to break down the Pallisades, when the *Consul* had timely Notice of the Danger that threatened him. The Darkness of the Night, the Uncertainty of the Number of the Aggressors, and of the Places where the Enemy might make several Attacks at once, kept *Manilius* long in suspense. In the mean while, Time was lost in deliberating, and the *Carthaginians* made the best use of the Delay. *Scipio Æmilianus* was the only Man who was sensible of the Necessity of Expedition, in driving away the Enemy. *Rome* seems to have sent him into *Africa*, only to repair the Faults of her Generals. Whilst the *Consul* is hesitating in the Council of War, and starting Difficulty upon Difficulty, *Æmilianus* takes some Squadrons of his Horse, marches out at the Gate opposite to the Place where the Attack was made, rides round the Camp full Speed, and attacks the *Carthaginians*, who expected nothing less, in the Rear. The Shouts that the Aggressors heard behind them, were enough of themselves to put them into Disorder. The *Carthaginians* were either dispersed, or returned to their City, after they had left a good Number of their Men dead upon the Place, especially of those who were armed only with Staves. This second Instance of Bravery and Conduct increased the Reputation of *Æmilianus* among the Soldiers; but created him many Jealousies among the Officers of his own Rank.

HOWEVER, this unexpected Boldness of the Besieged forced the *Roman* General to take greater Precautions for the future. He did not indeed change his Camp, but he made it stronger, and secured it against all Attacks without Machines. Besides the Palisades and Ramparts of Earth that surrounded it, he built a Stone Wall about it. At the Extremity of his Camp, *Manilius* also built a Castle, which overlooked a little Port in an Elbow of *The Gulf of Carthage*. Thither the Provisions and Ammunitions for the *Roman* Army were brought by Sea: And a Camp so well fortified, gave the *Consul* the Courage to send out Parties to make Incursions in the neighbouring Countries. The *Legionary Tribunes* took their Turns, each with the Body he commanded, and went to plunder the neighbouring Fields. *Asdrubal* narrowly watched the daily Marches of these Detachments, and gave *Phameas* a Commission to harraß them. The latter had the Command of all the *Carthaginian* Cavalry, was a Man of great Courage, and was singularly industrious in surprising an Enemy unawares. Add to this, that perhaps never were Cavalry better mounted than these *Carthaginians*. Indeed their Horses were small, but full of Fire and Vigour, indefatigable, and so swift, that the largest Horses could not come up with them. And *Phameas* knew how to make the best Use of these Advantages. He set Spies to watch where the *Romans* went to forrage, cut Wood, and raise Contributions; and he hid himself in the Hollows of the Rocks, and in Coppices, from which he flew out like an Eagle on the Enemy, when divided into Platoons. These Sallies were almost always fatal to the *Consular* Troops. The *Tribunes* seldom returned to their Camp with all their Troops: *Æmilianus* only found Means to preserve his Detachment from Diminution, when it was his Turn to go upon a Party. This prudent Leader ordered his Marches so well, both as to Time and Place, foraged with so much Order, and placed so good Guards every where, that *Phameas* was afraid of him, and durst not attack him. This Difference between *Æmilianus* and his Collegues was a new Subject of Admiration for the Army, and

Year of  
R O M E  
DCIV.  
L. MARCIUS  
CENSORINUS,  
M' MANILI-  
US NEPOS,  
Consuls.

<sup>6</sup> The Island of *Ægimurus* lies above thirty thousand geometrical Paces, or as others, twenty Leagues from the Ruins of *Carthage*, towards the

Coasts of the Kingdom of *Tunis*. It is now called *Galita*, or *Galata*. See Vol. 2.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCIV.  
L. MARCIUS  
CENSORINUS,  
M. MANILIUS  
NEPOS, Con-  
suls.

of Jealousy for the *Tribunes*, who had suffered themselves to be bearen. They reported, That *Emilianus* held a Correspondence with *Phameas*, and That *Scipio* his Grandfather had always been a Friend to the Family of the *Carthaginian* General. But the *Consul* and the Army did him Justice, notwithstanding the Discourses of those who envied him.

§. XII. TRUE Virtue generally gets the better of Jealousy at the last. It is always uniform and constant; and by continually performing new Exploits, effaces all those Stains, with which the Envious endeavour to obscure it, at its first Appearance. *Emilianus* continued to shine so much in the Army, that he at length forced those who were most passionate in reviling him, to hold their Peace. Those who envied him, themselves magnified his Glory even among the Enemy, by the Contrast of their Conduct to his. All the Neighbourhood of *Carthage* was full of Castles, which were Country-houses to the Inhabitants of this opulent City. These Castles, which were fortified and guarded by Troops, were often attacked by the *Legionary Tribunes*, when they made Incursions. It happened more than once, that the Garrisons of these little Fortresses capitulated, before they would surrender them up. And the other *Tribunes* made no Scruple of breaking their Faith, and causing to be massacred, or led into Captivity, those who had surrendered upon favourable Terms: Proceedings very unworthy of *Roman* Probity; and *Emilianus* therefore abhorred them. He did something more than barely keep his Word: He almost always granted advantageous Conditions to the *Carthaginians*, who surrendered, and sent them safe under a good Guard to the City. Hence the Esteem the *Africans* had for him, and the Confidence they placed in him. When summoned to surrender their Posts, they protested they would not capitulate with any Body but *Emilianus*. By this means the wise *Tribune*, without any Affectation, gained a great Advantage over his Rivals.

In great Emergencies, the *Consul* had scarce any Resource, but in the Valour and Industry of *Emilianus*. The little Fort the *Romans* had built on the Sea-Shore, to receive the Provisions brought by the Barks, gave the *Carthaginians* great Uneasiness: They resolved to attack it in a dark Night, and endeavour to surprise it. At their going out of *Carthage*, these new Assailants made a great Shout, which was seconded by one from all the Inhabitants of the City. This they did to intimidate the *Romans*, and make them believe, that a prodigious Number of *Carthaginians* were going to take the Castle. The *Consul Manilius* was a General of a narrow Genius, and of little Experience in military Affairs; and he was at once seized with Fear and Irresolution. But *Emilianus* was very seasonably ready at Hand to deliver him: He invented a Stratagem which succeeded. The *Tribune* took with him only two Squadrons of Horse, put burning Flambeaux in their Hands, and ordered them to run about the Fields, some one way, and some another, to deceive the *Carthaginians*. The latter imagined that the whole *Roman* Camp were coming in haste to defend the Fort, and fall upon them. Upon this they were chilled with Dread, which forced them to retire to the City, and they failed of their Enterprize: And from that Time the *Consul* looked on *Emilianus* as another *Scipio*. He thought him inspired, and ascribed his Inventions to divine Revelation. And the *Consul* would have acted much more wisely than he did, if he had only hearkened to the Advice of so brave, and so judicious an Officer. But little Minds have faint Hearts, and are more ready to follow Numbers than Merit. One Instance of this will appear in the following Event.

Livy in Epit.  
App. Zonaras,  
&c.

§. XIII. *Asdrubal* was a very bad Neighbour to the *Roman* Camp. He had posted himself under a City named *Nepheris*, but twenty four Miles distant from *Carthage*, and situated on the Ridge of a Mountain, which was fifteen thousand Paces high. The City seemed inaccessible on all Sides. The Way that led to it lay over a River, was interspersed with Rocks, and was embarrassed with Defiles, which *Asdrubal* guarded. From thence the *Carthaginian* General made Incursions into the Country, fell on the *Roman* Detachments, and even insulted their Camp. The *Consul* therefore, through I know not what Advice, or Infatuation, resolved to drive *Asdrubal* from this advantageous Post. He proposed the Design in a Council of War; and the Lieutenant Generals and *Tribunes*, whether for want of Consideration, or out of a vain Ostentation of Valour, or to efface the Shame of having made an useless Campaign, all voted for attacking *Nepheris* and *Asdrubal*.

*Emilianus*



*Emilianus* only used his utmost Endeavours to divert the *Consul* from the Enterprize. But notwithstanding the Regard *Manilius* had for him, he followed the Opinion of the greatest Number. The *Consular* Army began their March, and *Emilianus* the *Tribune* followed his General much against his Will. They advanced through difficult Roads, and at length arrived at the Banks of the River, which must be passed. There the prudent *Emilianus* renewed his Remonstrances, shewed the Difficulties of the Attack, and foretold the Confusion which must follow. But his Collegues, jealous of his Glory, insulted him for his Precaution, and laboured to make it pass for a want of Courage. At length, there being a Majority of Voices for it, the River was passed. However, *Emilianus* hoped to have obtained one thing at least of the *Consul*, which was, that a Camp should be formed on the Banks of the River, to serve for a Retreat for the Army, in case of ill Success. *Misfortunes*, said he, *may come; and if our Legions should be repulsed, their retiring will not, in that case, have so much the Air of a Flight, as a Retreat.* But though this was very wholesome Advice, it was received with a loud Laugh. Reason itself has no force in the Mouth of a Man, against whom we are prejudiced by some strong Passion. Envy prevailed over good Sense. Nevertheless, the *Consul* seems to have been inclined to favour *Emilianus's* Proposal. But the rest of the Council opposed it, and one of the Officers went so far as to say, to *Manilius's* Face, that he would quit the Service, if a private Subaltern was to usurp the Functions of the General.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCIV.

L. MARCIUS  
CENSORINUS,  
M. MANILI-  
US NEPOS,  
Consuls.

THESE passionate and warm Proceedings had such an Effect on the weak *Consul*, as to make him neglect a Resource, which could not but be of Advantage to him, let what would happen. The *Legions* left the Banks of the River, and immediately the *Carthaginian* Army appeared in order of Battel, on the Ridge of the Mountain. *Asdrubal* descended into the Plain, in sight of the *Romans*, who were ready to sustain his Attacks. The Onset was given, and the first Battel was more bloody than decisive. Neither Party had any Advantage in it. *Asdrubal* therefore retired towards his Mountain, and promised himself, that if he followed the Enemy close in their Retreat, he should make his Victory more complete than he could do in the Action. In the mean time, the *Romans* retired, still facing the Enemy, and sustaining their Attacks with Bravery, as long as they marched along the Plain. But when they came to repass the River, the *Consul* repented of not having followed *Emilianus's* Advice. A Camp ready pitched there would have been a great Relief to Men fatigued with a long March, and laborious Fight. Besides, to pass a River, in sight of an Enemy's Army, which was ready to fall on the *Manipuli*, the instant they should be in the least disunited, was a difficult Task for a General who was little experienced in the Business of Arms. The bravest and most indefatigable Commanders would have been embarrassed, on such an Occasion. And in short, the River was fordable only in two Places, and they at a Distance from each other. It was therefore thought necessary to divide the Troops, to lead them through the different Fords which the *Carthaginians* had beset. And then several Battels were fought; in which the *Romans* must necessarily be worsted. The three *Tribunes*, who, contrary to *Emilianus's* Opinion, had promoted the Enterprize, and most opposed the pitching of a Camp, lost their Lives in them. None of the *Legionaries* who left their Ranks to seek for Passages farther off, escaped the Sword of the Enemy; and the rest of the Army was exposed to an entire Defeat. But the same *Emilianus* who would have preserved it by his Prudence, now saved it by his Valour. At the Head of three hundred Horse under his Command, and some others that joined him, he sustained all the Efforts of the Enemy, and in a manner renewed the famous Action of *Cocles*. He divided his Troops into two Squadrons, which succeeded one another in the Fight; hindered the *Carthaginian* Army from falling on the *Romans* during their Passage; then threw themselves into the River, and swam cross it, after they had been exposed to all the Darts of the Enemy.

WHEN the *Romans* were got on the opposite Bank, they perceived that they wanted four *Manipuli*, which still continued on the other side of the River. These brave Men, despairing of being able to pass it after the rest, had posted themselves on an Eminence, resolving to sell their Lives there very dear. Some *Carthaginian* Battalions surrounded them, and without fighting them, pretended to starve them



Year of  
R O M E  
DCIV.  
L. MARCIUS  
CENSORINUS,  
M<sup>r</sup> MANILIUS  
NEPOS, Con-  
suls.

to death. This News roused the Compassion of *Emilianus*. On such Occasions as this, said he to the General, a little Rashness is seasonable. Rather than bring a whole Army into certain Danger, a General ought to restrain the Impetuosity of his Courage, and act with Circumspection. But when an unfortunate Affair has actually happened, and the Lives of many Roman Citizens, and the Honour of the Roman Name lies at Stake, all Fear should be laid aside, and the Bolder the Wiser. As for myself, I offer to repass the River with a Body of Horse, and run into fresh Dangers for the Safety of my Countrymen. Rivals and others, all applauded the Resolution of the generous Tribune. He therefore took with him some of the Horse under his Command, with Provisions for two Days, returned cross the River, and flew to the Deliverance of the invested Romans. In the first Place, he seized an Hill over-against that on which the four *Manipuli* were posted. Then the Romans saw the *Carthaginians* dispersed in the Valley below them, and had all the Advantage of the Ground. After some Hours repose, the brave *Emilianus* on one side, and the *Manipuli* on the other descending from their Hills with Precipitation, fell on the *Carthaginians*; and the Boldness of these resolute Men, who were determined to die, or conquer, dispersed the *Africans*. They abandoned the Field of Battel, and left the Passages open to these brave Men, who had thus resolutely hazarded their own Lives, to save those of their fellow-Citizens. In short, *Emilianus* returned to the Camp, where the Soldiers despaired of seeing him; and then his Merits appeared to be so much superior to that of those who envied him, that they were forced to become Panegyriste on the young Tribune themselves. As for the Company which were delivered out of their Danger, they gave him one of those military Rewards, which were thought more honourable than the richest Presents. They offered him a Crown of *Gramen*<sup>7</sup>, gathered on the Place where he had signalized his Valour.

AFTER the return of *Emilianus*, the chief Concern of the Roman Army was, that they had left so many *Legionaries* on the Field of Battel, whose Bodies continued unburied. Above all, they were very desirous that funeral Honours should be paid to the three Tribunes, who had lost their Lives in endeavouring to pass the River. They were *Emilianus's* most inveterate Rivals; but he did not carry his Resentments beyond the Grave. He gave a *Carthaginian* Captive his Liberty, upon Condition that he would carry *Asdrubal* a Letter, in which the Romans intreated him to suffer the three Officers his Collegues to be buried, they being Persons to whom some Distinction ought to be paid.

THE Name of *Scipio* had long been in great Veneration among the *Africans*; and the Virtue of *Emilianus* himself began to gain him some Respect among them. In short, *Asdrubal* granted the Request of the brave Roman with Pleasure. The three Tribunes were sought for. Their Bodies were easily known by the Gold Rings<sup>8</sup> on their Fingers; (for private Soldiers wore only Iron ones) and the *Carthaginians* made a funeral Pile for them, burnt them, and sent their Bones to *Emilianus*. So virtuous an Action therefore on the part of the Roman, and the Deference paid him by the *Carthaginian*, increased his Credit in the Army. *Emilianus* was the chief Topick of all Discourses there. He was openly preferred by the Soldiers to all the other Officers, and even to the General himself. But his Modesty kept him within the Bounds proper to his Station. And notwithstanding his great Reputation, since he was not Commander in chief, he could not guard the Roman Army against all the Attacks of the *Carthaginians*. Sometimes *Asdrubal* was Master of the Field, and made Incursions quite to the Roman Entrenchments. Nay, he attacked the *Legions* so roughly, that he forced them to keep themselves within their Camp.

§. XIV. THE Roman Senate were daily informed of what passed in *Africa*. Nevertheless, that their Informations might be more particular and juridical, they sent

<sup>7</sup> The Crown of *Gramen*, which others call the *Corona Obsidionalis*, was one of the greatest Marks of Distinction that the Romans bestowed on the Valiant. It did not belong to the General only to give it. This Right was in the whole Army, who generally decreed this Honour to him, who had forced an Enemy to raise the Siege of a Place; or had

delivered Troops which had been in great Danger. This Crown was made of Herbs gathered on the Ground where the Enemy had been chased. See what we have said of it, Vol. 1.

<sup>8</sup> See what we have said in several Parts of this History of the first Use of Rings, and the Privilege of wearing them among the Romans.



Commissioners thither, to inform themselves of the Conduct of the General and Year of his Officers, And then *Emilianus's* Merit appeared in its full Lustre. Envy hindered not either his Rivals, the *Consuls*, or the private Soldiers, from doing Justice to the Prudence and Valour of this Man, whose Counsels alone would have much advanced the Affairs of the Republick, if they had been followed. The Deputies were told, by how many heroick Actions *Emilianus* had supported the Glory of the *Romans*, preserved their Army from an entire Defeat, and saved the Lives of a great Number of *Citizens*.

THE Commissioners returned to *Rome* much dissatisfied with the Operations of the Campaign in general; but charmed with the Conduct of *Emilianus*. When they made their Report of it to the Senate, the *Fathers* all cried out, That the Soul of *Paulus Emilius* his Father, and of *Scipio* his Grandfather by Adoption, must certainly be passed into the Body of this their brave Descendant. *Cato* himself, who is said never to have commended any Body during his whole Life, could not refuse the young *Tribune* the Praise he deserved. But his Method of giving it him was by a satyrical Reflection, which he cast as usual, upon the other Officers of the Army in *Africa*. In order to magnify the Glory of *Emilianus*, *Cato* applied to him a Verse of *Homer*, where the Poet speaking of *Tiresias* 9, as descended to the *Elysian Fields*, says, *That all the other Dead were mere Phantoms and empty Shades, but that Tiresias alone preserved all his good Sense*. The Application was just; but it was cruel, with respect to the *Consul*, Lieutenant Generals, and *Tribunes*, who served before *Carthage*. And this was perhaps the last remarkable saying that *Cato* spoke before he died. He was soon after carried off, by a regular Decay of Nature, at the Age of eighty four or 10 eighty five Years. Before he expired, he foretold that *Carthage* would not be taken till *Emilianus* undertook it; and his Prophecy proved true: So that *Cato* was thought a Man of a superior Understanding to the very last. He was a great Soldier, a great Statesman, and in a Word a great Philosopher. But his Virtue was ambiguous. He had both great Talents, and great Faults. But to return.

## §. XV. The

9 This *Tiresias*, according to Fable, had been famous for the Gift of Prophecy, which he had received of *Jupiter*. The Citizens of *Thebes* paid him divine Honours after his Death.

10 It is certain, that *Cato the Censor* died in the Course of the Year of *Rome* 604, during the *Consulate* of *Lucius Marcius Censorinus* and *Manius Manilius*, which was eighty six Years before that of *Cicero*, as he himself has observed in his *Brutus*. *Velleius Paterculus* places his Death in the same Year. *Pliny*, B. 14. c. 4. speaks with a little Latitude of it, when he says, that *Cato* died about the time of the Destruction of *Carthage*, and the taking of *Corinth*. *Circa captas Carthaginem & Corinthum—supremum is diem obiit*. But he is more express in his twenty ninth Book, where he places this Event under the Year 605, that is, the 604th, according to the *Fasti Capitolini*. In order then to discover *Cato's* Age, the next thing necessary is to know the exact Year of his Birth: Which to us seems to have been demonstrated, in the Proofs we gave in the third Volume, that *Cato* was born in the Year of *Rome* 519. From thence to the Year 604, the Year of his Death, are eighty five Years; and this Calculation agrees with *Cicero's* Testimony in his *Brutus*. He expressly says, That *Cato* lived eighty five Years. *Annos quinque & octoginta natus, excessit e vita, cum quidem eo ipso anno, contra Sergium Galbam ad populum, summâ contentione dixisset. Quam etiam orationem scriptam reliquit*. It must therefore necessarily be granted, That *Livy* and *Plutarch* are mistaken, when they say, That *Cato* pleaded his Cause at the Age of eighty six Years, and publicly accused *Sergius Galba* four Years after; that is, at the Age of ninety. *Qui sextum & octogesimum annum agens causam dixerit, ipse pro se oraverit, scripseritque; nonagesimo anno Sergium Galbam ad populi adduxerit judicium*.

Those of the Moderns who fix *Cato's* Life to eighty three, or eighty two Years, don't include either the Year of his Birth, or that of his Death.

To this same Year, that is, the *Consulate* of *Marcus* and *Manilius*, most of the Ancients, and among the rest *Cicero*, fixes the speaking of the Speech, which *Cato* made, a little before his Death, in favour of *The Scribonian Law*, and against *Sergius Galba*. The latter had governed *Spain*, in quality of *Praetor*, ever since the Year of *Rome* 602; and we have before given an Account of the Cruelties and horrid Depredations, which this barbarous Man committed in all the Parts of his Province. Nine thousand *Lusitanians*, who had thrown themselves on the Clemency of the *Romans*, had been massacred by his Orders, contrary to the Faith of Treaties. And according to *Suetonius*, the Number of those who were thus inhumanly butchered, amounted to thirty thousand. He left Marks of his Fury and Avarice wherever he came. They whom the Sword spared, received the most unworthy Treatment at his Hands. It was not enough for him to lay their Provinces waste, and enrich himself with the Spoils of these unfortunate People; he loaded them with Chains, carried them with him into *Italy*, made them all Slaves, sold them in *Cisalpine Gaul* to the best Bidder, and took the Money to himself. So many Violences committed against a Nation, which had voluntarily thrown itself upon the Mercy of the *Romans*, raised the Indignation of all good Men. One of the *Tribunes of the People* named *Scribonius Libo*, openly undertook the Defence of the oppressed Nation; and in Presence of the assembled People, he demanded that the Captives should be set at Liberty, and put in Possession of their Goods. *Cato* joined with the *Tribune*. His Zeal for the publick Good and the Glory of the *Roman* Name, would not suffer him to keep Silence.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCIV.  
L. MARCIUS  
CENSORINUS,  
M' MANILI-  
US NEPOS,  
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aras, &c.

§. XV. THE Siege of *Carthage* has so much engaged us, that we have almost lost Sight of two important Wars, which *Rome* made at the same time, in different Countries. *Spain* still maintained her Revolt, and had found an Avenger. It must be owned, that the Robberies and Inhumanity of the *Consuls* and *Prætors*, which *Rome* had sent thither for some Years last past, were what had exasperated the *Spaniards*, never to submit to her more. The Sedition was open in both *Spains*; but most furious in the *Further Province*. *Viriathes*, who from a Hunter was become the Head of some Robbers, had been chosen by the *Lusitanians* for the General of their Army against the *Romans*. This Warriour not only was intrepid, but by accustoming himself to overrun Forests, and form Ambushes for Travellers, had likewise learnt the Art of continually laying Snares for an Enemy, of scarce ever coming to a close Fight, and of surprising his Enemies sometimes in narrow Passes, and sometimes at the Entrance into a Wood. The *Prætor Vetilius* had very lately experienced this. That *Roman* had surrounded the Troop of Rebels *Viriathes* commanded,

lence. Though thus worn out with Age, he came to the *Comitium*; and there declaimed with Vehemence against the perfidious *Galba*. *Quintus Fulvius Nobilior*, whom *Cato* had accused more than once, undertook the Defence of the Accused; and *Galba* himself neglected nothing to mollify the enraged People. He spake three times in his own Justification. The two first of his three Speeches which were extant in *Livy's* time, were directly levelled against the Motion of the *Tribune Scribonius Libo*. The third was an Answer to *Cornelius Cethegus*, one of his Accusers; and was in Substance an Apology for his Conduct towards the *Lusitanians*. All the Evils he had made those People suffer were, he said, necessary, in order to prevent the ill Designs they had formed against the *Roman Army*, under an Appearance of Peace. Their black Plots, said he, were not carried on with Secrecy enough. I had seasonable Notice of them. They emboldened themselves to go on in the Execution of their detestable Project, by the Horrors of a Sacrifice, in which they mixed the Blood of a Man slain on the Altars, with that of a Horse, which was also slain as another Victim. This Barbarity was to be the Prelude, and the Signal for their Attempts. I could not, *Romans*, secure your Conquests, and the Safety of your Troops, without exterminating these furious Men, who were ever ready to revolt. But the People were not to be imposed upon by so unjust a Recrimination. All Men of Sense plainly saw that *Galba* only loaded the *Lusitanians* with new Crimes, to lessen the Horror of his Proceedings towards them. And then the Accused himself perceived, that he had no Resource left, but in the Indulgence of his Judges; and the only Weapons he afterwards used for his Defence, were Submissions, Prayers, and Tears. He appeared before the People in the Posture of a Suppliant. His Eyes were bathed in Tears, and he tenderly embraced his two Sons, which were very young, as if going to take his last Adieu of them. At the same time he fixed his Eyes, with great Melancholy in his Countenance, on the Son of *Caius Sulpicius Galba*. This Child, after the Death of his Father, was become the Pupil of *Sulpicius Galba* his Relation. He clasped him in his Arms, brought him out before the Assembly, whose Protection he claimed, and carried him from Rank to Rank. He conjured the People to be a Father and Guardian to him, as well as to his own two Children, since his Enemies condemned him never to see them more. And these studied Appearances of Grief in the artful *Galba*, produced the Effect he had promised himself from them. The mournful Figure which he made was an affecting Sight to the People. When they beheld the three young Children, whose Innocence made them amiable, and when they remembered the famous Astronomer *Caius Sulpicius Galba*, whose great Qualities made him highly esteemed, most of the *Citizens* were mollified. They al-

most all agreed to discharge the Accused, and acquit him of the Crimes which were so justly laid to his Charge. We have taken this Story from *Quintilian*, *Valerius Maximus*, and partly from *Tully's* first Book *de Oratore*. Nevertheless we dare not affirm, that all this passed in the Year of *Rome* 604. The *Roman* Orator himself gives us some Reason to doubt of it, when he says, in the twelfth Book of his *Epistles to Atticus*, That he cannot be certain, that *Lucius Scribonius Libo*, *Galba's* Accuser, was *Tribune of the People*, in the *Consulship* of *Censorinus* and *Manilius*. He leaves it to *Atticus* to examine whether the *Tribuneship* of *Libo* was not in the Year 603, which was the *Consulship* of *Titus Quinctius Flamininus*, and *Manius Acilius Balbus*. Et vide, *Quæso*, *Lucius Libo* ille, qui de *Scr. Galba*, *Censorinone* & *Manilio*, an *Tito Quintio*, & *Manio Acilio Consulibus*, *Tribunus Plebis fuerit*. What is certain according to *Cicero*, in his Book of *Illustrious Orators* is, That *Cato* spoke his Speech against *Galba*, a little before his Death, and inserted it himself in his Book of *Origines*.

In this Year 604, the *Roman People* provided for the Safety of the *Roman Provinces*, against the Avarice of the Magistrates who had been guilty of embezzling the publick Money, during their Administration. The greatest Part enjoyed the Fruits of their Rapines in Peace; and the People who were ruined by the Oppressions of an unjust Governor, were reduced to the melancholy Necessity of grieving in Secret, to prevent greater Calamities. Such crying Injustice therefore roused the Zeal of *Calpurnius Piso*, the *Tribune of the People*, who by the Uncorruptness of his Life acquired the Name of *Frugi*. At his Motion, the *Roman People* passed for the first time, the famous Law *De repetundis*, as it is called by the Ancients. We have a Proof of this in *Cicero's Brutus*. His Words are these. *Lucius Piso Tribunus Plebis, Legem primus de pecuniis repetundis, Censorino & Manilio Consulibus, tulit*. In his second Book *Of Offices*, which he wrote in the Year of *Rome* 709, he reckons it to be near a hundred and ten Years after the Promulgation of that Law: So that there seems to be a Mistake in this Calculation. From the Year 604, to the beginning of the Year 709, are but a hundred and four Years. Add to this, that by *The Calpurnian Law*, the Magistrate accused of embezzling the publick Money, was at first only made subject to a Fine, provided he restored the Money he had unjustly acquired. But afterwards, more severe Laws were made against Extortioners and Oppressors, and more severe Penalties inflicted upon them. Reproach and Infamy were annexed to the Guilt of embezzling publick Money, which were thought severer Chastisements, than Banishment, with which it was most commonly punished. We shall have time enough to examine into these Regulations, when we come to the Times when they were made.



in a Place in *Turdetania*, out of which it seemed impossible for them to escape, without Loss of Life or Liberty. But the *Lusitanian* General drew his Soldiers out of the Danger by an Artifice, which, if considered as his first Essay in Arms, must shew him to have been a great Proficient. He drew up his Army, which consisted of ten thousand Men in one single Line, as if with Design to give Battel in form. He also formed by themselves a thousand Horse, for a kind of *Corps de reserve*, the Command of which he took upon himself. But he ordered the Bulk of his Troops to observe the Moment he mounted his Horse, and upon that Signal to run as fast as they could to the City of *Tribola*<sup>11</sup>, which was not far off.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCIV.  
L. MARCIUS  
CENSORINUS,  
M' MANILIUS  
NEPOS, Con-  
suls.

IN short, before the Trumpets had sounded a Charge, the *Romans* were much surpris'd to see the Army which seemed ready to fight them disperse in a Moment. The *Prætor* might indeed have sent his *Romans* after the Fugitives; but *Viriathes* with his Cavalry kept them in Awe. The *Legionaries* durst not break their Order. However, they fell upon the Body of Cavalry, and endeavoured to surround them. But *Viriathes* who knew all the Roads, made so many Turnings and Windings with his Squadrons, sometimes flying full Speed from the Enemy, and as soon again turning back upon them, with all the Swiftneſs of the Horses of his Country, that he returned with all his Cavalry, and without any Loss, to *Tribola*, where his Infantry were waiting for him. An Action supported with so much Bravery, and conducted with so much Prudence, gave *Viriathes* a great Reputation for Arms: and a considerable Multitude of *Spaniards* joined him in his Revolt.

HOWEVER, *Vetilius* did not yet Despair of bringing him to a Fight, and took the Road to *Tribola*, to insult the Fugitives, whom, as he imagined, a sudden Pannick had dispersed. But *Viriathes* had foreseen this March, and was prepared to turn it to his Advantage. A thick Forest covered the City, and the *Romans* must necessarily pass through the one, to come at the other. The *Lusitanian* therefore hid some of his Troops in the thick part of the Wood, and drew up the rest in *Battalia*, at a little Distance from it. The *Romans* attacked him, he retired, and as he gave Way, drew the *Prætorian* Troops into the great Road, which ran through the Forest. As soon as the Enemy was got into it, *Viriathes* faced about; at the same instant, his Troops which were in Ambush attacked the *Romans* behind; and the Rebels made a terrible Slaughter of them. Of ten thousand Men only six thousand escaped, whom the *Quæstor* of the Army led to *Carpeſſus*<sup>12</sup>, a maritime City called also *Tarteſſus*. The rest fell by the Swords of the *Lusitanians* who spared none, but such as they designed for Slavery. The *Prætor* was made Prisoner, with many others; but the Soldier who took him, did not think him worth the preserving. *Vetilius* was old and heavy; and the *Spaniard* fancied he would not sell well. Instead of putting him in Chains he killed him. A fatal Loss, which *Rome* felt very sensibly, at a time when the new War with the *Carthaginians* kept Men's Minds in suspense<sup>13</sup>!

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<sup>11</sup> They who have written on the ancient Geography, have not told us any thing of the Name or ancient Situation of *Tribola*. Nevertheless we may conjecture, by *Appian's* Narration, that it stood in *Andalusia*, near *The Streights of Gibraltar*, or *Tarteſſus*, whither the *Roman* Troops fled, after their Defeat. Some have thought, without Reason, that *Tribola*, was the same Place as *Turbula*. The latter stood near *Saguntum* in the Kingdom of *Valencia*.

<sup>12</sup> *Carpeſſus* as *Appian*, or *Tarteſſus* as most ancient Geographers call it, is now thought to have stood near *The Streights of Gibraltar*, in the Neighbourhood of *Tariffa*, a City of *Andalusia*. *Strabo* says it took its Name from the River which watered it, and which was afterwards called *Bætis*. It is the same which the *Spaniards* now call the *Guadalquivir*. This City, adds he, gave its old Name to the whole Country, which the *Turduli* inhabited in his time. *Peter of Mantua* reckons up three Cities of *Tarteſſus*. The first stood in the Island which was made by the two Mouths of the *Guadalquivir*, and the *Ocean*. To prove this, he quotes the Authorities of *Strabo*, and *Pausanias*. He thinks

the second *Tarteſſus* the same Place as *Cadis*; and in proof of it, quotes a Passage in *Pliny's* fourth Book, *ch. 22*; and another of *Rufus Avienus*. The third City of this Name was, according to him, the same that was called *Carteia*; and most Writers place it near *Tariffa*. We must take care not to confound it with another *Carteia*, which *Livy* mentions. The latter stood between the Mouths of the *Guadiana*, and *Guadalquivir*. See *Nonnius's Spain*, *ch. 11*, and *12*. We must not forget that *Aristotle* in his Book *Of Wonders*, says, That the Territory of this City abounded so much with Mines of Silver, that the *Phœnicians*, who came to trade on the Coast, not only loaded their Ships with it, but had enough besides to make their Anchors of that Metal.

<sup>13</sup> After the Death of *Vetilius*, his *Quæstor*, who then had the Command of the Troops, had recourse to the *Belli* and *Tithii*, Allies to the *Romans*; and these two Nations granted him five thousand Men. These he added to the six thousand which had escaped the Pursuit of *Viriathes*, and saved themselves in *Tarteſſus*; made a little Army of them all together; and marched them in regular Order against



Year of  
R O M E  
DCIV.  
L. MARCIUS  
CENSORINUS,  
M' MANILI-  
US NEPOS,  
Consuls.

THE Republick therefore embarked *C. Plautius* for *Spain* in all haste, with ten thousand Foot, and thirteen hundred Horse; and this Reinforcement, when joined with the faithful *Spaniards*, would have made all the Country tremble, if *Viriathes* had not kept up the Courage of the intimidated Rebels. He brought them into the Country of the *Carpetani* which he plundered; and thither the new *Prætor* came to attack him. But he was not sufficiently qualified to guard against the Stratagems of *Viriathes*. The *Lusitanian* General pretended to be terrified at the Arrival of the new Army, and seemed to flee before it. *Plautius* detached four thousand Men to follow him; and they were almost all cut in pieces. Few of them returned to the *Roman Camp*.

THEN *Viriathes*, after he had well studied the Motions of the new *Prætor*, passed the *Tagus*, and ran over the Fields of the Allies of *Rome*. He posted himself on a Mountain planted with Olives, called *The Mount of Venus*. *Plautius* followed the Enemy to this new Camp, and was wholly bent on Revenge. As the Forces of *Viriathes* were increased, he no longer made War by Stratagem, but ventured to make Head openly against the *Romans*, and fight a pitched Battel: And the *Lusitanian* conducted the Action with such Dexterity, and behaved himself with so much Bravery, that he entirely routed all the *Roman Army*. They fled in Confusion to the neighbouring Villages, out of which the *Prætor Plautius* durst not draw them, all the Summer: So that *Viriathes* being Master of the Field, he put all to the Sword who resisted him, and laid those who did not under Contribution. This News came to *Rome*, at the same time that Advice came of the Disadvantages *Manilius* had suffered before *Carthage*. The Senate was struck with it. But the *Romans* had long learnt to sustain the greatest Calamities with immoveable Constancy.

§. XVI. NOR did the Relation brought to *Rome* of the Affairs of *Macedon* at all comfort her, under her Losses in *Africa*, and *Spain*. That *Andriscus* who had escaped from *Rome*, whither the King of *Syria* had sent him, to be kept always in Sight, or punished with Death, had pretended to the *Macedonians* to be one of the Sons of *Perses*. In Monarchies the People have generally a great Affection for the Blood of their Kings; and the *Macedonians* were much delighted with the Thoughts of a Child of their late Sovereign. They first inclined to favour him, and then determined to place this Impostor on the Throne. Indeed *Andriscus* had forged a Lie which the *Macedonians* in several Places greedily swallowed. He had spread a Report that he was the Son of *Perses*, by one of his Mistresses whose Name he mentioned, but it has escaped the Historians. *The King my Father*, said he, *fearing the unhappy Fate which pursued him even to death, was desirous of saving one of his Children at least in me. While I was yet an Infant he put me into the Hands of a Cretan, who took care of my Education. Perses died, I changed my Habitation, and came to* <sup>14</sup> *Adramyttium. There I spent the rest of my Infancy till I was twelve Years of Age, in the House of the Cretan, whom I thought my Father. He, in the latter end of his Days, discovered my Birth to me; and gave his Wife, whom I looked on as my Mother, a Billet of King Perses, sealed with his own Seal, which she was not to give me, till I arrived at the Age of Puberty. My supposed Mother kept the Secret inviolably till that time; and then I found by the Billet, that two considerable Sums of Money had been set apart for me. But I was forbidden to divulge my Birth, during the Life-time of Eumenes King of Pergamus, that Enemy to the King my Father. It was feared that he would cause me to be assassinated. In dread of this, I retired into Syria to King Demetrius, who delivered me up to the Romans. I have now escaped out of their Chains, and am come to make myself known to the faithful Subjects of the Monarchs from whom I am descended.*

against the *Spanish* General. But these eleven thousand Men were surprized and surrounded by the Troops of *Viriathes*, and cut in pieces. Nay, if we may believe *Diodorus Siculus*, in the Fragment of his thirty third Book, from which we have taken this Circumstance, they were all killed on the Field of Battel; insomuch, that there was not one single Soldier left alive, to carry the News of this second Defeat. The *Quæstor* must then have

shut himself up in the City of *Tartessus*, waiting for the new Succours, which *Gaius Plautius* was bringing to *Spain* from *Rome*.

<sup>14</sup> *Adramyttium* is a City of *Troas* in *Asia Minor*, now called *Andramiti* by the *Europeans*, and *Endromis* by the *Turks*, as we are told by *Leunclavius*. Some also call it *S. Dimitri*. It has given its own Name to the neighbouring Gulph, which is part of the *Ægean Sea*.

THIS



THIS Discourse was a sort of Manifesto which ran through the whole Kingdom. His Air, Figure, and some kind of Resemblance which the People imagined they saw between young *Andriscus*, and the late King, gave Credit to the Fiction: Nevertheless, the Dread of the *Romans* at first stifled the Commotions of the People. The Partizans for the Impostor, did not openly shew themselves, till they saw the Republick embarked in a new War with *Carthage*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCIV.  
L. MARCIUS  
CENSORINUS,  
M. MANILIUS  
NEPOS, Con-  
suls.

DURING the Interval between his Escape and the Siege of the Capital of *Africa*, the false *Philip* (for *Andriscus* had taken the Name of his supposed Grandfather) went to seek for Succours in *Thrace*, and raise Commotions there. Many of the petty Kings of this warlike and credulous Nation, which groaned under the *Roman* Government, entered into Alliances with him, and helped him to conquer *Macedon*. Some Cities gave Way to force, others surrendered of their own accord. In short, *Andriscus* became Master of the Kingdom, of which he said he was the Heir.

AND now, the Siege of *Carthage* taking an ill Turn for the *Romans*, this News and his own boundless Ambition raised the Courage of *Philip* (for we shall hereafter call him by the new Name he assumed) and not content with *Macedon*, he extended his Desires to *Theffaly*. This Country had long belonged to the Kings, whose Successor *Philip* pretended to be; and he claimed what did not belong to him, either as *Andriscus*, or as the Son of *Perfes*.

NEVERTHELESS Force prevailed. A good part of *Theffaly* already acknowledged the Dominion of the Usurper. And then *Rome* awaked. The War with *Carthage* had so swallowed up all her Attention, that her Senate had neglected the Affair of *Macedon*. However, tho' late, *Scipio Nasica* was at last sent at the Head of a Deputation, to which his Character must doubtless command Respect. He was a Man of the greatest Reputation of any in the Republick; and well qualified, either for making use of gentle Methods and the Arts of Persuasion, if it should be necessary to calm the Minds of the People; or of conducting an Army with Skill, if it should be necessary to come to Blows.

As soon as *Nasica* was landed in one of the Ports of *Greece*, he was surprized to hear what Progress the false *Philip* had made in so little a time. The Work of *Paulus Emilius* was totally overturned, and the tributary Republick of *Macedon* was become an independent Monarchy. *Philip* had also made an Entrance upon *Theffaly*. The sad Detail of this bad Situation of Affairs in the *Levant* was not known at *Rome*, till *Nasica* informed the *Conscrip*t Fathers of it by Letter, and demanded powerful Succours; and then the Remedy could not be speedy enough. Nevertheless, he did not continue idle. For want of the *Roman* Legions which had been drawn out of all *Greece*, *Nasica* borrowed Forces of the neighbouring Nations which continued faithful to *Rome*. *Achaia* particularly signalized her Zeal on this Occasion. As this was the most powerful of all the *Greek* Cantons, it immediately lent the *Roman* Succours, notwithstanding past Discontents. Of the Soldiers that came to him from different Places, *Nasica* formed an Army, which stopped the Progress of *Philip* in *Theffaly*. Nay he drove him out of it, and forced him to return to *Macedon*. And here ended the Expedition of the brave *Nasica*. He drew near to *Macedon*, but durst not enter it with an Army tumultuously assembled, and on which he could not depend. We have Reason to believe, that he returned to *Rome* as soon as his Republick had sent a new General into *Greece* to command there. This was *P. Juventius Thalna*, to whom the *Prætorship* of *Macedon* had fallen by Lot.

Zonaras, Eu-  
tropius, Flo-  
rus, and Oro-  
sius.

BUT the new General seems to have carried into *Macedon* only a *Prætorian* Army, consisting of one *Legion*, of four or five thousand Men, and much the same Number of Auxiliaries. And were these enough to resist the Efforts of a young Warrior, supported by *Macedon* and all *Thrace*, and who was not the less brave for being an Impostor? But *Rome* could do no better, at a time, when *Carthage* gave her but too much Employment. *Thalna* was no sooner landed, and at the Head of his new Army, and probably of the Levies his Predecessor had made among the *Greeks*, but he ventured at more than the prudent *Nasica*. It was a Maxim with *Juventius* that *Fortune* always favours the just Cause in War; and therefore as he thought *Philip* an Usurper, he took it for granted that the *Romans* would infallibly be victorious. Upon this Presumption he took it into his



Year of  
R O M E  
DCIV.

L. MARCIUS  
CENSORINUS,  
M. MANILI-  
US NEPOS,  
Consuls.

Head to march through those dangerous Defiles, which divided *Macedon* from *Thessaly*, and which *Paulus Æmilius* had had so much Difficulty to pass. But it was a mad Enterprize; and it cost the *Romans* and the *Prætor* himself, dear. His Army was cut in pieces, and *Thalna* killed in the Battel. By this means *Philip* was continued in the Possession of *Macedon*, and put into a Condition to conquer *Thessaly*; and it is not to be imagined, how much this Prosperity swelled the Heart of this Mock-King, whom *Fortune* raised thus high, only to make his Fall the greater. When he was thus settled on the Throne by his Victory, he dishonoured it with all the Vices common with Men of low Extraction, when they happen to be raised to an high Station. He became proud, arrogant, inaccessible, covetous; and without any Pity plundered his Subjects, for whom his Blood had not given him the natural Affection of a Father. He was cruel, and spared not the Lives of his Courtiers, or best Friends. He dealt much in Calumny; forged false Accusations against the richest Lords in the Country, and seized their Estates. And in short, *Rome* was amply revenged on the *Macedonians* for their Revolt, by the Conduct of the Tyrant they had given themselves.

§. XVII. THE *Roman* Republick had not, for a great while, had a more unfortunate Year than that in which the Siege of *Carthage* began. Nothing but ill News came from *Africa*, *Spain*, and *Macedon*. *Æmilianus* alone supported the Hopes of *Rome*; and it is to be presumed, that had he not been barely a Subaltern, the Republick would have succeeded, in a very different manner, under his Administration. But his Youth disqualified him for the *Consulate*, for several Years. Nevertheless, though he was by Law incapable of being raised to the first Dignity, when the *Consul* *Marcus* held the *Comitia* for the great Elections, yet he had the Suffrages of some *Tribes* for the *Consulship*; which was at least a Preparation, which prepossessed the People in his Favour, and disposed the *Comitia* not to tarry till he came to the full Age, before they raised him to the greatest Station. However, in the mean time *Rome* chose two Heads of too little Merit, to be able to support the Weight that lay upon them. These were *Sp. Postumius Albinus Magnus*, and *L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsonius*. In the same Assembly *Manilius* was continued General till the Arrival of the *Consul*, to whose Lot it should fall to continue the War in *Africa*. In a few Days, this Lot fell to *Calpurnius*, who was not in haste to set out. He left *Manilius* to command the Army before *Carthage* for some time, with the Title of *Pro-Consul*; and it was during this Interval, that the King of *Numidia* <sup>15</sup> died at <sup>16</sup> *Cyrtha* the Capital of his Dominions. At the Age of ninety Years, or a little more, according to some, or a little less, according to others, *Masiniſſa* found his Strength Decay. And when he was struck with Death, though exasperated against the *Romans*, he did not forget that the Republick had been, after all, his most faithful Friend, and was the surest Support he could leave to his Family. It was numerous, since he had then at least three legitimate <sup>17</sup> Sons, and forty other <sup>18</sup> Children by the several Concubines of his Seraglio. We are assured, that at the Age of eighty six Years he had <sup>19</sup> a Son, who was but four Years old when his Father died. In short, though during the Course of his long Life, Death robbed him of many of his Children, he never had less than ten in his Palace. The Sweetness of his Disposition, and his Sobriety, kept him in perfect Health to an extreme old Age.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCV.

SP. POSTUMI-  
US ALBINUS  
MAGNUS, L.  
CALPURNIUS  
PISO CÆSONI-  
US, Consuls.

App. in Punic.  
Epit. Livy;  
Eutropius;  
Zonaras, &c.

<sup>15</sup> It is plain, by *Appian's* Narration, that *Masiniſſa* died about the end of the Year 604, or the beginning of 605. The Proof of it is this. *Scipio*, at his return from *Rome* to *Africa*, found him dead. Besides, his Death preceded the Arrival of *Lucius Calpurnius Piso*, one of the two *Consuls* for the Year 605. And it is certain, that the latter appeared before *Carthage*, in the beginning of Spring.

<sup>16</sup> *Cyrtha* is now called *Constantine*, a City which belongs to the Kingdom of *Algiers*. It is watered by the River *Susgema*, which the Ancients called *Ampſaga*. This River rises in the Province of *Bugia*, and discharges itself into the *Mediterranean*, from which *Cyrtha* was about sixty Miles distant. See the Map of *Africa*, which we have

put in the second Volume, for the better understanding of this History.

<sup>17</sup> *Polybius* says, that *Masiniſſa* left behind him four legitimate Sons. But the Name of one of them is not to be found in the Historians.

<sup>18</sup> *Eutropius*, who prolongs *Masiniſſa's* Life to the Age of ninety seven Years, pretends that this Prince, just before his Death, reckoned up forty four Children, who survived him; *Valerius Maximus* gives him forty five.

<sup>19</sup> The *Greek* Historian, mentioned in the last Note but one, gives this Child the Name of *Stem-bal*; and adds, that *Micipsa*, the eldest of *Masiniſſa's* Sons, adopted him, after the Death of his Father.



IN his last Sickness he neither lost his Presence, nor his Strength of Mind. Being resolved not to divide his Dominions himself between his three legitimate Sons, for fear of raising Discontents among them at his Death; he resolved to leave this to a Friend, who had a sufficient Share of Prudence, Equity and Capacity, to enable him to discharge so weighty a Commission. The King thought *Æmilianus* the best qualified to execute this Scheme, on Account of his Character, the Name of *Scipio* which he bore, his personal Friendship to him, and his great Interest at *Rome*. And he therefore sent a Deputation to the *Roman* Camp, to desire the *Pro-Consul Manilius* to give *Æmilianus* Leave to come to the Court of *Numidia*; and to entreat *Æmilianus* himself to come and see the King his Friend breathe his last.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCV.  
SP. POSTUMI-  
US ALBINUS  
MAGNUS, L.  
C A L P U R N I U S  
P I S O C Æ S O N I -  
U S, Consuls.

BUT notwithstanding all the Diligence of the *Roman*, he did not arrive at *Cyrtha* till after the Death of *Masiniſſa*. He found the whole Court in very great Affliction, and the Queen and the three Princes her Sons, in great Impatience for his Arrival. In short *Masiniſſa* had made no other Will than this, that he had a little before he expired, recommended three Things to his Wife and Children. 1. To keep up no Intelligence on the Continent with any but the *Romans*. 2. To cultivate the Friendship of no Family at *Rome*, more than that of the *Scipio's*. 3. To leave the Division of his Dominions among them, wholly to *Æmilianus*. As soon as the illustrious *Roman* appeared, he gained the Confidence of the three Brothers, and all the Royal Family readily threw up their Interests into so good Hands. *Masiniſſa* had in his Life-time provided for the honourable Support of the great Number of illegitimate Children which he left behind him, and *Æmilianus* improved their Condition, by the Advantages he procured them. All the Difficulty was to satisfy the three Princes, who alone had the Right to their paternal Inheritance. The Kingdom of *Numidia* had been vastly increased by the late King. He had extended it from <sup>20</sup> *Mauritania*, and the Shores of the *Ocean*, as far as to *Cyrenaica*, in the inland-Country; for the Coasts of the *Mediterranean* belonged to *Carthage*. All along the Frontiers of this Republick, next to the inland-Part of *Africa*, *Masiniſſa* had made the Country rich and fruitful. Formerly the *Numidians*, accustomed to Robberies, neglected Agriculture, and lived only by Rapine, or on Herbs, and the Milk of their Flocks. They suffered Want, in the midst of a fat and fertile Country. But *Masiniſſa*, who was himself refined by his Intercourse with the *Romans*, polished his People, and made them Soldiers and Husbandmen. Out of the Lands that he manured, he assigned each of his Children by his Concubines ten thousand Acres, for a Patrimony: So that *Numidia* was now become a flourishing Country. And it was not politic to divide this great Kingdom between the three Brothers.

*Æmilianus* judged very right of the true Interest of this great State. Instead of dismembring it, he thought it best to preserve it entire and undivided for the three Princes. He determined, that they should each have the Regalia and Title of a King, and be equally honoured as such; but that the regal Functions should be divided among them. Each had his Lot according to his Character and Inclinations. The eldest, whose Name was *Micipsa*, a prudent but sedentary Prince, to whom the King at his Death had given his Ring, had the Palace of *Cyrtha* for his Habitation, and the absolute Government of the Finances, for his Share. *Gulussa* the second, who loved nothing but Arms, had the sovereign Authority in relation to Peace and War. And lastly *Mastanabal* the third, a learned Prince, and well acquainted with the *Greek* Literature, took Pleasure in the Exercise of Justice, and administered it, without Appeal, throughout all *Numidia*. Thus the Kingdom was governed without Ministers, and the three Brothers, who were equal Kings, mutually did the Offices of Ministers for each other. What was admirable is, that an uninterrupted Concord reigned among them. The King their Father had taught them early to love Peace. All the Reward *Æmilianus* had for this important Service was, that he accepted the Offer *Gulussa* made him, to follow him to the Camp before *Carthage*, and carry thither with him some Elephants and his *Numidian* Horse. It must be owned, that these Squadrons must be of great Service to *Manilius's*

<sup>20</sup> If *Masiniſſa* had extended his Dominions from *Mauritania* to *Cyrenaica*, as *Appian* pretends, his Kingdom cannot be computed to have been less than four hundred Leagues long.



Year of Army, especially by opposing the formidable Cavalry of *Phameas*, which being mounted on *African* Horses, infinitely excelled the *Italian*, either for Incursions, or unexpected Attacks. So that the Arbiter of the Affairs of *Numidia*, and one of the Kings of the Country, set out together for the *Roman* Camp.

ROM E  
DCV.  
SP. POSEUMI-  
US ALBINUS  
MAGNUS, L.  
CALPURNIUS  
PISO, Consuls.

App. in Punic.  
Zonaras.

§. XVIII. As the Winter is not long in *Africa*, the Campaign opened early. *Manilius*, who still commanded the *Roman* Army, thought to repair in his *Pro-Consulate* the Faults he had committed when *Consul*. And therefore he often sent out *Emilianus* at the Head of several Expeditions, whence he always returned with Advantage. A great Number of Castles and Towns surrendered to him; and there was something memorable in the reducing of <sup>21</sup> *Tezaga*. It was taken by Assault; twelve thousand *Africans* were killed in it, and six thousand more made Prisoners of War. But after all, no Conquest did *Emilianus* more Honour, than that of the famous *Phameas*, the General of the *Carthaginian* Horse, who had distinguished himself so much during the Siege of the Capital. In one of his Incursions, *Emilianus* gained him over to the *Roman* Party. One Day, when both of these brave Officers were in the Field, each at the Head of a strong Party, a Storm overtook them. Each put his Troops under Shelter; and so near one another, that there was only a pretty deep kind of Ditch between them. *Emilianus* went down into it, to examine it, attended by only three Horsemen. Upon which *Phameas* came to meet the *Roman*, and brought with him only his most faithful Friend. This was shewing, that he desired a Conference with *Emilianus*; and they approached each other. When they were near enough to be heard, *How great is your Misfortune*, said the Tribune to *Phameas*, *to be engaged in a declining Cause, which must involve you in its Ruin? Secure yourself, while you have yet time.* At these Words the *African* fetched a deep Sigh, and answered thus. *My Misfortunes are not to be remedied. Carthage will be destroyed; and Rome, which I have so often offended, is not disposed to give me Refuge.* *Emilianus* replied, with a Smile sufficient to gain his Confidence; *If you will depend upon me, I will be your Security, that my Republick shall do something more for you, than barely give you a Retreat.* Upon this there appeared an Air of great Serenity in the Face of the *African*, and he returned only this; *I will consider of it, and you shall soon hear from me.* Then the two Commanders retired, and saw one another no more for some Days.

Orof. B. 4.  
c. 11.

At length the Conference between *Emilianus* and *Phameas* had its Effect, when it was least expected. *Manilius* could not digest the Disgrace he had met with before *Nepheris*; and he thought to efface it by attacking the Place again, and taking it from the Enemy, before he returned to *Rome*. This *Emilianus* did not now oppose as formerly, either because the *Pro-Consul* had taken better Measures for Success, or because he depended a little on *Phameas*. The General ordered his Soldiers to take Provisions for some <sup>22</sup> Days, marched his Army in good Order, pitched a Camp beyond the River as *Emilianus* had at first proposed, and advanced towards the Entrenchments which *Asdrubal* and *Phameas* defended. But the Attack of the Camp and City of *Nepheris* took up more time than the *Pro-Consul* had expected. Above ten Days were already spent by *Manilius* in fruitless Attempts round the Place. There began to be a want of Provisions in the Army, and it was time to retire. But the *Roman* Army were afraid of being followed in their Retreat by *Asdrubal*, at least to the Camp which they had fortified on the Banks of the River. And whilst the *Pro-Consul* was thinking of his Retreat, there came into his Trenches a *Numidian* Soldier, with a Letter for *Emilianus*. No one knew who wrote it, or at least the Bearer had Orders to conceal it. The Letter ran thus. *On such a Day, I shall be in such a Post; (specifying both the Day and the Place.) Be you there with what Number of Troops you think proper. But give Orders to the advanced Guard of your Camp to receive the Man, who shall desire Admittance into it in the Night.*

THE Letter was not signed, but *Emilianus* guessed that it came from *Phameas*. He communicated it to the *Pro-Consul*, who at first suspected some Ambus-

<sup>21</sup> We cannot exactly fix the Situation of *Tezaga*. The Historians either say nothing of it, or not enough for a Foundation for a reasonable Con-  
jecture.

<sup>22</sup> According to *Appian*, the *Pro-Consul* ordered his Soldiers to take Provisions for fifteen Days.



cade on the part of the *Carthaginian*. His Nation was in bad Repute for ill Faith. Nevertheless, when he saw the prudent *Tribune* inclined not to neglect an Adventure which might prove useful to *Rome*, he suffered *Emilianus* to appear at the Place appointed. *Phameas* also left his Camp, and came thither. The *Tribune* met him, and engaged, on the part of the *Pro-Consul*, that he should receive *Phameas* favourably in the *Roman* Camp, and use his utmost Interest with the Senate of *Rome*, to prevail on them to acknowledge him to be a Friend and Benefactor to the *Roman* Republick. They took each other's Word, and mutually depended on their Promises. The next Day, *Phameas* brought all his Cavalry to the Place appointed the Day before, drew them up in Battalia, and in the Presence of *Emilianus*, addressed himself to them thus. *Were there any Hopes left of saving Carthage, I would serve her with the same Zeal, with which I have hitherto postponed her Ruin. But the Obstinacy of the Romans in besieging her, makes her Destruction inevitable; and therefore it is our Business to secure ourselves from the common Ruin. The Constancy of the Besiegers convinces me, that at last the Besieged must sink. I have therefore taken proper Measures to serve you and myself, and am well assured, that the Pro-Consul will receive us among his Troops. Consult among yourselves and give me a speedy Answer.* Not one of all *Phameas's* Squadrons would have refused to follow him, if one *Hanno*, surnamed *The White*, had not debauched some Soldiers from him, and carried them to *Nepheris*. The rest, to the Number of two thousand two hundred Men, attended their General to the *Roman* Camp, where *Emilianus* and *Phameas* were received with the Acclamations of the whole Army. Then *Manilius* abandoned the Expedition of *Nepheris* with more Confidence. He was less afraid than ever of being pursued in his Retreat, by *Asdrubal*. *Phameas* and the best part of his Cavalry, had now deserted him. Nevertheless the *Pro-Consul* did not find himself free from Danger, at his Return. As he had continued seventeen Days before the Place, and his Soldiers had taken Provisions for a few Days only, he was apprehensive, that his Troops would be destroyed by Famine, in the desolate Country, through which he was to pass, for a three Days march. And then he was sensible how much he was obliged to *Emilianus*, for having brought into his Service *Gulussa* the *Numidian*, and *Phameas* the *Carthaginian*. They, with their *African* Horses, penetrated into the Continent as far as to a Country called *The Great Gulph*, and brought from thence plenty of Provisions for the *Roman* Army.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCV.

SP. POSTUMI-  
US ALBINUS  
MAGNUS, L.  
CALPURNIUS  
PISO CÆSONI-  
US, Consuls.

§. XIX. THE *Consular* Troops before *Carthage* were both augmented, and had received fresh Stores of Provisions, when the News came, That the <sup>23</sup> *Consul* *Calpurnius Piso* was sailed from the Ports of *Italy*, with the *Prætor* *Hostilius Mancinus*; and that the one was to command the Land-Army, and the other the Fleet. Upon these Reports, *Manilius* thought it time to send to *Rome*, *Emilianus* and *Phameas*, one to be present at the Elections for the next Year; and the other to be presented to the Senate, to receive the Honours and Rewards he deserved. The *Pro-Consul* in the Letter he wrote to the Senate, did Justice to both these brave Officers. He acknowledged that he was indebted to the Counsels and Bravery of *Emilianus* for all the Successes of the Campaign. He gave an Account of the glorious Negotiation of the *Roman* in *Numidia*, of the wise Division he had made of that great Kingdom between the three Brothers, of the Engagements he had induced *Gulussa* to enter into in the *Roman* Armies, and of the Address of the *Tribune*, in gaining over *Phameas* to the Interest of the Republick. Nevertheless these Letters contained but a very faint Representation of that general Esteem the whole Camp had for *Emilianus*. Officers and Soldiers were all in a Commotion when they heard of his Departure. There was not a *Legionary*, who did not give his Family, by his Letters, an high Encomium on the generous *Tribune*, whose Glory, they said, surpassed that of the *Consuls*. And on the Day of his embarking especially, they gave very sensible Proofs of a sincere Affection for him. All the Troops conducted him to his Ship, and prayed the Gods to bring him back soon to *Africa*, in quality of *Consul*. They, by I know not what Instinct, as it

<sup>23</sup> The *Calpurnian* Family, though *Plebeian*, there were three Branches in this Family; the *Piso's*, was one of the most considerable Families in *Rome*. the *Bestia's*, and the *Bibuli*. By the ancient Authors and Medals it appears, that



Year of **R O M E** were unanimously foretold, That *Carthage* could not be destroyed, but by a *Scipio*, and That Heaven designed *Emilianus* for that great Work. And it is easy to judge what Reception he had from the Senate. He carried *Phameas* to the Senate-house, and caused extraordinary Marks of Distinction to be paid to the *Carthaginian*. The *Conscrip*t Fathers made him sit in their august Assembly; he had a Right given him to wear the *Prætecta* and Buckle, and the *Bulla Aurea*; and he was presented with the Habit of the first *Roman* Magistrates. In order first to settle him among the *Knights*, the Republick gave him an Horse with rich Trappings, a complete Suit of Armour, and a fine Tent. She also assigned him four hundred thousand *Sesterces* out of the publick Treasury; and a Set of Silver-plate was made for him, of a hundred Pounds weight. And lastly, the Praises that were liberally given him for his past Services, were great Motives to induce him to do more for the Republick. Thus the Senate honoured *Scipio*, in one of his Creatures.

DCV.  
SP. POSTUMI-  
US ALBINUS  
MAGNUS, L.  
CALPURNIUS  
PISO CÆSONI-  
US, Consuls.

App. in Punic.  
N. 66.  
Zonaras, B. 9.

AND whilst *Emilianus* was receiving the Applauses of *Rome*, and beginning to make his Interest, in order to be chosen into some *Curule* Dignity the next Year, the *Consul*, *Calpurnius Piso*, and the *Prætor Mancinus* arrived in *Africa*, to continue the War there. Whether these Generals, being more timorous than their Predecessors, despaired of being able to take *Carthage*, or whether they had a Mind to distinguish themselves by an opposite Conduct to that of *Marcus* and *Manilius*, is not known. But be that as it will, they formed a very different Plan for the Campaign from that of the preceding *Consuls*. They thought, that instead of obstinately pursuing the Siege which was begun, it would be more for their Advantage, to take the Cities on the Coast one after another, and leave the Capital to itself. *Clupea*<sup>24</sup> was the first Place they attacked. It had a Port in the *African* Sea, and might be besieged by a Fleet, and Land-Forces, at the same time. But it was defended with Valour: So that the first Attempt of the *Consul* was unsuccessful. He retired full of Confusion; and then he went to vent his Rage on a City newly built, and therefore called<sup>25</sup> *Neapolis*. Its Inhabitants had had a Safeguard from the *Romans*, and had never broken the Neutrality they professed. Nevertheless *Piso* ordered his Soldiers to plunder their Houses, and take their Effects. An Action more worthy of a Barbarian, than a *Roman Consul*! And accordingly, whether it were that Heaven would punish his Perfidiousness; or that a General who has once been defamed for Breach of Faith, loses his Credit and the Confidence of the Nations; his Arms never prospered after. He in vain besieged<sup>26</sup> *Hippagreta*, the whole Summer. This maritime City found much Employment for the *Roman* Fleet and Army. The *African* Corsairs were continually cruising upon the Sea, and took many of the *Consul's* Ships and Convoys. They enriched themselves at the Expence of the *Romans*, and the Hopes of Profit, made these Pirates more audacious, than the Desire of Revenge. On the Land-side, the Garrison of *Hippagreta* often agreed to make Sallies with that of *Carthage*; and the *Consul* always had the Disadvantage. In short, *Piso* was forced to carry back his Fleet and Army to the Port, and Fields of *Utica*, to winter there; without having performed one valiant Action, during the whole Campaign.

App. in Punic.  
N. 67.

§. XX. ALL the World agreed, that since the Departure of *Emilianus*, the Affairs of *Rome* declined in *Africa*. He was deemed the *Achilles*, to whom the De-

<sup>24</sup> The Ancients, as *Polybius*, *Strabo*, and *Hir-  
tius*, place *Clupea* towards the South-Coast, which  
belongs to the Kingdom of *Tunis*. See what we  
have said of this City, Vol. 2.

<sup>25</sup> The Geographers mention two Cities of  
*Neapolis* in *Africa*. That here spoken of is now  
only a Castle which the Natives have named *Nabel*,  
according to *Marmol*. It was near *The Promontory*  
of *Mercury*, sixty five Miles from *Carthage*, be-  
tween *Curubis*, or *Calipia*, and *Clupea*. The se-  
cond *Neapolis*, which *Ptolomy* calls *The Great Lep-  
tis*, stood in the Province of *Tripoli*, on the Coast  
of the *Mediterranean*, between the *Great* and *Little*  
*Syrtis*, to the West. It is yet in being, is called  
*Lepes*, or *Lebeda*, according to *Sanson*, and stands  
a hundred Miles from *Tripoli*, near the Mouth of  
the *Cinyphus*, or the *Magra*.

<sup>26</sup> This City which *Appian* only calls *Hippa-  
greta*, is the same which the Ancients call *Hippo*  
*Diarrhytor*, to distinguish it from *Hippo Regius*. We  
shall not repeat what we have said of these two Ci-  
ties in the preceding Volumes. *Solinus* pretends  
that they were both built by *Greeks*. But we can-  
not find in any Author, that the *Greek Colonies*  
ever penetrated so far. We rather believe *Salust*,  
who says, *Hippo* was founded by the *Phœnicians*.  
We know that several Swarms of those People  
had settled on these Coasts. The City here spoken  
of is called *Hippuacra* by *Stephen of Byantium*, and  
its Inhabitants *Hippacritæ*. Whence *Appian* pro-  
bably, by Corruption formed the Term *Hippa-  
greta*.



struction of *Carthage* had been promised, as that of *Troy* formerly was to the Son of *Peleus*. Whilst he continued unactive the Enemy gained Strength, and even a Superiority. And indeed *Carthage* did get Breath during his Absence, and even had Thoughts of procuring herself new Reinforcements. *Bythias*, one of the Officers of the *Numidian* Cavalry had already left *Gulussa* and the *Romans*, and gone over to the *Carthaginians* with nine hundred Men which he had debauched. This was some sort of Reparation for the Loss they had had in *Phameas*. *Micipsa* also and *Manastabal* did not appear to have the same Affection for *Rome* as formerly. They delayed sending her the Succours of Men and Money which they had promised. The *Carthaginians* overran *Africa* with Impunity, and came even to the Cities that submitted to the Government of *Rome*. It was there reported that *Rome* had lost her Strength and Credit, and that her Repulse before *Hippagreta* was a manifest Proof of her Weakness. Besides, the Sea was open before *Carthage*. Her Ships were at Liberty to sail out of Port, and visit the Coasts of the *Levant*.

AND as the *Carthaginian* Republick well knew that *Andriscus* set up for King of *Macedon*, and wanted Succours to support him in his Usurpation, she sent a Deputation to him, which tended to promote his Enterprize. *We acknowledge you*, said the Ambassadors of *Carthage* to him, *to be a true Descendant of the Kings of Macedon. Your Courage shews your Descent; You have vanquished the Romans. What other Proof need we have of your being of the Blood Royal! Who can express the Joy which the Defeat of the Prætor Juventius gave to all the Nations, who have long since groaned under the Yoke of the Tyrants of the World! You and the Carthaginians are labouring to shake it off. Since then we have one common Interest, let the indissoluble Ties of a mutual Alliance unite us together. The Sea that divides us, will not hinder us from keeping up a Communication, and sending each other mutual Succours. Hannibal and your Uncle Philip entered into a League which made Rome tremble; and if ours should be more lasting it will be more successful. Let us make War jointly, and never leave off, but by mutual Consent. This is what we expect from you. For our Parts we will assist you with our Wealth, and our Fleets. We will leave nothing undone to preserve you from the Chains of the Romans, and to hinder you from being reduced, as your Brothers were, to the Condition of the vilest Artizans.* And though the Historians have not told us the Answer of the *Macedonian*, it may well be presumed, that he accepted Offers which obliged him to nothing, except to continue a War, which was useful indeed to the *Carthaginians*, but absolutely necessary to himself who had begun it.

THUS *Carthage* enjoyed a Moment's Tranquillity; but Ambition soon divided the Chiefs of the *African* Republick. Two Generals commanded the Troops there; one within the City, and the other without. They had both one Name, *Asdrubal*; but nevertheless seem to be of different Extractions. Among the *Carthaginians* Names were not conveyed from Father to Son, and made to distinguish Families. But be that as it will, the *Asdrubal* who commanded in *Carthage* was the Son of a Daughter of *Masnissa*; and consequently was Nephew to King *Gulussa*, who was devoted to the *Romans*: And the other *Asdrubal* made this a Pretence to destroy his Rival. Though he had already under his Command the Army which was encamped without the City, to guard it; he was also ambitious of commanding those in the City, and of being sole General of all the Forces of his Country. The shortest way to gain this Point, was to destroy his Competitor by a false Accusation. To this end he first raised Suspicions in the Minds of the chief Senators, concerning the Fidelity of the Governor of *Carthage*. *He is Gulussa's Nephew*, said he; *and Gulussa is a zealous Friend to our Enemies.* After he had instilled this Prejudice, he pointed out to them Marks of a secret Perfidiousness in the most regular Conduct of the Governor. Till at length it was openly said, that *Asdrubal* was going to betray the City, and was entered into a Negotiation to deliver it up to his Uncle. The Accusation was brought before the Senate of *Carthage*, where the Accused was; and as he was not prepared to answer to the Questions put to him, and Innocence often expresses itself more by Surprise than Words, he held his Peace. His Silence was taken for Conviction; and the Senators instantly caught up the Seats on which they sat, threw them at his Head, and dispatched him, without giving him time to justify himself. The Body of the Governor

Year of  
R O M E  
DCV.  
SP. POSEUMI-  
US ALBINUS  
MAGNUS, L.  
CALPURNIUS  
PISO, Consuls.



Year of vernor lay dead in the midst of the Hall; and his Calumniator took the Place of him whom he had destroyed. When therefore we shall come to treat again of the Siege of *Carthage*, which will soon be renewed, we shall acknowledge only the surviving *Asdrubal* to be Governor of the Place, and thereby avoid the Confusion, which the Sameness of the Names has caused in History.

DCV.

SP. POSTUMI-  
US ALBINUS  
MAGNUS, L.  
CALPURNIUS  
PISO CÆSONI-  
US, Consuls.  
*Zonaras, Eu-  
tropius, and  
Florus.*

§. XXI. Notwithstanding her Engagement with *Andriscus*, *Carthage* could not prevent the Ruin of this new King of *Macedon*. He sunk under the Efforts of *Rome*, and lost the Crown almost as soon as he had usurped it. Indeed, the false *Philip*, in effect, made no other use of the Advantage he had had the last Year, than to hasten his own Destruction. He entered *Thessaly* with more Fury than ever, committed terrible Devastations there, and the Hopes of Pillage drew a great Number of *Thracians* thither.

THE Desolation of this fruitful Country, which had ever been so faithful to the *Romans*, obliged their Republick not to delay supporting the *Thessalians*, and revenging their Cause. *Q. Cecilius Metellus* had been nominated <sup>27</sup> *Prætor* in the last *Comitia*, and *Macedon* had fallen to his Lot. It was therefore his Business to revenge the Affront *Rome* had received in the Person of his Predecessor; and he embarked with a *Prætorian* Army, and landed in *Greece*. At the same time, King *Attalus*, (the Son of *Eumenes*) who inherited the Affection of his Forefathers for the *Romans*, appeared with his Fleet on the Coast of *Thessaly*. *Andriscus* was terrified with this Apparatus for the War which threatened him; and being obliged to keep near the Sea, posted himself in the Neighbourhood of *Pydna*, and sent a part of his Troops to *Thessaly* to defend his Conquests. His Dependence was on his Cavalry, which were more numerous and better mounted than those of the *Prætor*. Nevertheless *Metellus* penetrated into *Macedon*, and drew near to *Pydna*. The first Battel he fought was with the *Macedonian* Squadrons, which had all the Advantage. But *Andriscus* was fearful of his Infantry, and durst not at first hazard a general Action. However, at length becoming more proud upon his first Victory, he had the Boldness to run the Hazard of a pitched Battel; and he had the same Success which the *Macedonian Phalanxes* had always had, when they fought the *Roman Legions* in the open Field. *Philip* was beaten, and retired in Disorder into *Thrace* with his Troops. And whilst he was there assembling new Troops and raising a new Army, the Conqueror returned to *Thessaly*, forced the rest of the *Macedonian* Party there to surrender at Discretion, and again became Master of the Places which *Philip* had conquered.

IN the mean time, the false *Philip* recovered Breath in *Thrace*, gained Strength there, and nothing could put an end to the Imposture he was carrying on, but his Death or Captivity. *Metellus* therefore pursued him to the Place of his Retreat. Desperate Adventures are often necessary for Impostors, who cannot conceal their Shame by any thing, but the Glare of Success: So that *Philip* without Hesitation fought a second Battel. And here *Metellus* made a terrible Slaughter of these new Levies which the King had tumultuously assembled among the *Thracians*. It is said, that in the two Battels, he left twenty five thousand of his Men dead on the Spot. Nevertheless the Author of all these Misfortunes escaped again out of the Fray, and fled to one of the petty Kings of the Country for Refuge. His Name was, according to some, *Byra*, or as others, *Bizus*; and this petty Sovereign, doubtless for fear of drawing on him all the Resentments of *Rome*, delivered up the pretended King of *Macedon* into the Hands of *Metellus*. What Joy was this for the *Romans*, and what Glory for the *Prætor*! He put the false *Philip* in Chains, and sent him to *Rome* where he was carefully kept in Prison, till *Metellus* returned to the Capital to triumph. *Macedon* submitted to the Conqueror; and the *Prætor* had nothing more to do, than to drive out a new Cheat. This was a false *Alexander*, who, in Imitation of the false *Philip*, said, that he also was one of the Sons of *Perses*. He had already associated to himself a Company of Profligates, and seized that Country in *Thrace*, which is watered by the River *Nestus*. But *Metellus* needed only to appear there. He soon dispersed this Mob, and forced them

<sup>27</sup> We have observed in the Preface, upon the Testimony of *Florus*, that the Conqueror of the false *Philip* was then *Consul*. But now more authentick and more certain Testimonies oblige us to alter our Opinion in that Particular. *Cecilius Metellus* who had the Glory of finishing the last *Macedonian* War, commanded there, only in quality of *Prætor*.



to fly to the Extremities of *Dalmatia*. A strange Blindness in the *Macedonians*, Year of who squandered away their Lives and Estates, in favour of two Knights-errant, R O M E who vented Fables among them, which were too readily believed, and not searched DCV. into, till it was too late! But after the Defeat of the two Impostors, *Metellus* did not immediately leave *Greece*. His Presence was necessary there, to guard against, or maintain, a new War; the Seeds of which began to bud forth in *Achaia*, at the time when *Rome* was most busy before *Carthage*, whither the Course of our History now naturally leads us.

§. XXII. THE News of the Reconquest and Pacification of *Macedon*, raised the *Romans* a little out of that general Dejection into which they had fallen. Their Republick was the more affected with her ill Successes in the last two Years, for having been scarce ever accustomed to any thing but Shouts of Victory and Songs of Triumph. The Insults she had received from *Carthage*, which had been treated ill to no purpose, the Loss of the Glory of her Arms in *Africa*, the Revolt in *Spain* (now greater than ever under *Viriathes*, who had gained the Ascendant over all the *Prætors* that had been successively sent against him) and lastly, the Diversion that was ready to be given to the *Roman* Arms in *Achaia*, where the first Sparks of a civil War began to break out, all this much damped the Joy that the Victory of *Metellus* had raised. It was considered, That the Republick wanted great Generals; and That the highest Offices were bestowed by Favour, and not with a due Regard to Merit. The People who were less ambitious than the Senate, generally speaking, judged better of the Persons that were fit to be put at the Head of Armies; and it was generally said, in the *Citizens* Families, that *Æmilianus* was the only General who could repair the Shame of the Republick. The People called to mind the Prediction of *Cato*, when he was almost dying, That none but a *Scipio* could destroy *Carthage*. Every one read over the Letters he had received from *Africa*, in which the *Legionaries* expressed their earnest Desire to have *Æmilianus* at their Head, as soon as possible. And his past Actions and present Conduct spoke more highly in his Favour, than his Clients or Friends. He was modest in the midst of Applause; and carried not his Pretensions beyond the Rank, to which a Man of his Age might legally aspire. Being but thirty seven Years of Age he aimed at nothing more than the *Ædileship*; which was only the first Step to the superior Offices. Nevertheless the People had Thoughts of raising him higher than he himself proposed. When the *Comitia* were assembled in the *Campus Martius*, all the *Tribes* seemed to incline to give their Suffrages for *Æmilianus*. Then the *Consul Postumius Albinus*, who presided in the Assembly, remonstrated to the People, That the Laws were against what they inclined to; That in the Year 574 it had been enacted, that no Person should be chosen *Consul* till he was forty three; and That it would be doing Injury to his illustrious Competitors, who were of a competent Age, to prefer a young Man before them, and raise him at once to the highest Degree. A great Number of Senators joined with the *Consul*; but the *Tribunes of the People* were for the Multitude, who were for electing *Æmilianus*. The *Field of Mars* resounded with the Clamours of the Senate and People; and the Dispute did not cease, till one of the *Tribunes* threatened *Postumius* to deprive him of his Presidentship, if he did not acquiesce in the Will of the Commons. It was to the People only, said he, and not the Senate, that *Romulus and Servius Tullius* gave the Right of electing the Heads that are to govern us. Then the Noise and the Dispute ceased. *Æmilianus* was the first Person who had the peculiar Privilege of having the *Vilian* Law dispensed with in his Favour; and this Precedent had no ill Consequences. He was proclaimed *Consul* by a Majority of Suffrages; and the Collegue given him was *C. Livius Drusus*, a Man of a *Plebeian*, but illustrious Family.

THEN *Livius* claimed *Africa* for his Province, and disputed it with the only Man, for whom *Rome* designed it. But at length he gave Way upon the Remonstrances of one of the *Tribunes of the People*. The latter convinced him, That he could never prevail over a Collegue, in favour of whom *Rome* had dispensed with the Laws, purely that he might finish the *Carthaginian* Expedition: So that *Æmilianus*, without drawing Lots, was nominated Successor to *Piso* in *Africa*, by a Decree of the Senate and People. And by the same Decree, Leave was given the young *Consul* to raise as many Levies in *Rome* as were necessary to make his Army

SP. POSEUMI-  
US ALBINUS  
MAGNUS, L.  
CALPURNIUS  
PISO, Consuls.

App. ; Zonar. ;  
Val. Max. ;  
Epit. Liv. ;  
&c.

Cicero in *Læ-  
lie*, c. 3.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCVI.

P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO ÆMI-  
LIANUS, C.  
LIVIVS DRU-  
SUS, Consuls.



Year of as complete as it had been, when it first sailed from the Ports of *Italy*. *Emilianus* was also permitted to take as many Volunteers with him as he pleased, and had a Power to demand Succours, in the Name of the Republick, of all the Kings and Nations her Allies. These many Distinctions with which he was honoured, were pressing Motives to him not to frustrate the Expectations of his Country. He prepared for his Departure, and set sail first for *Sicily*, and from thence for *Africa*. The *Prætor Serranus*, to whom the Command of the Fleet had fallen, followed immediately after the *Consul*, and came to succeed *Mancinus*, an Admiral of little Ability, who had not signalized himself by any one Exploit. *Emilianus* took on board with him *Polybius*, and *Lælius*, who was to serve him in quality of Lieutenant General. This *Lælius* was the Son of him of the same Name, whom the first *Scipio* had so tenderly loved, admitted to so great a Share of his Confidence, and so usefully employed. The second *Scipio*, in Imitation of his Grandfather, entered into as strict or stricter Friendship with *Lælius* the Son, as the first *Scipio* did with his Father. This *Roman* had distinguished himself so much by his Virtue, that he had no other Surname but that of <sup>28</sup> *The Wise*. His Understanding was solid, and well cultivated. It was said, that *Emilianus* and He, were the Authors of the Plays which appeared under the Name of the Poet *Terence*. From two such Friends *Emilianus* justly expected to receive Assistance, Comfort, and Entertainment, in his Labours.

App. in Punic.  
N. 69.  
Zonar. B. 9.

§. XXIII. THE new *Consul* entered into the Port of *Utica*, towards the Close of the Day; and it seemed as if the Winds and Waves had brought him into *Africa* at that particular Time, on purpose to rescue a considerable part of the *Roman* Army out of imminent Danger. During *Piso's* Absence, who had penetrated far into the inland-Country with his Army, *Mancinus* had ventured to make an Attempt on a Place so near *Carthage*, that it might have passed for one of its Suburbs. This Place was called *Megalia*, and seems to have been surrounded with Walls; but its best Defence was its Situation. It was built on a Rock encompassed by the Sea on both Sides, and consequently was very difficult of Access; they who were in it could not come out, without crossing Precipices. Nevertheless, with the Assistance of his Fleet, *Mancinus* penetrated into it by the Help of the scaling Ladders he planted on his Gallies. He entered *Megalia* with five hundred of his Marines, and made a Lodgment there. Then the *Carthaginians*, as soon as they perceived that this Post which they thought impregnable had been taken by the *Romans*, opened the Gate that answered to it, to drive away the Enemy. A Body of *Carthaginians* made a Sally through the Gate; and *Mancinus* repulsed them, and forced them to return back into their City with Loss.

BUT this Battel could not be fought on the Rock of *Megalia*, without the *Roman* Fleet's hearing the Shouts, and the clattering of the Arms. Instantly therefore near three thousand Men, Rowers and Seamen, some armed, others unarmed, left their Ships, and climbed up the Rock: And hitherto nothing was ever more successful than the *Prætor's* Expedition. He had executed his Enterprize with Courage; but had wanted Foresight. It is to little purpose to seize a Post, if Necessaries are not provided for the Assailants to maintain themselves in it: And *Mancinus* saw the Danger into which he had brought himself, when it was too late. He was forced to spend the Night without Provisions of any sort, and with a great Number of Men, who were continually exposed to the Sallies of a numerous Garrison, which as soon as Day broke would fall upon them. What then could he do in this melancholy Situation? He could not possibly retire and return to his Fleet. He was surrounded with Precipices on all Sides. He therefore resolved to send away in the Evening a light Boat to *Utica*, with a Letter to *Piso*, whose Departure he was ignorant of, or whom he thought returned. The Letter did not arrive till Midnight, and instead of *Piso*, was given to *Emilianus*, who had been landed but a few Hours.

<sup>28</sup> This *Caius Lælius* was the Son of the first *Caius Lælius*, the faithful Friend of *Scipio Africanus*, and his inseparable Companion in his military Expeditions. He was united to *Scipio Æmilianus* by the most tender Friendship. During his Youth, he was instructed by *Panasius* and *Diogenes the Stoic*, two of the most famous Philosophers of that

Time. His extensive and sublime Genius, improved with the finest Parts of Learning, his exquisite Taste for Poetry, and all kinds of Literature, his Erudition, and his Eloquence, are deservedly extolled by *Cicero*, especially in his Book entitled *Brutus*, and his second Book *De Finibus*.



THE Danger of *Mancinus* and his Men affected the *Consul*. He was ever very desirous of rescuing unfortunate *Citizens* out of Danger, and had already merited more than one *Civic Crown*. And he therefore took the proper Measures to extricate the *Prætor* out of the Danger into which he had brought himself by his ill Conduct. In the first Place *Æmilianus* assembled, by Sound of Trumpet, all the Troops he had brought from *Italy*. Then he joined with them all the Militia the City of *Utica* could furnish, put all the Provisions and Ammunition he could on board the Fleet that brought him, and dispatched Couriers to *Piso* to inform him of his Arrival, and to order him to draw near to *Carthage*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCVI.  
P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO ÆMI-  
LIANUS, C.  
LIVIVS DRU-  
SUS, Consuls.

WHEN his Soldiers were embarked, *Æmilianus* ordered them to draw themselves up in Battalia on the Decks of their Ships, that they might appear numerous to the Enemy. Then he weighed Anchor, and sailed towards *Carthage*. His Fleet appeared very seasonably before the Capital about six in the Morning. *Mancinus* and his *Romans* were hard pressed by the *Carthaginians*, who had sallied out of the City in great Numbers; and the *Prætor*, in order to sell their Lives, which he despaired of saving, very dear, drew up the Soldiers and Seamen in a Circle, within which he included those, who being ill-armed, could not sustain any Attacks. There were scarce any among them in a Condition to fight, but the five hundred Men which *Mancinus* had first brought into *Megalia*. The three thousand others who came thither upon the first Noise, in a manner without Reflection, and without Arms, were an useless Body; and *Mancinus* and his Company having been repulsed, had very like to have been tumbled down a Precipice which he had behind him.

*ÆMILIANUS*, before he left *Utica*, had taken the Precaution to release some Captives to go to *Carthage*, to carry the News of his landing in *Africa*, and of his bringing all his Fleet to the Deliverance of the *Romans*, shut up in *Megalia*. This News was confirmed by the Presence of the *Consul*, whose Fleet appeared at Sea laden with a great Army. Then their bare Fear of the Name of a Grandson of the Great *Scipio*, deprived the *Carthaginians* of all Courage. They now fought but faintly, and at length retired within their Walls. By this means the *Consul* had Time and Liberty to bring back the three thousand five hundred Men on board his Ships; and then he immediately sent back *Mancinus* to *Rome*. The latter gave up the Command of the Fleet to the *Prætor M. Attilius Serranus*, who was just arrived; and *Piso*, without Delay, brought his *Legions* into the Neighbourhood of *Carthage*. There *Æmilianus* first took upon him the Command of the *Roman Army*. All the Camp received *Piso's* Successor with Applauses, and promised themselves great Success, under a General who began his Victories with saving the Lives of a great Number of *Romans*.

§. XXIV. As soon as *Æmilianus* was in Possession of the Command, he revived the Schemes of *Marcius* and *Manilius*. He thought the total Reduction of *Africa* depended solely on the taking of *Carthage*: So that without losing time in taking the lesser Cities one after another, he turned all his Forces against the Capital. He pitched his Camp at a proper Distance from it, and began with investing it, before he renewed the Siege. The *Africans* on the other hand made it their whole Business to secure their Capital, and transported all their Forces thither. *Asdrubal*, now sole Commander within and without the City, left his old Port at *Nepheris*, and encamped almost under the Walls of *Carthage*. By that means it was more easy for him, to give Orders to the Garrison, to appoint the Incursions into the Continent, and to guard the Convoys that were to be brought from the inland Country. He filled his new Camp with eight thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, the Command of which he gave to the Deserter *Bythias* the *Numidian*; and their Preparations employed both the Besieged and the Besiegers, for some time.

DURING this short Inaction, *Æmilianus* did little more than endeavour to revive Discipline among his Soldiers. The Contempt they had had for the preceding *Consuls*, had made them negligent in their Obedience, and lessened that Deference for their Generals, which is the Soul of Armies. It was necessary therefore to bring the *Legionaries* into Subjection, before he could overcome the Enemy. Idleness had got Ground in the *Roman Camp*; where, if the Soldiers were at all active, they made it their Business not so much to fight the Enemy, as pillage their

App. in Punic.  
N. 70.

Fields.



Year of Fields. Notwithstanding the Law that forbad the Soldiers going beyond the Sound  
 R O M E of Trumpet from the Camp, the greatest Number broke into the Enemies Coun-  
 DCVI. try, without Orders, plundered the Farms, and made the covetous Merchants fol-  
 P. CORNELIUS low them, who bought at low Prices what these *Banditti* had taken by Violence.  
 SCIPIO ÆMI- Hence Quarrels and Duels among the Soldiers about dividing their Booty : Hence  
 LIANUS, C. their Negligence in military Labours : And lastly, Hence the Vices that follow  
 LIVIUS DRU- Opulence, and the Licentiousness of the Soldiery. The General therefore thought  
 sus, Consuls. it necessary to suppress that Licentiousness, before he could expect to employ them  
 with Success. To that end he assembled them, and addressed himself to them  
 thus. *I served here, before I came to command ; and if you have not utterly forgotten  
 my Conduct, you must do me Justice with Regard to my Submission, and the Respect I paid  
 the Consuls who governed us. I acknowledged the Authority of the whole Repub-  
 lick to be invested in them, and revered it in their Persons. Whilst Marcius and  
 Manilius commanded us, both you and I were kept within the Bounds of our Duty.  
 But they disappeared, and afterwards a Licentiousness was introduced among the  
 Troops they left on this Shore. I am ashamed to say it, but I am under a Necessity  
 of doing it. The Roman Army is now become only an Assembly of Robbers, who  
 are more inquisitive after Booty than Glory. There are more Merchants among you,  
 who come to make Profit of your Robberies, than Soldiers who consider their En-  
 gagements by Oath to serve their Country. These vile Men are insatiably  
 covetous ; and yet you shew more Regard to their Desires, than the Orders of  
 your Commanders. In order to gratify their Avarice, you march out of the Camp at  
 all Hours of the Day and Night ; and make long and dangerous Excursions. You  
 lay waste the neighbouring Fields ; which produces a Scarcity in the Roman Camp ;  
 and the Troops are continually diminished. I have lost more Men by your Duels with  
 one another, than by the Sword of the Enemy. Nevertheless, the Laws empower  
 me to punish past Licentiousness, and to establish Order by Examples of Severity.  
 But the Gods forbid, that the Axes of my Lictors should punish Crimes, which may  
 be repaired by Repentance and a speedy Amendment ! Our Business ought to be to  
 provide for the future, and forget what is past. Let us then go to the Root of the  
 Evil. Let this extraordinary Multitude of Sutlers who infect the Camp, be obliged  
 to leave it before Night ! Let no more remain than we order, and the Quæstors ap-  
 prove of ; and let them be only employed in bringing us, if they please, necessary Pro-  
 visions from Abroad ! We will take care to regulate their Traffick. And as for  
 Legionaries, a noble part of the Roman Soldiery, Fix your Eyes upon me. Re-  
 gulate your Conduct by mine. You shall find me very liberal in rewarding Va-  
 lour ; but as ready to punish any new Breaches of Discipline, as willing to pardon past  
 ones.*

ALL the Camp felt the Impressions usually made on Mens Minds by a lawful Authority, supported by a Man of acknowledged Merit ; and as the Disease was not inveterate, it was easily cured. *Æmilianus* was Master of his Troops, and therefore thought he might now begin the Siege with Success.

§. XXV. He made his first Attack on *Megalia*, called by others *Megara*, and by a Poet, *Magalia* ; that is, on a Suburbs of *Carthage*, which was the whole City, when it was first founded. *Æmilianus* chose the Night for this Enterprize, and divided his Army into two Bodies, to surprize *Megalia*, on two Sides at once. By favour of the Darkness, the *Romans* advanced to the Foot of the Rocks ; but notwithstanding their Silence, the Noise of the Ladders they planted against the Rock, awoke the Garrison, who made a great Shout, to give the Troops Notice to hasten to their Assistance. Then *Æmilianus* first answered the Shout of the Enemy, and after him all the *Roman* Troops returned it. By this he gave the Troops that guarded *Carthage* to understand, that all the *Roman* Camp was before *Megalia* ; and they kept within their Walls, for fear of a fresh Surprize. After the *Romans* had gained the Top of the Rock, it was necessary to climb over the Wall ; and this the *Roman* General thought an impracticable thing ; insomuch that he would have despaired of being able to get into *Megalia*, if he had not observed without the Wall, but very near it, an empty private House, built in the Form of a Tower, and of the same Height as the Ramparts. But upon this Sight he instantly ordered the most active of his Soldiers to seize it, get up upon the Roof of it, and from thence throw over a Bridge to the Wall. Whilst these

Orders



Orders were executing, *Emilianus*, attended by *Polybius* and only thirty Men, Year of went to break open one of the Gates of *Megalia*; and got four thousand Men *R O M E* into this Suburbs of *Carthage*. Those of the *Romans* who got upon the Ramparts *DCVI.* by help of the Bridge, joined their General; an Entrance was made upon *Carthage*; *P. CORNELIUS* and the Post taken was of great Importance, if they could have kept it. But they *SCIPIO ÆMI-* were forced to abandon it, a second time. *LIANUS, C.*

NEVERTHELESS, the taking of *Megalia* struck so much Terror into the *Carthaginians*, that the Soldiers which guarded this Suburbs and those of the Camp which *Asdrubal* had pitched under the Walls of the City, retired together for Refuge into the Citadel of *Byrsa*. The Commotion was as great in all the Out-Parts of *Carthage*, as if the Enemy had been already Master of the Place. And indeed, the *Consul* would have advanced nearer to the Wall that divided the City from the Suburbs, if his Time and the Nature of the Ground would have suffered him. But it was near Night; and the Ground between him and the Wall was full of Orchards, Ruins, Hedges, Channels, and numberless Cuts, fit for Ambuscades. The General therefore thought it would be rash to attempt to cross it. He retired before the Day was closed; well satisfied with having made himself known to the Enemy, and causing them to pass a melancholy Night. *Asdrubal* who commanded in the City was so enraged at the Insult that had been offered him, that he thought he could not sufficiently revenge it, without an Excess of Cruelty. There were in *Carthage* a great Number of *Roman* Captives, taken in the two Years the War had lasted; and the pitiless *Asdrubal* ordered them all to be executed on the Rampart, in sight of the *Roman* Army. Some had their Noses and Ears cut off, others their Hands and Feet, and others were Ham-stringed. Some had their Eyes and Tongues torn out. Others were flayed alive: And after numberless different Sufferings, they were all thrown from the Top of the Wall into the Ditch. This was extreme Barbarity, and utterly contrary to the Laws of Nations. But it was suitable to *Asdrubal's* Taste. Besides the Pleasure he took in shedding human Blood, in this remarkably inhuman manner; he designed by it to render the Enemy utterly irreconcilable, and to shew the *Carthaginians*, that they had nothing more to expect from the Clemency of the *Consul*. But was the Courage of the Besieged raised by their Despair of Pardon? No, certainly. They were now more timorous than ever, and scarce durst expose themselves to the Hazards of a Sally. They were afraid that the Enemy which they had exasperated so much, even as to make him merciless, would make cruel Reprisals upon them.

§. XXVI. NAY *Asdrubal* himself felt the Indignation of the People and Soldiers, in the City where he commanded. He thought he could not make himself Master of it, without usurping a tyrannical Power in his Republick. The Senate had no longer any Authority; nor had the People a Liberty of Suffrage. All things were managed at the Will and Pleasure of the General; who, supported by his Troops, usurped the sole Authority. If any Senators made the least Complaint, they were accused of Treason, and Death was the Reward of their Zeal. By this means all Hearts fainted, and all Arms were in a manner benumbed, and useless: So that when *Emilianus* came to destroy the Camp which *Asdrubal* had pitched at the Foot of the Wall, and which had been deserted, no Body had Courage enough to go and defend it. Nor did the *Consul* find much more Resistance, when he threw up a Ditch before the City, of three thousand Paces long, cross the Neck of Land between the City and the Pool, and thereby covered the City on the Land-side. Nevertheless, as this was the proper means to hinder the Conveyance of any Provisions into *Carthage* that Way, the Fear of being starved drew a few of the *Carthaginians* out of their Stupefaction. And on the other hand, as this Work of the *Romans* began within reach of the Darts thrown from the City, one part of the *Consular* Army was employed in the Works, whilst the other covered and defended the Workmen: So that the Ditch was finished in sight of the Enemy, who in vain endeavoured to hinder it. Then the *Consul* threw up a second Ditch parallel to the first, and at a proper Distance from it. But this Work being farther off from the City, it therefore met with less Opposition. And lastly, the *Roman* General joined the two Ditches together, by two others drawn to the right and left, so that all four made an exact Square. This was a considerable Entrenchment; and *Emilianus* first surrounded it with Stakes and Pallisades, and then



Year of with a Wall six Foot thick, and twelve Foot high. He also guarded the *Courtine* *R O M E* with *Saliant Towers*, at proper Distances: So that all things considered, this was in effect a new City, which the *Romans* built over-against *Carthage*; and so near it, that one Angle of the Wall of the one, was within reach of the Darts thrown from the other. And in order to complete this vast Work, *Emilianus* ordered a vast large Tower of Stone-work to be built, in the middle of the Square; and upon this Tower was raised another of Wood, four Stories high, from the Top of which could be seen all that passed in the besieged City. Within this Entrenchment the *Consul* brought his Troops, lodged them there, and the Square served them for a Camp: So that *Carthage* was surrounded on this Side, as it were, by two Lines of Circumvallation, and Contravallation. This gave the Besieged the highest Dread, and made them exceedingly admire the Activity of the *Romans*. It seemed impossible that they should have finished so laborious a Work, in the Space of twenty Days.

BCVI.  
P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO ÆMI-  
LIANUS, C.  
LIVIVS DRU-  
SUS, Consuls.

THUS to have shut up all Avenues whereby Provisions could be carried into *Carthage* by Land, was much to forward the Surrendry of the Place. Provisions were already distributed there with Oeconomy, and were sold to the Inhabitants at a great Price. Indeed *Bythias* the Deserter, used his utmost Diligence without, to supply the Besieged with Necessaries; but as the Waggon could not pass thro' the Enemy, the Provisions were put on board Barks at some Distance from the City, to be by them conveyed into *The Old Port*. And it often happened, that the Winds and the Fear of the *Roman* Ships retarded these Convoys.

INDEED, the *Roman* Fleet beset both the Ports, but at a certain Distance from them; for fear of running a-ground, or being injured by the Beams and Stones which the *Ballistæ* would have thrown at it: So that there was a Passage between the large Ships of the *Romans* and the City, through which the Barks with Provisions might slip; but in order to this, they must have a brisk Wind which bore in upon the Shore. In the time of a Calm, *Carthage* could not expect to see any Ships come with Provisions. Then the City languished with Want, which after a tedious Delay was no sooner relieved, but it returned again. Besides, the Corn which was brought thither with so much Difficulty was chiefly distributed among the Soldiers, and the Citizens suffered extreamly by a Want of Food.

Livy in Epit.  
Zokaras, B. 9.  
and App. in  
Punic. N. 74.

§. XXVII. BUT notwithstanding the Famine, the *Carthaginians* persisted in their Obstinacy. Some Provisions were brought to them by Sea, and the Hopes of Gain encouraged the Merchants on the Coast to send them more. *Emilianus* therefore saw, that the Siege would be protracted to a very great Length, if he could not find means to cut off the Communication between the City and the Sea. And then the Ability of the *Consul*, and the Obedience of his *Romans*, shewed themselves in the strongest Points of Light. They undertook to stop up entirely *The Old Port*, and make it inaccessible to the Merchant Ships. A vast Expence, and an immense Labour! *Emilianus* resolved to raise a Mole in the Sea, from the Western Extremity of the Neck of Land of which he was Master, to the Entrance into *The Old Port*. This, if we may so speak, was setting Bounds to *Neptune's* Empire, and forcing his Waves to retire. The Design of this painful Piece of Work, which was the more admirable for being entirely new, was to prevent the *African* Barks from carrying Corn to the City, any way but by *The New Port*, which was guarded by the *Roman* Fleet. In order to compass this Point, the *Consul* first ordered great Pieces of Rocks to be thrown into the Sea, which served to break the Impetuosity of the Waves. Then he laid the first Foundations of the Mole he intended to raise, by sinking to the Bottom of the Water great Cut-stones, but so well joined together, that the Water could not separate them. This first *Stratum* was ninety two Foot broad. But as the Work grew narrower in Proportion as it rose in Height, the Top of it at the Surfaces of the Water was but eighty Foot broad; and at length it was carried on, so as to stop up *The Old Port*. Indeed the Enemy, when they saw from their Walls the first Attempts of the *Romans*, laughed at them, and made little Opposition to them. But at last, their Assiduity in their Labour, and Constancy in struggling with the Waves disconcerted the Besieged. They were surprized to see a Mole rise out of the Water, and the Continent lengthened by the Industry of Men, and carried a great Way into the Sea. Their Admiration was soon succeeded by Terror, and that Terror by Rage. They saw they



they could receive no more Provisions by *The Old Port*, and did not expect to receive enough by the *New*. What then could they do? Surrender to the *Consul*? No; their Love for their Country, and their small remains of Hope still supported them. Besides, they were as much afraid of the Fury of *Asdrubal*, as of the Vengeance of the *Romans*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCVI.  
P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO ÆMI-  
LIANUS, C.  
LIVIVS DRU-  
SUS, Consuls.

IN such Times of Despair, People often attempt more than ought in Reason to be expected from the Power of Man. And now Emulation prompted, and Necessity obliged, the *Carthaginians* to undertake an Enterprize almost as difficult as that of the *Romans*. One of our two Ports, said they to one another, is become useless, and the other is not sufficient to furnish us with Necessaries for our Subsistence. Let us therefore dig a third, which shall be so exposed to Winds and Tempests, that the Fleet which besieges us, shall not be able to continue long in that Road, and intercept our Provisions. Nay, let us attempt something still more surprizing. Our Enemies have indeed forced us to burn our Ships; but they have not exhausted our Magazines of Timber, Iron, Cables, Sail-cloth, and Rigging, for building new ones. The building of a Fleet, and digging a Port, are indeed painful Works; but are they more impracticable, than setting Fetters on the Sea, and making Land in the middle of the Water? Or shall we not dare to do as much to save our Lives, as the *Romans* have done to destroy us?

THESE Discourses which passed from Mouth to Mouth, animated all the Citizens of *Carthage*, to assist their Country in this extreme Necessity; and Men, Women, and Children, all helped to carry on the publick Works, according to their Strength and Age. Nevertheless, the Artificers and Citizens only, seem to have been employed in these two Works, and not the Soldiers; and there is Reason to believe, that they were kept a Secret from the Soldiers. At least it is certain, that it was not known in the *Roman* Camp, on what Works the *Carthaginians* were employed. The *Consul* could not discover it by the Prisoners he took. When examined, they all answered, that they had heard from without the City a great Noise of Hammers, and Utensils for removing Ground, Day and Night; but knew not what it meant. A strange Secret! Such a one as would appear utterly incredible, if it were not attested by the Historian, who has given us the most particular Account of the Siege of *Carthage*.

App. in Punic.  
N. 75.

IN as few Days as the *Consul* had spent in raising his Mole, the *Carthaginians* dug a Basin, in the Shore which was exposed to the North Wind, and large enough to receive Barks laden with Provisions. And with the same Diligence, they built and fitted out, fifty *Triremes*, and a sufficient Number of *Flutes*, Long-Boats, and Sloops. Then the *Romans* in their turn were much surprized to see sailing out from the middle of the Land a Fleet, which seemed to be either come down from Heaven, or started up suddenly out of the Water. It advanced out into the Sea, through the new Canal, and appeared in order of Battel, pretty near the Shore. And if it had that instant attacked the *Roman* Fleet, the constant Tradition is, that it would certainly have taken or burnt it. The *Roman* Admiral and his Officers expected nothing less than the Appearance of a *Carthaginian* Fleet: Their Mariners, Rowers, and Seamen, were all a-shore, busy in the Works which the *Consul* was carrying on, to shut up the Place. But the *Carthaginian* Ships only shewed themselves, and after a vain Bravado, retired. Such was *Æmilianus's* good Fortune! Heaven and Earth may be said to have conspired to prosper his Virtue.

Florus, B. 2.

c. 15.

App. in Punic.  
ibid.

§. XXVIII. It was three Days, before the new *Carthaginian* Fleet appeared again at Sea; and in that Interval, the *Roman* Ships had time to prepare for the Battel. Their Arms were complete, their Soldiers well armed returned to their Posts, and their Sails were good. Indeed the *Roman* Gallies were heavier than those of *Carthage*; but they were also stronger, and better stored with Combatants. The *Romans* had some Squadrons of their Allies with them; and *Sida*<sup>29</sup>, a maritime City of *Pamphylia*, had sent some Gallies to assist the *Consul*. With these Preparations and these Reinforcements, the *Prætor Serranus* had little Reason to be in any fear about the Fleet he commanded. Nay, he had no Reason to expect, that the Enemy would venture to come out of their new Port, with Gallies built in such a Hurry. Nevertheless they appeared at Sea by break of Day, and in order of Battel.

<sup>29</sup> The City of *Sida* stood on the Sea-Coast of *Theræ*; conjecture, that the present little City of *Pamphylia*, a Region of *Asia Minor*. *Mole* and *Candalor* was built upon its Ruins.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCVI.  
P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO ÆMI-  
LIANUS, C.  
LIVIVS DRU-  
SUS, Consuls.

THE *Romans* were too proud, and too sure of Conquest, to refuse the Battel that was offered them. Their Ships advanced in fine Order to meet the Enemy; and as soon as they came within reach of one another, both Parties gave great Shouts which were echoed back from the Shore. The Combatants were animated on one hand by the Desires of saving their Lives and Country, and on the other, by a Love of Glory, and a violent Thirst to exterminate *Carthage*. Both Parties were equal in Animosity, and equally experienced in Sea-Fights. In the first Onset, many Darts were thrown from one Galley to the other, and the Number of the Dead and Wounded was great.

ABOUT Noon, the lighter Ships of the *Carthaginians* gained the Wind of the *Romans*. They pursued close after them, killed many Men on their Poops, broke several of their Rudders, and flying from Side to Side, grazed upon the Flanks of some of the *Roman* Ships, and broke their Oars. Nevertheless it may well be imagined, that in this unequal Battel between great Ships, and Boats that had no Advantage but their Lightness, the *Carthaginians* must receive at least as much Damage as their Enemies.

Florus in Epi-  
tom. Liv.

ONE *Latin* Author pretends that the *Africans* were beaten. But be that as it will, the Action lasted a great while after the middle of the Day. And at length the *Carthaginians* thought it would be proper to retire, not that they could not have sustained the Efforts of the Enemy longer, but to preserve Strength enough to renew the Fight the next Day. Nevertheless their Hopes were vain. The Action lasted till Night; and was so warmly renewed in the Evening, as prevented another Action. In short, whilst the largest *Carthaginian* Ships were rowing towards the Port to enter it, the smaller and lighter got before them. The Neck of the Port was narrow; and the Ships that came first endeavouring to enter it all at once, stopped it up, and created a terrible Confusion.

App. in Punic.  
N. 76.

IN the mean while, the *Romans* rowed after them; and then the greater *Carthaginian* Ships which could not reach the Port were forced to fight a second time. In order to prepare for it, and supply their want of Numbers by the Advantage of Situation, they drew up in a Line along a Key, the Foot of which was washed by the Sea. Indeed properly speaking, it was an high Mole, built of cut Stone, without the City of *Carthage*, and which served it for a *Fausse-Bray*, or sort of Out-work. A great Number of Merchant Ships came thither to unlade, and moored their Ships to iron Rings, fastened into the Wall by Cramps of Iron. Upon this Key the Merchandizes were generally landed; but it had lately been defended by a Parapet, for fear the Enemy should seize it. The *Carthaginian* Gallies then placed themselves just before this Terrass, and presented their Prows to the *Roman* Ships, which were coming to fall upon them. The Besieged raised Machines upon the Key, and it was lined with Dartmen: So that the second Fight began in Sight of the City.

THE *Romans* made a large Front with their Ships, and brought them up against those of the *Carthaginians*. The former had the Advantage in this, that they had the Sea behind them to retire to, and to draw back as far as they pleased, in order to return with the more force upon the Gallies which were pent in, and pierce them with their Spurs. But then on the other hand, as the *Triremes* were heavy, they could not well retire without turning their Flanks to the Enemy, and the *Carthaginians* seized that Opportunity to attack, and pierce them on the Sides that presented themselves to them.

It is well known, that all the Strength of the Gallies of the Ancients consisted wholly in their *Prows*, which being armed with long Beaks of Iron or Brass, were driven with Violence against the Enemy's Ships, and made great Holes in them. It was therefore an essential Point in a Sea-fight, never to present any part of the Ship towards the Enemy, except the *Prow*. Nevertheless the *Romans* continued the Attack a great while, though they could not avoid turning their Flanks towards the *Carthaginian* Ships. Hence it was, that they had such Losses, and that their Efforts proved vain.

BUT we have already observed, that there was in the *Roman* Fleet a Squadron of *Pamphylian* Boats which came from the Port of *Sida*. These Eastern People, who were not so brave as the *Romans*, were more ready and able at inventing Expedients: And they first drew up their light Ships in a Line, at a just Distance from the *Carthaginians*. Then they placed behind them some of their more heavy Ships, which



which they fixed steady with their Anchors. From the latter their lighter Ships were sent out, as from their Station, to fall on the *Carthaginian* Ships; but they were fastened with Cables to these Ships that lay at Anchor behind them. By this means, when it was necessary for them to retire, after they had struck the Blow, they were drawn back by the Cords fixed to their *Sterns*, by turning them upon Capstans, and were brought to the Place from whence they set out, in order to return again to the Charge: So that as they retired, they still presented no part of any Ship but the *Prow* towards the Enemy; and the *Roman* Admiral thought this so good an Invention, that he resolved to make use of it. He worked his Fleet in the same manner, and thereby gained a great Superiority over the Enemy. The Fight lasted till the Night was far advanced, and then the Ships the *Carthaginians* had left retired into their Port. This was a glorious Action, both for the Besiegers and the Besieged. More Resolution, Constancy, and Industry, could not be shewn by Men, than had appeared in both Parties.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCVI.  
P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO ÆMI-  
LIANUS, C.  
LIVIVS DRU-  
SUS, Consuls.

§. XXIX. THE *Consul* had seen this Sea-fight from the Continent, and having observed, that the Terrass which covered the City, on the side next the Sea, would be an important Post to him, if he could take it, he advanced that way, with his Land-Forces the next Day, in order to attack it. Whether he carried his Soldiers thither in Barks, or marched them along the Road, between the Sea and the Walls of the City, is not said. But this at least is certain, that the *Consul* carried *Rams* to the Foot of the Mole, battered it all Day, and after he had beat down great part of it, resolved to attack it the next Day, and depended on making himself Master of it. A vast Advantage indeed, if he could have gained it! This would have put it in his Power to command the Island of *Cothon*, and he would have shut up the Entrance into one of the Necks of the Port.

FULL of this Hope therefore, the *Roman* General left his Machines at the Foot of the Mole all Night, and continued there himself with a Detachment to guard them. But after Sun-set, the Besieged plainly saw of what Importance it would be, to defend the Key, and prevent the Enemy's making a Lodgement there; and whilst they were searching for Means to do this, a Company of resolute Men came and offered to set Fire to the Machines of the *Romans*, and destroy the Preparations they had made for the next Day's attack: An Enterprize which seemed to be beyond the Power of Man. In order to do this, it was necessary first to swim cross a good part of the Port. There was no reaching the Terrass in Boats, for the muddy Places which must be passed over in order to come to it. Besides, it was by no means proper to set out with burning Flambeaux in the Dark, because the Light of them would discover the Design. But nevertheless the Company promised to surmount all these Difficulties. They stripped themselves, went into the Water, and took unlighted Torches in their Hands. Oftentimes they swam, and sometimes the Water was no higher than their Waistes; and at length they came near enough to the Machines to burn them. Then they struck Fire, and lighted their Torches, and threw them with Fury against the *Rams*, to reduce them to Ashes. These naked Men appeared to the *Roman* Detachment, as so many Monsters started up out of the Sea; and the Fire they had in their Hands surprized the *Legionaries*. Nevertheless they did not fail to throw their Darts at them, and march to meet them Sword in Hand; so that there was a great deal of *Carthaginian* Blood shed. These Firemen had neither Arms to attack the Enemy, nor Bucklers to guard themselves against their Blows. Nevertheless, they threw themselves among their Darts like so many wild Beasts. And at length they gained their Point, burnt the Machines, and put the *Romans* to flight, only with their Torches. If the *Consul*, who was present in the Action, had not ordered those of his Soldiers who fled to be killed, they would all have been dispersed. In short, they returned to the Camp; and the Impressions of Fear that had been made upon them were so strong, that they continued all Night under Arms.

BUT though the Machines of the *Romans* were burnt, *Carthage* was afraid they would renew the Attack. They were a constant People, and did not desist upon the first Difficulty: And therefore the *Carthaginians* repaired the Mole in all Haste, and secured it as much as possible. They raised wooden Towers upon it, and filled them with Soldiers. Nevertheless, all this was not enough to discourage the *Consul*. He thought he might turn these wooden Buildings, with which the



Year of Besieged had guarded the Terrass, to his Advantage: And in order to set Fire to  
 R O M E them, and thereby drive away the Enemy, he prepared earthen Vessels, which he  
 DCVI. filled with combustible Matter, and threw against the Towers with his *Ballistæ*.  
 P. CORNELIUS This sort of Bombardment was probably made from the Sea, by the Galliot, on  
 SCIPIO ÆMI- which the *Ballistæ* were raised. But be that as it will, the *Romans* took Advan-  
 LIANUS, C. tage of the Confusion the Fire made among the Defenders of the Terrass, scaled  
 LIVIUS DRI- it, drove the *Carthaginians* from the Mole, and *Æmilianus* made a Lodgment of  
 sus, Consuls. four thousand of his Soldiers upon it.

§. XXX. AND now, Winter approached; but nevertheless it was necessary to keep Possession of this advantageous Post; and the *Consul* took care to secure his Men against the Sallies or Insults of the Enemy. There was a considerable Space of Ground between the Walls of the City and the Key; and *Æmilianus* dug a Ditch there. Nor was this all. He built a Brick Wall all along the Terrass, as high as the Walls of the City. From both these, Darts were mutually thrown, with equal Advantage. Thus *Carthage* was now pent in on the Sea, as well as the Land-side. This was the State of the Siege, when the Rigours of the Season obliged the *Romans* to desist from pursuing it till Spring.

BUT *Æmilianus* did not continue idle in his Trenches during the Rains and Frosts. He made it his Business, both to procure a Subsistence for his own Troops, and to deprive the Besieged, who were already pressed with Want, of all their Resources. He sent out several Detachments from his Camp to fetch Corn from the Fields at a great Distance; and reserved himself for a more important Enterprize.

Liv. in Æpit.  
 App. in Punic.  
 N. 78.

THE Camp of the Enemy near *Nepheris*, formerly abandoned by *Asdrubal*, had been repaired under the Command of one *Diogenes*, who might be the *Bythias* beforementioned. This *Diogenes* continually sent Convoys of Provisions from thence to the Besieged by Sea; and they were brought into the new Bason. To take *Nepheris* then was to deprive *Carthage* of her chief Magazine of Provisions. The *Consul Manilius* had twice failed in this Enterprize. Nevertheless, *Æmilianus* did not think it above his Strength. He attempted it, and succeeded. *Lælius* the *Consul's* Friend, and Lieutenant General of his Army, had Orders to keep close to the *Pool*, and lead on a part of the Troops by Land. *Æmilianus* himself embarked in the *Pool*, and soon came up with his Detachment, which had set out some Days before him. *Gulussa*, one of the *Numidian* Kings, was also of the Party with his Cavalry and Elephants. At length they arrived within about two *Stadia* from *Diogenes's* Camp; and perhaps never were a greater Number of People assembled in any Trenches, than in those of the *Carthaginian* Commander under *Nepheris*. All the Inhabitants of the Country who could not retire to *Carthage*, had fled to this Camp for Refuge. But this Multitude did not terrify the *Consul*. He encamped himself within reach of the Enemy; desired *Gulussa* to watch the Sallies of the *Africans*, and fall upon them with his Horse; and left the Command of his Camp to *Lælius*. As for himself, he divided his Care between the Bulk of his Army which continued before *Carthage*, and those of his Troops which were encamped near *Nepheris*. He was continually running from one to the other, with unparalleled Activity. On one hand, he hindered his Soldiers from making any inconsiderate Attempts upon *Carthage*, during his Absence; and on the other, he stirred up *Gulussa* and *Lælius*, to take all Advantages that offered.

§. XXXI. ONE Day, when he was in *Lælius's* Camp, he ordered his Machines to be advanced towards *Diogenes's* Trenches, and battered his Out-works. With their *Rams* the *Romans* beat down two Towers, the Fall of which made two Breaches, large enough to be mounted in Assault; and *Æmilianus* commanded the two Attacks in Person. The first was made by three thousand chosen Men, who followed one another so close, that the first could not retire. They therefore penetrated into the Camp, but were immediately invested by all the *African* Soldiery, who ran thither to repulse them. This was the very thing *Æmilianus* had expected; and in order to provide for it, he had placed a thousand *Legionaries* near the other Breach, who had hid themselves till further Orders.

WHILST the Battel grew warm at the first Attack, *Æmilianus* hastened to put himself at the Head of the thousand *Romans* who were hid, and continued unactive. With these he mounted the second Breach, entered the Camp, broke down the



the Palisades, and made himself Master of it. The *Africans* were seized with Dread, thinking that the whole *Roman* Army was come to fall upon them; and at length thought a disorderly Flight their only Refuge. Soldiers and Peasants, some on Foot, and some on Horseback, dispersed themselves in the Fields, seeking a Retreat. But *Emilianus* had taken care that very few of them should escape. *Gulussa*, with his Cavalry and Elephants waited for the Fugitives in the Plain, and made a terrible Slaughter of them. If we may credit one *Greek* Historian, seventy thousand *Africans*, armed, and unarmed, lost their Lives. The *Romans* made ten thousand Prisoners of War; and of all this vast Multitude only four thousand escaped.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCVI.  
P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO ÆMI-  
LIANUS, C.  
LIVIVS DRU-  
SUS, Consuls.

Thus the Camp in which *Diogenes* commanded was forced; but the City of *Nepheris* was not yet taken. It was, properly speaking, only a Castle, situated on a Mountain, about twenty three Miles from *Carthage*. Whether *Diogenes*, or some other Governor, undertook to defend it, is not known. But this Siege appears to have been protracted longer than the *Roman* General had expected. Its Situation, and the Severity of the Cold, which was most sensible in a mountainous Country, kept the *Romans* twenty two Days before it. But at length *Emilianus* reduced it, and as soon as he was Master of it, took it for granted that the Surrendry of *Carthage* must follow. From whence could the Inhabitants of this populous City now have their Provisions? Indeed some Merchant Ships ventured to bring them some through numberless Dangers; but these Convoys were few, and the *Africans* were not so zealous for their Capital as formerly: So that the Famine there was extremely great. The Besieged were starving, and forced to feed on all those things that Nature most abhors. *Asdrubal* only enjoyed Plenty, and thereby in some measure insulted the Miseries of the Publick. He every Day sat down to a sumptuous Table, where no Delicacies were wanting. It would have been difficult for the most formidable Tyrants in *Greece* to have furnished themselves with a better Table in Times of Peace; and the Luxury of the Governor was also accompanied with Pride, and great Barbarity. He without Pity saw a People perishing with Hunger, whose Miseries were wholly owing to himself; and if any of them dared to murmur, his Guards immediately dispatched them. Nothing was to be seen in the Streets but dead Carcasses, or walking Skeletons.

*Polyb. in ex-  
cerptis apud  
Valesium.*

§. XXXII. Inasmuch, that at length *Asdrubal* himself was struck with the Sight which he had continually before his Eyes; and whether he was afraid of some sudden Revolution, or apprehended that he should soon want Provisions for himself, his Wife, and Children, he desired an Interview with the *Consul*. But he despaired of being able to get Access to him himself, after his Cruelty to the *Roman* Captives. And therefore he found out a Way of coming at *Emilianus*, by the Interposition of a Person, whom he had not so much exasperated. *Gulussa* was an *African* Prince whom *Asdrubal* had not offended, and who besides had a great deal of Interest in the *Roman* General; and it was by him that the *Carthaginian* conveyed his Request to *Emilianus*. *Asdrubal* obtained a Conference with the *Numidian*, and appointed the Place of meeting.

Without *Carthage*, in a Place which was divided by several Cuts or Ditches, *Gulussa* and *Asdrubal* met, with those Ditches between them. But in how different a manner! The King of *Numidia* came without a Guard, plainly dressed, and unarmed. On the contrary, the Governor of *Carthage* appeared attended by twelve Guards well armed, dressed in a Regal Manner, wearing a purple Mantle, and armed with a *Cuirass*: And the proud Republican was as haughty in his Conduct, as pompous in his Appearance. He stood fixed in his Place, and made Signs to the King to approach him. *Gulussa* overlooked Ceremony; drew near to the Side of a pretty narrow Ditch, which divided him and *Asdrubal*; and broke Silence thus.

*What Occasion had you for a Guard, to come to a private Conference, where all things were to be transacted in a friendly manner? I was afraid of the Romans,* answered *Asdrubal*. *Why then,* replied *Gulussa*, *did you shut yourself up in a besieged City? You commanded an Army in the Country, and might still have avoided them. But to come to the Purpose. What do you desire of me?* Here the Governor appeared Thunderstruck, and plainly shewed his Confusion, at being forced to have recourse to the Mediation of an Enemy. *In the Name of our common Gods,* said he



Year of R O M E DCVI. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ÆMILIANUS, C. LIVIUS DRUSUS, Consuls.

he to the Numidian King, *I desire you to intercede with the Roman General. Let him but spare Carthage, and suffer it to subsist without demolishing it; and we are ready to submit to any thing else, even to Slavery itself.* Gulussa was surprized at this unexpected Request, and answered; *What? Have you no other Proposals to make now that you are oppressed with Famine, and surrounded on all Sides, than what were rejected at Utica before the Siege? No, No,* replied Asdrubal hastily, *we are not reduced so low as you imagine. Our Allies are arming on all Sides, at Home and Abroad. Our Troops are in a Posture of Defence, and we have the Gods for us. It is for the sake of Religion, and the Temples, that we continue the War; and Heaven is too just to abandon us. Give then the Consul to understand, That the Gods have Thunderbolts in their Hands; and That Fortune is not always constant. In a Word, we are determined not to survive Carthage, but will all perish before we see her demolished.*

GULUSSA could not but be affected with the Fate of one of the finest Cities in the World, and of that great Number of Inhabitants who were destined to perish; and he put an end to the Interview, and promised to appear at the same Place the next Day. When he was returned to the Camp, he gave the Consul an Account of the Conversation; and Æmilianus laughed at the Demand, the Bravadoes, and the Hopes, of Asdrubal. *If he depended so much on the Protection of the Gods, said he, should he have provoked them by violating the Laws of Nations? The Blood of our Roman Captives, whom he cruelly massacred, Cries for Vengeance against him.* Then the Numidian King plainly perceived that the Reasons of the Carthaginian were very weak ones; and took another Method to soften the Heart of the Consul. *Formerly your Grandfather Scipio, said he, was mollified by the Entreaties of the Carthaginians, and put them again in Possession of their Capital. And I am very ready to grant, that he in a great Measure did this upon Principles of Humanity. But had he not likewise some Regard to his own Interest at the same time? He made all Haste to conclude that Peace with Carthage, which humbled without destroying her; because, if I am rightly informed, he was afraid a new Consul would, by the Favour of the People, be soon sent, to rob him of the Glory and Fruit of his Labours. This was his Reason for finishing the War before a Successor could come from Rome to supplant him. And was he therefore deemed the less worthy of the illustrious Name of Africanus? If not; then neither will it be shameful for you, to follow the Steps of the Great Scipio, since you have as much Reason to fear a Rival in Glory.*

THE King spake thus, because the Consular Year was just ready to expire, and the Judgments of the Senate and People were always uncertain. They might possibly be so capricious as to send one of the new Consuls to Africa; and then the new General, who had deserved nothing of it, would run away with all the Honour of the Siege which was almost finished, the Triumph, and the Surname of Africanus. Æmilianus therefore, who was not insensible of Glory, hearkened to Gulussa's Advice. He became more ready to come into a Peace; but would upon no Terms give up the Interests of his Country. He knew that it was the Determination of the Roman Senate and People, that Carthage should be destroyed. And this being granted, he consented to allow the Carthaginians favourable Terms. Asdrubal had personally deserved his highest Resentments. Nevertheless the Consul sent him a Message, which might well have gained him. *Since you are to return again to the same Place to morrow, said Æmilianus to the King, You may assure the Governor from me, That I will give Life and Liberty to himself, his Wife, and Children; That I will give him leave to carry from Carthage ten Talents in Effects; and That I will, on his Account, give any ten Families that he shall chose, their Lives and Estates.* Gulussa did not doubt but these Offers would be agreeable to Asdrubal, and came to the Place of the Conference at the Hour appointed. The Governor also came, and appeared like a true Theatrical King. By his Walk, Dress, and Appearance, one would have imagined, that he was acting the first Part in a Tragedy. He was naturally fat and bulky; his good Plight appeared in his Face; and at this Time, the Ruddiness of his Countenance shewed that he had been regaling himself. He advanced, with very slow Pace, towards the King, who waited for him; and the latter began with, *I bring you good News, Asdrubal, I have succeeded.* Which said, he told him, how far the Consul had con-

descended



descended in his Favour ; and then the *Carthaginian* fully displayed his foolish Vanity, and his want of Foresight. When he found that nothing was said of suffering *Carthage* to subsist, he assumed the Airs and Gesture of a Bully. No, No, cried he, striking hard and often upon his Thigh, *The Sun shall never see Carthage destroyed and Asdrubal alive.* Great Words in the Mouth of a vain Man ! But he soon gave himself the Lie, by his Actions.

§. XXXIII. THE Conferences with *Asdrubal*, and *Emilianus's* Consular Year, ended almost at the same time ; and the Republick chose *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *L. Mummius* for the new Consuls. They entered upon their Office on the Calends of January ; but the Senate were not so unjust to *Emilianus*, as to assign his Province in *Africa* to either of them. The People at *Rome* were truly informed of the State to which *Carthage* was reduced, by the Prudence and immense Labours of the old Consul ; and the Generalship of the *Roman* Troops on the Coast of *Africa*, was unanimously given to *Emilianus*, till such time as he should finish the great Work he had begun. As to the new Consuls their Provinces were assigned them by Lot. The Care of watching *Gaul*, and the Government of the rest of *Italy* fell to *Cornelius Lentulus* ; and *Achaia* was *Mummius's* Appointment. This was a new Commission. The Troubles lately raised in that part of *Greece* were thought to require the Presence of a Consul, and no less Forces than a whole Consular Army. There was an important War to be carried on there, the relation of which we shall suspend till the Siege of *Carthage* is ended. This Year was so fruitful in great Events, that they ought to be successively related, to avoid Confusion ; and we will first pursue the Siege and Destruction of *Carthage*. This was a memorable Epocha, from which the *Romans* dated both the Origin of that boundless Power which they exercised over all the Earth, and the Decay of that rigid Virtue, which had so long distinguished them from all the Nations in the World.

THE Winter is not long in *Africa* ; and the return of the Spring soon gave the *Pro-Consul* *Emilianus* leave to renew his Attacks upon a City, which was reduced by Famine to great Extremities. Nevertheless, their Rage still kept up, in some measure, the Spirits of the Besieged. As for the *Pro-Consul* he concluded, that if he could make himself Master of *The Great Port*, the Place could not long hold out.

To take *Cothon* and settle there, was absolutely to cut off all Supplies from *Carthage*, and to open himself a Way into it. To this end therefore, *Emilianus* himself made a false Attack on the Citadel. *Byrsa* was the most important Post the Besieged had to preserve ; and therefore almost all the *Carthaginian* Soldiers hastened thither, and made their utmost Efforts to repulse the Assailants. As for *Cothon*, it was divided into two equal Parts, one square, and the other circular ; and *Asdrubal* thought he had sufficiently secured the whole Island by setting Fire to the Part next the Sea, which was called *The Square of Cothon*. But nevertheless it was on that Side that *Laelius* attacked this Rock which was deemed impregnable. Whilst the *Pro-Consul* was making a Diversion on the Side of the Citadel, his Lieutenant General was besieging *Cothon*, and the *Romans* entered it by the Point of the Mole, on which they had spent the Winter. They built a wooden Bridge over the neighbouring little Channel, and by that means scaled the Rock. *The Square of Cothon* was divided from the Mole, only by a small Arm of the Sea ; and it was taken without Difficulty. From thence *Laelius* and his Troops marched on to the circular part of *Cothon*, and drew near the City, after they had crossed the Ditches, which the Besieged had thrown up in the Island. The Garrison that defended these Trenches was so weak, that it was easy to disperse them. And as soon as *Laelius* was Master of the whole Island, his Men gave a great Shout, whereby *Emilianus*, who was engaged before *Byrsa*, understood that *Cothon* was in the Hands of the *Romans*.

§. XXXIV. THE happy Success of this first Enterprize increased the Emulation of the Besiegers, who were endeavouring to take *Byrsa*. They abandoned the false Attack, and fell so furiously on one of the Gates of the City that they broke it down, notwithstanding the Darts that were thrown from the Ramparts. From thence they advanced to the nearest Place, and there made a Lodgment. The Night overtook them, and hindered them from proceeding farther ; but the Consul from that time

Year of  
R O M E  
DCVI.  
P. CORNELIUS  
SCIPIO ÆMI-  
LIANUS, C.  
LIVIVS DRU-  
SUS, Consuls.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCVII.  
C. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS, L.  
MUMMIUS  
ACHAÏCUS,  
Consuls.



Year of resolved to attack the Citadel from the Inside of the City. *Byrsa* was much less  
 R O M E fortified there. As soon as it was Day, the General brought four thousand fresh  
 DCVII. Troops from his Camp, but did not think it lawful to begin the great Expedition  
 he was going upon, till he had first performed a religious Ceremony, then practised  
 by the *Romans* before the taking and sacking of great Cities. This was to <sup>30</sup> *Evo-*  
 cate the tutelary Gods of the City, and entreat them to abandon a Place which  
 was unworthy of their Presence and Protection. The Form of Prayer that *Æmi-*  
*lianus* used to engage them to leave *Carthage*, was this. O ye Gods, and Goddesses,  
 if there be any to whom the Preservation of this Capital is dear, abandon it! Re-  
 nounce the Temples which have been dedicated to you there, and come and take up  
 your Abode among the Romans! If you will, by the Event, give us sensible Proofs  
 of your Assistance, I promise to erect Temples, and consecrate Games to you, in Rome.  
 This said, he sacrificed some Victims, consulted their Entrails, and had all favour-  
 able Answers. Then the *Pro-Consul* devoted the Inhabitants of *Carthage* to Death,  
 and to the Gods of Hell, in these Words. O formidable Pluto, and ye infernal  
 Manes, let loose against the Carthaginian People Fear, Terror, and Vengeance! Let  
 the Nations and Cities which have taken up Arms against us, be overcome and destroyed!  
 Let all their Fields be plundered, and their Armies routed! I deliver up, and devote to  
 You, Furies, all the Enemies of my Republic, in my own Name, and in the Name  
 of the Senate and People of Rome. But as for our Legions and auxiliary Troops,  
 guard them from Death and the Accidents of War! O Tellus, the Mother of all  
 Living, and Thou Great Jupiter, I promise to sacrifice to you three black Sheep!  
 Thus spake *Æmilianus*; and when he named the Goddess *Tellus*, he stretched out  
 his Hands towards the Earth; as he had lifted them up towards Heaven, when he  
 pronounced the Name of *Jupiter*.

As soon as the Ceremony was finished, the *Pro-Consul* ordered the four thou-  
 sand Men, newly come from the Camp, to begin the Attack on the Citadel. But  
 they did not punctually obey their General's Order. A Temple of *Apollo*, which  
 was known to be very rich, tempted them to lose time in plundering it. The Sta-  
 tue of the God that was worshiped there, was dressed in a Mantle of massy Gold,  
 and all the Building was covered with Plates of Gold. The Soldiers therefore fell  
 with surprizing Greediness on this fine Prey. They cut the Mantle and Gold Plates  
 in pieces with their Sabres, to divide it among them; and it might very well hap-  
 pen, that one of the Plunderers might accidentally cut his Hand. Upon which  
 weak Prejudice, some superstitious Historians have ascribed an Event, to the mira-  
 culous Vengeance of the God, in which there was nothing but what was natural.  
 At least it is certain, that *Apollo's* Anger did not save either *Byrsa* or *Carthage*  
 from utter Destruction. After they had taken out of the Temple the Value of a  
 thousand <sup>31</sup> *Talents*\*, the *Roman* Soldiers advanced towards the Side of the Citadel,  
 and *Æmilianus* led them on to the Attack. *Polybius* the Historian who marched  
 by his Side, represented to him, that to prevent his being surprized from behind,  
 it was necessary to throw *Caltrops* on the Side of the Port, and Planks full of  
 Nails with the Points upwards. But the brave General replied, *You are over cau-*  
*tious: There is nothing to be feared from a City which is full of Confusion, and in*  
*effect already taken.* Which said, nothing remained but to advance with all con-  
 venient Speed, to the Foot of the Citadel.

§. XXXV. THERE were three exceeding steep Streets that led from the Market-  
 Place to *Byrsa*. The Houses on both Sides of them were very high, and the *Ro-*  
*mans* were overwhelmed with Darts and Stones thrown from the Tops of them:  
 So that it was dangerous for the Besiegers to proceed further, till they had first  
 cleared these Retreats of the great Numbers of Enemies that filled them. To this  
 end, the *Pro-Consul* in Person, at the Head of a Detachment, attacked the first  
 House, and made himself Master of it Sword in Hand. After his Example, his  
 Officers and Soldiers went on from House to House, killed all that made any  
 Resistance, and the better to pass from House to House, and cross the Streets, they  
 made Bridges of Beams and Planks, from one Roof to another. As fast as the  
 Houses were cleared of Enemies on both Sides of the Street, the *Roman* Soldiers

<sup>30</sup> See our two Dissertations on the Origin, Use, Laws, Rites, and Forms, of *Devotements* and *Evo-*  
*cations*, in the first and second Volumes.

<sup>31</sup> These thousand *Talents*, according to our former Valuation of the *Talent*, amount to three Millions of *Livres*.



advanced in order of Battel towards the Citadel; but they were still too much confined, and could not make so large a Front as they wanted. Never was more Blood shed in any Passage than in this. From the Market-place to the Citadel, two Troops of Soldiers fought their Way every Step, one above on the Roofs of the Houses, the other below in the Streets; and they killed all they met, without any Distinction. The Air rung with Shrieks and Lamentations. Some threw themselves down from the Tops of their Houses; others were thrown down by the Soldiers from the highest Stories: And as they fell they perished several Ways. Some fell on the Darts of their Enemies, or the Points of their Swords; others beat themselves to pieces with the Fall; and in short, none escaped, but those who hid themselves in some private Places in their Houses. Hitherto, the *Pro-Consul* had endeavoured to make his Way to *Byrsa*, only with his Sword; and he was afraid lest Fire should be set to the Houses whilst his *Romans* were taking them by Force. In that Case, both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* would have been consumed in the same Flames. But when the Advanced-Guard of the *Roman Army* was arrived before *Byrsa*, the *Pro-Consul* himself thought fit to burn down all the Quarter that surrounded the Citadel. By that means he opened a Passage for the rest of his Troops which he expected there, and made more room for the Operations of the Siege.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCVII.

CN. CORNELI-  
US LENTULUS  
L. MUMMIUS  
ACHAICUS,  
Consuls.

AND then was seen a more terrible Sight, even than that of the Slaughter committed by the *Romans* in the Houses. In the first Place the Heavens were darkened with Clouds of Smoke; then the Flames broke through them, and spread from House to House, and from Street to Street. The Side-Walls, burning Beams, and the Bodies of those who had been stifled with the Smoke, or burnt with the Fire, fell all into the Ruins together. They had escaped the Swords of the Soldiers, only to die a more cruel Death. The Carpenters in the *Roman Army* assisted the Flames in demolishing the Houses. They, with Axes in their Hands, or long Crooks, and Forks of Iron, pulled down the Beams, and threw them into the Fire which was burning the lower Stories; and it is incredible how many *Carthaginians*, that were yet alive after their Fall, were massacred by these Workmen. With their Crooks they dragged them into great Ditches, prepared for the Dead, for fear of their infecting the *Roman Army*; and there they buried both the Dead and the Living. Only out of Pity to the latter, they sometimes gave them great Blows on their Heads, and broke their Skulls, or trod them under their Horses Feet. The *Tribunes* of the *Roman Legions* were hardened at the Sight of so many Cruelties; or at least affected not to attend to them. They were busy in keeping their *Manipuli* continually upon their Guard, against the Sallies the Enemy might make from the Citadel. But the Sight the Besieged had before their Eyes discouraged them. At length, after the Fire and Demolition had lasted six Days, the Rubbish was removed, and the *Pro-Consul* made a great Area for a Lodgment, and for the Employment of his Troops. But it was not without Trouble and Fatigue that the General compassed this painful Work. He was six Days and six Nights without taking any rest. At length on the seventh Day he sat down at an Eminence, to consider what were the weak Parts of *Byrsa*, and how to manage his Attacks. These Reflections, which employed him when alone, served him instead of Sleep.

§. XXXVI. THE Presence of the whole *Roman Army* which was then assembled before the Citadel, terrified that prodigious Number of Men and Women who had fled for Refuge thither, as to their safest *Asylum*; and contrary to the Expectation of the *Pro-Consul*, a Company of about five and twenty thousand Women<sup>32</sup> came out of the Gates of *Byrsa*, in such a Condition, as moved Pity. They threw themselves prostrate at the General's Feet, with the sacred Garlands of *Æsculapius* in their Hands, and offered him the Symbols of that God, whose Name and Mediation they implored. All the Favour they asked was Life and Slavery. *Æmilianus* was softened, and granted their Prayers. And it is said, that then the Wife of *Asdrubal* earnestly entreated her Husband, to suffer her to join the Supplicants, and carry with her to the *Pro-Consul* her two Sons, which were yet very young. But the barbarous Governor denied the Request, and rejected the Remonstrances of his Wife with Menaces.

Entrop. &  
Orosius, L. 4.  
ap. ult.

App. in Syriac;  
N. 81.

<sup>32</sup> Some say the Women were but twenty thousand; others say that the Men and Women who implored the Clemency of the Conqueror amounted together to fifty thousand.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCVII.  
Cn. CORNELI-  
US LENTULUS,  
L. MUMMIUS  
ACHAICUS,  
Consuls.  
App. in Punic.  
Ibid.

IN the mean time, the favourable Reception the *Roman* gave the Women, made the Men hope that he would likewise shew them Favour; and there went out of *Byrsa* about thirty thousand<sup>33</sup>, who looked more pale and ghastly than the Women. The *Pro-Consul* was moved with Compassion towards them, and gave all that would come to him their Lives, except the *Roman* Deserters, whom he reserved to suffer the Rigour of the Law. The Number of these Deserters was considerable. They amounted to nine hundred; and being reduced to Despair, they resolved to defend themselves to the last Breath. *Asdrubal* set these unfortunate Foreigners to guard his Wife and Children; and then gave a most remarkable Instance of Weakness and *Carthaginian* Inconstancy, by surrendring himself up to the *Pro-Consul*. This very Governor who had pretended so stoutly to brave Death when it was at a Distance; He, who had boasted that it should be his Glory to bury himself and Family in the Ruins of his Country; He, who had protested, That the Sun should never see him survive *Carthage*; This fierce *Asdrubal*, had the Cowardice to come alone, and privately throw himself at the Conqueror's Feet. The General was well pleased to see this proud Rival humbled, and he granted him Life, and kept him to grace his Triumph. *Emilianus* chose to have him always by him, and made him an Eye-witness of the only Battel he had yet to fight, in order to complete the Reduction of *Carthage*.

INDEED the *Romans* were in effect already Masters of *Byrsa*; and the Gates had been opened to them. They had now no Enemies to defeat, but the nine hundred Deserters, who were forced by Despair to retire to the Temple of *Æsculapius* with *Asdrubal's* Wife and Children. This Temple might be looked on as a second Citadel within the first. It stood on the highest Ridge of the Rock, and was inaccessible on all Sides. There was no getting up to it, but by a sort of Stair-case of sixty Steps, which a few Men could defend against a whole Army. The Wife of *Asdrubal*, whose Name the Historians have not transmitted to us, appeared on the Top of the Stairs, at the landing Place before the Temple, with an Intrepidity above her Sex; and from that Eminence, she saw *Emilianus*, and her cowardly Husband. Then lifting up her Voice, loud enough to be heard by him, she first addressed herself to the *Roman* General in these Words. *May You enjoy, my Lord, May You for ever enjoy, the Protection of the Gods! The Laws of War authorize you to make us feel the Misfortunes we have brought upon ourselves.* After which she turned towards *Asdrubal*, and said, *May Heaven make thee feel the utmost Severity of its Wrath! May this first Punishment of being forced to see thy Wife and Children die before thy Eyes, be much the least Evil that thou hast to suffer! Mayest thou drag on an ignominious Life, amongst thy Enemies; and to complete thy Shame, Mayest thou be made to grace the Triumph of thy Conqueror!* Thus spake the illustrious *Carthaginian*, and then retired into the inner Part of the Temple; where she dressed herself in the finest Manner possible, and then appeared again, to act a second Part.

IN the mean time, the Steps up to the Temple were attacked by the *Romans*, and the Deserters were driven from Step to Step. Several of these Wretches fell into the Hands of the Enemy; and the rest fled for Refuge into the Temple. But how could they defend themselves, or subsist long there! They were almost starved, and had no Means whatever of procuring themselves Provisions. In Rage and Despair therefore these furious Men were resolved rather to perish in the Flames, than deliver themselves up to the Vengeance of *Rome*. They set Fire to the Temple of *Æsculapius*; and as the Fire spread, they retreated from one Part to another, to prolong their Lives for a few Moments. Till at length they got to the Roof of all the Building; and there *Asdrubal's* Wife appeared, very finely adorned. The Day of her Death seemed to be a Day of Triumph to her. She uttered the most bitter Imprecations against her Husband; and then added, *Though like a Coward thou hast behaved thy self basely to save thy Life, thou shalt die this instant in thy Children.* Which said, she drew out a Dagger, and stabbed them both. Then while they were yet struggling for Life, she threw them from the Top of the Temple and leaped down after them into the Flames. A glorious Action, according to the Sentiments of prophane Antiquity; but a Death, which, it was said, would bet

<sup>33</sup> According to *Florus*, forty thousand *Carthaginians* surrendered to the *Pro-Consul* at Discretion.



ter have become the Husband than the Wife! The Ancients have all observed, that *Carthage* began and ended with two Heroines, whose 34 tragical Exits much resembled each other. Year of  
R O M E  
DCVII.

§. XXXVII. So many Scenes of Horror drew Tears from the Eyes of the General himself who had caused them, and cast him into melancholy Reflections. The utter Destruction of a Capital which had subsisted near 35 seven hundred Years, which had given Law to so many Provinces, which had extended her Reputation so far both by Sea and Land, and whose Inhabitants had partly perished by Fire and Sword, and were partly destined to Slavery; the reducing of so many Temples to Ashes; the Demolition of so many Palaces, and the Destruction of such stately Monuments; all these things affected him. At length, after long Silence, broken by many Sighs, *Emilianus* recovering himself from his deep Musings, repeated two Lines of *Homer*, in which the Poet makes the Fate of *Troy* to be foretold. *The Day will come when proud Troy shall fall a Prey to the Flames; and the Sword shall mow down Priam and his People.* The *Pro-Consul* sighed bitterly as he spoke these Words; and *Polybius*, who never left him, ventured to ask him, what he meant by *Troy* and *The People of Priam*. Upon which *Emilianus*, without naming *Rome*, sufficiently gave him to understand, that he was afraid his own Country would meet with the same Fate as *Ilium* and *Carthage*. *The greatest States*, said he, *have their Periods; after which Fortune overturns what she took Pleasure in raising.* A sort of Prophecy, or rather Conjecture, which will be but too much verified in the Course of this History. If *Rome* has not undergone the same utter Destruction which has overtaken many other Capitals, whose Names only are now remaining, it has been wholly owing to a Protection reached out to her from above. CN. CORNELI-  
US LENTULUS,  
L. MUMMIUS  
ACHAICUS,  
Consuls.  
  
Polyb. apud  
App.

As to *Carthage*, the *Pro-Consul* put the Decrees of the Senate rigorously in execution upon her. He first delivered up the City to be plundered, but in the Manner prescribed by the *Roman* military Law. He gave up to the Soldiers all the Furniture, Utensils, and Brass-Money, which they should find in private Houses; and reserved for the publick Treasury only the Gold and Silver Statues, and rich Presents, which had been made to the *Carthaginian* Gods, and were kept in their Temples. But he insisted, that the Monuments which the *Carthaginians* had formerly taken away from the Cities of *Italy* and *Africa* should be restored to them. *Sicily* had long been exposed to the Robberies of the *Carthaginian* Armies, and the *Consul* restored to the *Sicilians* a great Number of Statues, and very valuable Pictures, of which they had been plundered. The *Thermitani* 36 were put in Possession of a very fine Statue, which represented the City and River of *Himera* 37. The Inhabitants of *Gela* 38 recovered a great Number of Monuments which they had lost. An admirable Statue of *Diana* was restored to *Segesta* 39; and to 40 *Agrigentum*, the famous brazen Bull which *Phalaris* had ordered to be cast, to be the Instrument of his Cruelty. We are assured, that when *Emilianus* put it into the Hands of the *Agrigentini*, he said, *You see how much better your Condition is under the Government of the Romans, than under the Dominion of your own* 41 *Tyrants.* Eutropius;  
App. in Punic.

AFTER these Reflections were made, the *Pro-Consul* distributed the Rewards of Valour

34 See what we have observed in the second Volume concerning the Foundation of *Carthage*, and *Virgil's* relation of the tragical Death of *Dido*.

35 See what we have observed in the second Volume of the Origin, and of the Time of the Foundation, and consequently of the Duration of *Carthage*.

36 The *Thermitani* inhabited the City of *Himera*, which the Ancients call *Therma Himenses*, on account of the Hot-Baths in its Territory. It is now the City of *Termini*, which stands near the Mouth of the *Himera*. See what we have said of this City, Vol. 2.

37 There were two Cities of *Himera* in *Sicily*. See our Accounts of them, Vol. 2.

38 We have given an Account of the Antiquities and Situation of the ancient City of *Gela*, Vol. 2.

39 Beyond *Drepanum* and *Erix*, at a little Distance from *Lilybaeum*, stood the ancient City of *Segesta*, which ancient Authors call *Egesta*. See Vol. 2.

40 *Agrigentum* was the same Place as the present *Girgenti*, or *Gergenti*. It was formerly one of the most wealthy Cities in *Sicily*. See Vol. 2.

41 Among the Curiosities which *Emilianus* gave to his Friends, and to several Lords of *Numidia*, *Salust*, in his *Jugurthan War*, mentions some Libraries. These valuable Monuments of the *Punic* Literature were preserved from the Flames of *Carthage* by the Care of the General, who knew the Value of so rich a Treasure. He gave all the Books to the Sons of *Micipsa*; except, says the same Author, twenty eight Volumes which treated of a Country-Life. They were written in the Language of the Country, and were fathered upon a



Year of Valour among his Soldiers, according to their Merit. He excluded none from them but the four thousand Men who had, without Orders, pillaged the Temple of *Apollo*, before the taking of *Byrsa*. However *Æmilianus* did not treat them as persons guilty of Sacrilege; he supposed that the God had forsaken his Sanctuary since the Ceremony of the *Evocation*. He only did not give them the same Presents which he made the rest of the Troops, thereby to punish their Avarice and Disobedience. And lastly, the *Pro-Consul* put part of the Spoils he had taken from the *Carthaginians* on board a Galley, and sent it to *Rome*, with Advices to the Senate that he had finished the War in *Africa*. At the same time, he desired to have new Instructions from the *Conscript Fathers*; and till such time as he should receive them he put a Stop to the Demolition of the Walls, Temples, and Houses of *Carthage*. His good Nature and Compassion restrained him; and he was resolved to shew the World, that if he must use the utmost Severity, it should be purely in Obedience to Authority.

R O M E  
DCVII.  
CN. CORNELI-  
US LENTULUS,  
L. MUMMIUS  
ACHAICUS,  
Consuls.  
Cic. Verrin. 4.  
App. in Punic.

IN the mean time, he sold to the best Bidders the Prisoners he had made in *Carthage*, and returned the Money into the publick Treasury. This was customary with the *Roman* Generals. Then he gathered together all the Machines of War, the Arms the Besieged used, and the useless Hulks of Ships which he found in the Port; made a Pile of them, and burnt them with great Form. He tucked up his Robe after the manner of the *Gabians*, took a Flambeaux in his Hand, and said, *To the God Mars, To Minerva, To the Goddesses Lua<sup>42</sup>, and to all the other Deities, to whom it belongs to purify us, after the shedding of so much Blood, I devote these Remains of Carthage.* Which said, he immediately set Fire to the Pyramid. Then the *Roman* Soldiers rested after their Labours: And it is probable that the General chose this time of Inaction to amuse them with Games, which were agreeable to their Taste. *Æmilianus* remembered, that *Paulus Æmilius* his Father had, after his Conquest of *Macedon*, entertained the Assembly of the *Greeks* with a very fine Show. But in this Climate, which was so different, and among a People who had more Barbarism among them, he contented himself with diverting his Troops with a new kind of Combats. He forced the Deserters whom he had taken in War, and designed to execute, to fight with Lions, Tygers, Panthers, and other wild Beasts of *Africa*. These Sorts of Shows were then little used in *Rome*, but afterwards became more common there.

§. XXXVIII. WHILST the *Pro-Consul* was wholly taken up with refreshing his Troops, the Galley he had sent entered the *Tyber*, and in the Evening appeared in the Port of *Rome*. The *Romans* saw that *Æmilianus* had been victorious, before his Dispatches were communicated to the Senate and People. They judged that *Carthage* was taken, by the Spoils with which the *Roman* Ship that came from *Africa* was adorned. The News was immediately spread through all Quarters of the City, and the Rejoicings upon it were extraordinary. Those who told the News to others embraced them at the same time, and they mutually congratulated each other, as upon some personal Advantage to every one of them. *At length*, said they, *we have got rid of all our Enemies, and are become Masters of the World. We have had many Wars to maintain in Italy and the Levant, against Philip, Perles, and Antiochus. Weak Adversaries, over whom our Generals easily triumphed! But how many Tears has Carthage alone kept us in Exercise? How many of our Fleets has she sunk in the Sicilian Seas? How many of our Officers has she destroyed in Spain? How much Roman Blood has she shed in Italy? The Great Scipio had humbled her, nevertheless she soon recovered from her Losses, and became more formidable for her Artifices than her Power. But the Gods reserved a Scipio utterly to extinguish the Carthaginian Name. What an Hero is this Scipio Æmilianus! He even surpasses his Grandfather.* The whole Night was spent in such Discourses. The Streets were full of Crowds of People, who by Word and Gesture described the Siege, according to their Notions of it. A few only of the *Romans*, and they some of the most prudent and most sensible, entered into *Nasica's* Fears. *We have now*, said they, *no Rival left. The Gods grant that the Virtue of the Romans may not suffer by it!*

*Carthaginian* named *Mago*. A Work which the *Roman* Senate thought so useful, that they ordered some able Persons to translate it into *Latin*: So very sensible were the *Romans* of the Advantages of Agriculture. The most illustrious Men among them

applied themselves seriously to it, and thought it the chief Resource of the State.

42. See Vol. 2. concerning the Goddess *Lua*. We have there taken Notice of this superstitious Practice of the *Romans*, after gaining a Victory over an Enemy.

Our



*Our Fears of the Carthaginian Republick are what have kept us in Concord. And we are afraid that foreign Wars will now be succeeded by intestine Divisions. We are too restless to continue idle. Rome will prey upon her own Entrails, when she has no more Enemies to fight or fear.* However, the Multitude enjoyed the present Bliss, and gave themselves no Concern about Futurity.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCVII.  
CN. CORNELI-  
US LENTULUS,  
L. MUMMIUS  
ACHAICUS,  
Consuls.

THE next Day, the People anticipated the Orders of the Senate, and, of their own accord, met by their *Tribes*, and offered up Prayers in the Temples. The Rejoicings began before the Decree that appointed them was pass'd. At length, *Emilianus's* Messenger entered the Senate. The Historians don't name him, but it was probably his faithful Friend *Laelius*. Upon his Report of the Condition in which he had left *Carthage*, the *Fathers* deliberated whether it should be razed; and they were so earnest for the Destruction of this proud City, that one would have thought *Cato* had been still alive. The Instructions they ordered to be sent to the *Roman* General were these. 1. *The City of Carthage shall be entirely demolished, and no Footsteps of it left remaining.* 2. *Byrsa and Megalia, or Megara, shall undergo the same Fate. No Body shall be suffered to keep or build any Houses there.* 3. *All the Cities that have given the Carthaginians any Assistance shall be dismantled.* 4. *Rewards shall be given to the Cities who have declared for the Romans; and their Territories shall be enlarged with Lands taken from the Enemy.* 5. *Utica, which first surrendered to the Romans, shall be most amply recompensed; all the Lands that lay between Carthage and Hippo, shall be divided among her Inhabitants.* 6. *All the Africans of the Carthaginian State, both Men and Women, shall pay an annual Tribute to the Roman Republick of so much per Head.* 7. *The whole Country which was subject to the Carthaginian Republick, shall be turned into a Roman Province, and be governed by a Prætor, in the same manner as Sicily is.* 8. *Rome shall send into Africa ten Commissioners, there to act jointly with the Pro-Consul, settle the State of the new Province, take Care to see the Statutes put in Execution, and determine all Disputes.*

THESE Orders were carried to *Carthage* by the Commissioners; and as soon as *Emilianus* received them, he put them literally in Execution. But before he destroyed *Carthage*, he performed all those religious Ceremonies which were appointed to be practised on such Occasions. He first sacrificed Victims to the Gods. Then he ordered a Plough to be drawn round the Walls that were to be demolished. It was customary <sup>43</sup> to make use of a Plough, to draw a Line, both round the Walls of Cities that were to be built, and those that were to be destroyed. After this, the Towers, Ramparts, Moles, and all the fine Works, which the *Carthaginians* had so long raised, and at such vast Expence, were levelled with the Ground. The Fire which the Inhabitants themselves set to the Edifices of this proud City, consumed them all, not one escaped. We may judge of the Largeness of this Capital, by the time it took up to reduce it to Ashes. Tho' the Fire began in all Quarters at the same time, it was not extinguished till after seventeen Days. Then the *Pro-Consul* and Commissioners settled the new *Province*, according to the Rules prescribed them. After which *Emilianus* embarked his Troops, and returned to *Rome*.

Florus, B. 2.  
c. 15.

WE may very well conclude, that a Triumph was unanimously granted to the Conqueror and Destroyer of *Carthage*; but the Ceremony was postponed to the End of the *Consular* Year. Indeed the Historians, to avoid Repetitions, have given us no Account of it: But the Procession was, no doubt, regulated by that of the first *Scipio*, or rather, that of *Paulus Emilius*. There had been found in *Carthage*, a prodigious Number of Statues, Vases, and Pictures, which the *Carthaginians* had taken from several Nations, in their IncurSIONS, and Conquests; and these valuable Moveables were carried to *Rome*, and made Part of the Show. Four thousand three hundred and eighty Pounds \* weight of Silver were carried on Hand-barrows; which was all that was taken in this opulent City. This was then deemed a considerable Sum; but in After-Ages, when Gold and Silver became much more plenty, it was thought very strange that *Emilianus* had brought so little Money from *Carthage*. He deposited in the *Capital* an Urn full of the Ashes of the Capital of *Africa*; which he thought an agreeable Offering to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. But

Plin. B. 2.  
c. 15.

\* 13140 l.  
Sterl. at 5 s.  
per Ounce.

<sup>43</sup> See what we have said in the first Volume, of the Custom received among the Ancients, of marking out the Compass of a City, before its Foundations were laid.



Year of what did him most Honour at his Triumph, was the great Number of captive *African* Lords, who walked in Chains before the Victor's Chariot. *Asdrubal* and *Bythias*, one the Captain-General of the *Carthaginians*, and the other their General of Horse, were most taken Notice <sup>44</sup> of by the Spectators. Tho' they were unworthy either of Life or Liberty, the Republick suffered them to enjoy both, at the Request of *Emilianus*; and they ingloriously spent the Remainder of their Days in *Italy*. The rest of the Prisoners were sold to the best Bidders, or perished in Prison. *Emilianus*, after the Example of his Grandfather by Adoption, took the Surname of *Scipio Africanus the Second*, which he ever after retained; and we shall for the future call him by no other Appellation.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCVII.  
Cn. CORNELI-  
US LENTULUS,  
L. MUMMIUS,  
ACHAICUS,  
Consuls.  
Zenaras, B. 9.

§. XXXIX. WHILST the *Romans* were obstinately pursuing the Siege and Destruction of *Carthage*, they also made some new Enemies in *Greece* feel the Weight of their Arms. *Achaia* had declared against *Rome*, ever since she had been contending with the *Carthaginians* in *Africa*, with two imaginary Kings in *Macedon*, and with *Viriathes* in *Spain*. The *Greek* Republick thought she had seized the critical Moment, for humbling the *Roman* Republick, and making her repent of the rigorous Treatment shewn to the *Achaean* Lords, whom she had so long kept in a kind of Slavery. And indeed, could any one imagine that a single Republick would be able to maintain so many Wars at once? Nevertheless, we shall find that *Rome* was strong enough to destroy *Carthage* and *Corinth* in the same Year, and successful enough to triumph over *Achaia*, *Africa*, and *Macedon*, at the same time. This is one of the most considerable Occurrences of the *Roman* History, and so very extraordinary as almost to make that History incredible, did not we otherwise know to what Height the Strength and Power of *Rome* was then arrived. We will therefore return back a little to the Origin of the War the *Romans* made in *Achaia*; and shall see the Work of the Great *Flamininus* compleated, and a lasting Tranquillity restored to all *Greece*, by the Destruction of the single City of *Corinth*.

Pausanias in  
Achaic.

• 19375 l.  
Sterl.

THE Avarice of the *Athenians* was what sowed throughout all *Greece* the Seeds of those Divisions which never ended till the *Romans* put a Stop to them by the Force of their Arms. We have already observed, That *Oropus* <sup>45</sup>, a City bordering upon *Attica*, had formerly been pillaged by the *Athenians*, in a time of great Want; and That the *Roman* Senate had definitively condemned *Athens* to pay the *Oropians* a hundred *Talents*\*, by way of Satisfaction. The *Athenians* were not in haste to discharge this Debt; but found out an Expedient to satisfy the Creditors, without disbursing any Money. They agreed to maintain a certain Number of Troops in *Oropus*. This Garrison committed Violences in the City. The *Oropians* complained of it; but *Athens* had no Regard to their Complaints. *Oropus* therefore thought it proper to implore the Assistance of the *Achaean*s. It is well known, That *Achaia* was then the most flourishing Republick in *Greece*; not so much with regard to the Extent of the Country that was subject to it, as the prodigious Number of great Cities, which being entered into a Confederacy together, made as it were but one State, governed by a general Diet, to which every City sent its Deputies. *Thebes*, *Argi*, *Lacedæmon*, and especially *Corinth*, were some of the chief of these Cities. *Oropus* then could not implore the Assistance of more powerful Defenders; but the *Achaean*s were afraid of embroiling themselves with *Rome* and *Athens* too. However, the *Oropians* conceived Hopes of obtaining those Succours of the Head of the Nation, who was annually chosen, which they despaired of getting from the general Diet. The present Governour was a selfish Man, named *Menalcidas*; who being a *Lacedæmonian* by Birth, had more Weight and Interest in his native City, than in the Republick of which he was the Head. The *Oropians* agreed to give him ten † *Talents*, if he could prevail on the Diet in which he presided to revenge their Quarrel, and assist them with Troops to guard against the Vexation of the *Athenians*. The *Lacedæmonian* accepted the Proposal, and in order to gain his Point, offered to divide the Money between

• 1937 l.  
10 s. Sterl.

44 According to *Appian*, *Asdrubal* killed himself to avoid the Shame of being carried in Triumph.

45 The ancient Geographers mention three Cities of *Oropus*. One, which *Aristotle* calls *Græa*, stood in the Island of *Eubœa*, or the *Negropont*. Another, which gave Birth to *Seleucus Nicator*, belonged to *Macedon*. The third, which is here spo-

ken of, stood in *Boœtia*, near the Confines of *Attica*, two Miles from the Shore of the *Euripus* three Miles from the River *Asopus*, and forty four Miles North of *Athens*. It is now only a Village which the Natives call *Ropo*. *Stephen of Byantium* speaks also of a City of *Oropus* in *Syria*.



himself and that *Callicrates* who had always openly espoused the Interest of the *Romans*, and who, under their Protection, had made himself Master of the Assemblies of his Country. And these two Men made such Efforts with their Interest, that they at length extorted from the *Achaëans* their Consent to send their Troops to the Defence of *Oropus*.

THE Resolutions of the *Achaean* Diet could not be long unknown in *Athens*. All *Attica* was in Arms, and came and fell on *Oropus*. The City was pillaged, and the Inhabitants had much Difficulty to save any of their Effects out of the Hands of the Robbers. Upon this the *Achaëans* ran immediately to their Assistance; but it was too late to save *Oropus* from being plundered. *Menalcidas* however entered *Attica* with his Troops; but finding the *Athenians* all upon their Guard, retired. Nevertheless, he demanded the ten *Talents* of the *Oropians*, with as much Rigour, as if his Assistance had been effectual, and they had not been plundered. Such is the miserable Condition of free Cities, which lay between two Nations more powerful than themselves! They fall a Prey to one or the other, and their Liberty is often worse than Slavery. *Menalcidas* extorted the Money from the unfortunate *Oropians*; but could not prevail on himself to divide it with *Callicrates*. He first made use of Delays, and then openly declared, That he would keep the ten *Talents* to himself. This was then the Temper of the *Greeks*, of whom so many fine things are said. Their Wit amounted to no more than mere Cunning; and their Philosophy was not Proof against their Interest. As for *Callicrates*, he, on the other hand, was as revengeful as *Menalcidas* was deceitful; and only suspended his Resentment for a time. As soon as *Menalcidas* was out of his Office, *Callicrates* accused him before the Council of his Nation, of a capital Crime. He pretended, That this old *Prætor* of *Achaia* had, when upon an Embassy at *Rome*, used his utmost Endeavours with the *Roman* Senate to prevail upon them to withdraw *Lacedæmon* his Country from the *Achaean* League. The Process was carried on with such Rigour, that *Menalcidas* would have sunk under it, if he had not thought of offering three \**Talents* to *Dieus*, who succeeded him in the *Prætorship*. Upon this Consideration, this Chief Magistrate acquitted *Menalcidas*, contrary to the Opinion of the wisest Part of the Assembly; and thereby drew upon himself the Hatred of all the Nation. He was thought inclined to the Separation of *Lacedæmon*, and the Diminution of the Forces of the *Achaean* State. This was a great Stain on his Reputation, and he endeavoured to wipe it off by this bold Step. In order to convince the People that he was neither the Friend nor Protector of the *Lacedæmonians*, he maintained in the publick Assembly, That the Inhabitants of *Lacedæmon* were subject to the Determinations of the General Diet, even in criminal Cases; and That *Rome* had so decreed. Nothing could be more false; but this Lie screened him, at least for a time, from the Hatred he had incurred by selling his Vote and Interest to *Menalcidas* the *Lacedæmonian*. The whole City of *Lacedæmon* cried out against the new Law which *Dieus* would have set up; and said, *The Lacedæmonians have ever had a Right of judging their Criminals, in their own private Diets. It is an Imposition, to pretend to palm upon us a new Statute of the Roman Senate. We demand Leave to send to Rome to discover the Cheat.* And then appeared that Spirit of Chicanery which was so natural to the *Greeks*. Upon the bare Suggestion of *Dieus*, who knew that what he had asserted was false, the *Lacedæmonians* were forbidden to send to *Rome*, under Pretence that it belonged only to the General Diet to send Deputations thither.

§. XL. ALL these Breaches of publick Faith, and Intrigues, exasperated the *Lacedæmonians*; and they seemed disposed to maintain their old Rights. Nevertheless, they were afraid to have Recourse to Arms. *Laconia* alone was not able to cope with all the *Achaean* Canton, when united against her. So that she was terrified when she saw the Head of the *Achaean* Nation assemble Troops in order to fall upon *Lacedæmon*; and she had Recourse to Negotiation, rather than Force. The *Lacedæmonians* sent their Agents to the chief Cities of the Canton to which they belonged; thereby to divert those Cities from sending Troops to the *Prætor*, whose Design was to ravage their Territory. But the only Answer they received was, That the Order for sending their Contingent was arrived, and must be obeyed. Upon which, *Lacedæmon* humbled herself so far as to send to

Year of  
R O M E  
DCVII.  
Cn. CORNELI-  
US LENTULUS  
L. MUMMIUS  
ACHAICUS,  
Consuls.

\* 581 L. 5 s.  
Sterl.



Year of *Diaus*, to intreat him not to precipitate Hostilities. The *Prætor's* Answer to the *R O M E* Deputy was, That he had no Quarrel with all the Citizens of *Lacedæmon* in general; but only with a few Disturbers of the publick Peace, whom he named, and who were in Number twenty four. Upon this News, the Council of *Lacedæmon* assembled; and a grave Senator, named *Agefisthenes*, made a Motion, which was applauded. It was, That the twenty four accused should voluntarily banish themselves, and go and carry their Complaints to *Rome*. This was better than delivering them up to *Diaus*. Nevertheless, as soon as they were gone out of the City, the Council, for Form's sake only, condemned them to Death. This prudent Resolution screened *Lacedæmon*, at least for a time, and gave her an Opportunity to carry her Complaints to the *Roman* Senate. *Menalcidas* embarked for *Italy*, and came thither both to support the Cause of the Exiles, and that of *Lacedæmon*. *Diaus* and *Callicrates* followed close after him, and came to *Rome*, to plead the Cause of the *Achaean* Canton, against the Exiles. But they did not both reach that City; *Callicrates* died at *Rhodes*, whither his Affairs called him; and if he had not, his Cause was so bad, that it seemed certain that he would have lost it, notwithstanding the Interest he had in the Capital of the World.

DCVII.  
C. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS, L.  
MUMMIUS  
ACHAICUS,  
Consuls.

THEN *Diaus* and *Menalcidas* only, appeared before the *Conscript Fathers*. Their Speeches were full of mutual Invectives; and by their *Greek* Eloquence they disguised the Affair on both Sides with so much Artifice, that the *Romans* could not possibly discover where the Truth lay. The Senate therefore thought it necessary to send Commissioners into *Peloponnesus*, to inform themselves of the Case, and determine the Dispute upon the Spot. Accordingly, the Commissioners were nominated, but they were too dilatory in setting out. *Menalcidas* and *Diaus* embarked in the mean time, one for *Lacedæmon*, and the other for *Corinth*. It is no uncommon thing for Pleaders, before Judgment is given, to magnify their Hopes, and flatter themselves that every thing will be determined in their Favour. But this was not enough for the two *Greeks*. After their Return from *Rome*, *Diaus* assured the *Achaean* Diet, That the *Roman* Deputies would give the Cause for them; and *Menalcidas* assured the *Lacedæmonians*, That in a little time their City and Territory would be divided from the *Achaean* League, and settled in an absolutely independent State. Both Parties flattered themselves with these Hopes; their Minds were sowered; and the *Achaean*s had Thoughts of taking up Arms, to force the *Lacedæmonians* to change their Language.

ALL these Things passed, whilst *Metellus* was busy in *Macedon*, subduing the two pretended Sons of *Perses*, and settling the Affairs of *Rome* there. This *Prætor's* Army was within Reach of *Greece*; and he was soon informed of the Troubles in *Peloponnesus*. He therefore desired the Ambassadors which his Republick was sending into *Asia*, to take *Corinth* and *Lacedæmon* in their Way, in order to prevail on the *Achaean*s to put a Stop to their Hostilities, till the Arrival of the Commissioners, who were nominated to end their Differences in an amicable manner. When these *Romans* arrived in *Achaia*, they found *Diaus* out of Office, and one *Democritus* chosen in his room. This *Democritus* acted with the same Views as his Predecessor, and was then in full March with an Army, to go and insult the *Lacedæmonians*, and plunder their Territory. Nevertheless, the *Roman* Ambassadors had still time enough to hinder the Blow's being struck, if *Democritus* and his *Achaean*s would have hearkened to their Remonstrances. But how could they stop a Torrent in its Course! The *Achaean* despised the Advices of the *Romans*, continued his March, and came and gave the *Lacedæmonians* Battel. They stood upon the defensive, near their Walls; where they fought a Battel, which turned to their Disadvantage. They had a thousand of their Men killed upon the Spot, and retired within their Walls, after a Loss which was very considerable for so weak a Nation. The Flight of the Vanquished was so precipitate, and their Rout so general, that if *Democritus* had warmly pursued them, his Army might have entered *Lacedæmon* with the Fugitives. But he sounded a Retreat too soon; and contented himself with carrying his Troops to plunder *Laconia*. Therefore, tho' he was Conqueror, the Diet made it criminal in him that he did not push his Advantage further. He was fined fifty *Talents*\*; and not being able to pay them, laid down his Office, and led a rambling Life, continually strolling from Town to Town, in *Peloponnesus*.

\* 9687 l. 10 s.  
Sterl.



THEN that *Diæus* who was the Author of the Troubles, that declared Enemy to *Lacedæmon*, was again put at the Head of his Republick. *Metellus* heard of his Promotion, in *Macedon*; and of his own head, sent a Deputation to him, to admonish him to let the *Lacedæmonians* continue in Peace, till the Arrival of the Commissioners which *Rome* was going to send to *Peloponnesus*: And *Diæus* complied. But he employed the Time of the Truce in Negotiations, which were more prejudicial to the *Lacedæmonians* than open War. The artful *Greek* drew all the Cities that bordered upon the Territory of *Lacedæmon* into his Measures; and caused them to be fortified, to serve on a proper Occasion, as so many Castles to shut in *Laconia*, and keep its Capital in a manner blocked up. In this pressing Danger the *Lacedæmonians* thought no Man so proper to govern them as *Menalcidas*: They knew him to be a Man of Valour and Experience. He had governed the whole *Achaean* Republick: Nevertheless, this so much renowned General wanted Prudence in the very first Step. In order to give some Lustre to his Arms, he of his own Head took the Field with his Troops, and fell upon the City of *Jassos*, which stood within the District of *Laconia*, but had always been subject to the *Achaëans*. This was breaking the Truce *Metellus* had desired, and drawing on himself the Resentment of the *Roman*: But a Love of false Glory got the better of the most solid Reflections. In short, *Menalcidas* surprized *Jassos*<sup>46</sup>, and plundered it. Nevertheless, the *Lacedæmonians* themselves were sensible of the Baseness of this Action, which made them the Aggressors, and gave a bad Turn to their Cause, who before had the best Side of it. This exasperated all the People against their General; and he could not stand the Injuries and Affronts he received. He poisoned himself, to get out of the Way of them. Thus died a factious and restless Man, who both when *Prætor* of all *Achaia*, and when *Prætor* of *Lacedæmon* only, loved nothing but Discord; and kindled a Flame in *Greece*, which was not extinguished till it had consumed *Corinth*.

§. XLI. SCARCE was *Menalcidas* dead, before the *Roman* Commissioners, which had been so long expected, arrived in *Peloponnesus*. Their Business was to put an End to a Civil War, which was begun in the Heart of *Achaia*; and therefore the Judges sent by the Senate landed at *Corinth*, which was looked on as the Capital of the *Achaean* League. There they assembled all the Members of the Diet, and a pretty many *Lacedæmonians* also came with the rest. *Aurelius Orestes*, the Head of the *Roman* Deputation, opened the Sessions with a Speech which was much fitter to create new Troubles, than compose old Divisions. He, probably, exceeded the Instructions he had brought from *Rome*. An Author, who was personally interested in the Affairs of *Achaia*, pretends that the Commissioners exceeded their Powers, and changed bare Menaces into absolute Orders. According to him, the Design of the Senate was only to intimidate the *Achaëans*, in order to bring them to Concord by that Means. The *Fathers* had not ordered, That the *Achaean* League should be immediately destroyed: So that it is probable that *Aurelius* changed the Threatenings of the *Roman* Senate into positive Decrees. He spake thus: *Rome has long been endeavouring to establish a perfect Union between the free Cities of Greece. This was Flamininus's sole Design, when he delivered you from the Yoke which Philip imposed upon you. The Macedonian had seized your Cities and Countries; and we set them at Liberty: So that they might have enjoyed their Liberty separately, without uniting in one Republick. But you chose to form a League among yourselves: A League which should depend on a Diet which was to give Law to it, and which was to be governed by a Prætor chosen by a Plurality of Voices. In this you endeavoured to secure your common Safety; but your great Precaution has produced nothing but Troubles. And indeed, how can you be secure, that your Deputies will always agree among themselves, take no Resolutions but what are equally for the Advantage of all the Cities, and so adjust all Interests as to leave no room for Complaint on any hand? Such a Government as yours is subject to a thousand Inconveniences: You have but too much experienced it. Your general Assemblies make Laws, which every particular City will not accept. This makes it necessary to have Recourse to Violence to force them; and hence these eternal Dissentions. Hence the Hostilities which oblige you to be always un-*

<sup>46</sup> We know nothing more of the City of *Jassos*, than what *Pausanias* says of it. We are ignorant of its true Situation.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCVII.  
CN. CORNELI-  
US LENTULUS;  
L. MUMMIUS  
ACHAICUS,  
Consuls.

*Polyb. in Legat.*  
N. 143.

*Pausanias in*  
*Achaicis.*



Year of der Arms, and to look on your very Confederates as Enemies. Rome is concerned  
 R O M E to see so many intestine Wars kindled among you, knows the Cause of these Misfor-  
 DCVII. tunes, and would fain remedy them. When you are less united, you will be more  
 CN. CORNELI- happy; and will never be compleatly so, till you make the necessary Separations.  
 US LENTULUS; Attend then to the Orders I am going to divulge to you, and put them in Execution  
 L. MUMMIUS with Readiness. It is the Will and Pleasure of the Roman Senate and People,  
 ACHAICUS, that you should do so. All the Cities which were not formerly of the Achæan  
 Consuls. Circle, that is, Corinth, Lacedæmon, Argi, Heraclea <sup>47</sup>, and Orchomenos <sup>48</sup>,  
 shall be separated from the general League; and shall be governed by their own Laws,  
 independently of the rest of the Confederacy.

Polyb. in Legat.  
 N. 143.

Fast. Capit.

No sooner had *Aurelius* pronounced these Words, but, without giving him time to finish his Discourse, the *Achæan* Lords left the Assembly, and called together the People of *Corinth*, in the Market-place. The Commons were enraged at the Decree that was come from *Rome*; and all the City was in an Uproar. The *Lacedæmonians* were thought to be the Authors of the Decree *Aurelius* had published, and the People exasperated one another more against them, than against the *Romans*. All the *Lacedæmonians* that could be found in the City were stripped, or put to Death. If a Man was shod or shaved after the *Lacedæmonian* Manner, this was enough to involve him in the Massacre. Even they who fled to the *Roman* Ambassadors for Refuge were ill treated. *Aurelius* and his Collegues in vain cried out, That their Republick would revenge the Injuries done *Lacedæmon*. The enraged Populace little regarded Advice or Remonstrances: They forced the Ambassadors themselves to save their Lives by Flight. It may therefore well be imagined, that when they returned to *Rome* they set the Insults they had received from the *Corinthians* in a very strong Light: They are said to have exaggerated them. They represented the Insurrection not as a sudden Commotion, but as a premeditated Plot. The Senate were full of all just Indignation at it; but thought it necessary to proceed with Moderation. *Carthage* was not yet taken; and it was adjudged dangerous to engage in too many Affairs at once: So that the *Conscript Fathers* only voted for sending three new Commissioners to *Achaia*. *Sextus Julius*, a prudent and pacifick Man, was at the Head of the Deputation. His Instructions were, That he should reprove the *Achæans* in a very tender Manner, and prevail on them by gentle Methods not to hearken any more to bad Counsels. Upon this, a Report was spread, That *Rome* condescended so far, only because she was exhausted of Men; some of whom had perished, and others were employed before *Carthage*. But it is certain, that in the late *Lustration*, which was the fifty sixth from their Institution, the *Censors*, *Cornelius Lupus*, and *Marcus Censorinus*, had reckoned up three hundred and twenty two thousand *Roman Citizens*, fit to bear Arms; and consequently, the Complaisance the *Romans* shewed these Rebels, must have proceeded rather from Compassion, than from Necessity.

§. XLII. *JULIUS* and his Collegues embarked without Delay; and after their Arrival in *Peloponnesus*, they met a Deputy of the *Achæan* Faction, named *Thearidas*, whom the Seditious were sending to *Rome*, there to give an Account of their Proceedings against *Aurelius*. But upon meeting the *Roman* Ambassadors, the *Achæan* was obliged to return back to his own Country. He accompanied *Julius* thither, and was a Witness of the new Occurrences there. *Achaia* had then changed her *Prætor*; and *Critolaus* had succeeded *Diaus*. These two Men were formed upon the same Plan. They were equally audacious and rash, equally Lovers of Sedition, and equally delighted in seducing Mankind. *Diaus* differed from *Critolaus* only in this, that being born with as cruel, avaritious, deceitful, and imperious a Disposition as his, he carried all these Vices to a greater Excess. The new Ambassador was to treat with *Critolaus*; and was probably received with all

<sup>47</sup> This City of *Heraclea*, which had joined in the *Achæan* Confederacy, stood in *Phœbiotis*, a Province of *Thessaly*, near the Pass of *Thermopylae*. We have before given an Account of it, under the Name of *Heraclea Trachyneæ*, to distinguish it from the other Cities that bore the Name of *Heraclea*.

<sup>48</sup> *Orchomenos* was one of the largest Cities in *Bœotia*, and famous for a Temple dedicated to the

three *Graces*; which was one of the most ancient and wealthy of any in *Greece*. We must take care not to confound this City with another of the same Name in *Arcadia*, near *Mantineæ*. The Territory of the latter was marshy, according to *Dion. Hal. litarnassens*. *Strabo* also mentions a City and River of *Thessaly*, called *Orchomenos*.



the Marks of Distinction due to the Republick he represented. A Diet was assembled at *Ægium* 49, to hear him; and *Julius* spoke with that Air of Sweetness which was natural to him, and tempered his Reproaches with the most tender Expressions. *We can excuse*, said he, *the first Commotions of a Multitude, whose Zeal for their Country led them astray; and are sensible that the Heads of the State cannot govern them on such Occasions. Friends and Enemies are confounded together in these blind Transports. If our Ambassadors have suffered any ill Treatment, in Times of Trouble and Inconsideration, the Fault is easy to be repaired. The Romans will be appeased with the least Signs of Repentance. All the Satisfaction that Rome would require of you, is only to leave Lacedæmon in Peace, and no longer to rend the Bosom of Greece, but restore Tranquillity to Peloponnesus.*

Year of  
R O M E  
DCVII.  
CN. CORNELI-  
US LENTULUS,  
L. MUMMIUS  
ACHAICUS,  
Consuls.  
Pausan. in  
Achaia.  
Polyb. in Legat.  
N. 144.

THIS moderate Discourse, in which *Julius* designedly omitted saying one Word of the odious withdrawing of many Cities from the *Achæan* League, was extremely agreeable to the greatest Part of the Assembly. The most Sensible recollected their past Fault, and called to mind the Rigour *Rome* had lately exercised against *Macedon*. They very well knew, That the *Prætor Metellus*, after he had destroyed the Projects of two imaginary Kings, continued still in the Neighbourhood of *Greece*; and That it would be very easy for him to come into *Peloponnesus*, and revenge the Injury done the *Romans*.

THESE Reflections made them very sensible of the Clemency of the Senate, and the Mildness of the Ambassador's Discourse. *Critolaus* and *Diaus* were the only Persons whose Fury carried them far beyond the Bounds of Reason. That *Critolaus* who had not performed one valiant Act during the War, was now very ardent to cope with the *Roman* Generals; and he joined with *Diaus*, in endeavouring to efface the Impressions *Julius's* Speech had made on the Minds of the Assembly. Nevertheless, to amuse the Ambassadors, he at first treated them with Civility. He promised *Julius* to send *Thearidas* to *Rome*, to efface the Prejudices that had been instilled into the Senate against the *Achæan* Circle. But these Civilities and Declarations were only an Artifice, the better to conceal the private Proceedings of the *Prætor* and his Confident. They underhand called together an Assembly of some considerable Men of the Cities of their Canton; but took care that it should consist of Men of their own Stamp, and devoted to their Faction. To these the *Prætor* represented, That it was dangerous to trust to the seeming Moderation of the *Romans*; That their Republick only suspended her Revenge till *Carthage* was destroyed; That they would soon see her *Legions* burn *Peloponnesus* with the same Flambeaux they had used in laying *Africa* desolate; and That it was necessary to prevent these Hostilities, raise up Enemies against the *Romans*, and destroy their Friends. Such were the Discourses of *Critolaus* and *Diaus*, in their private Conventicles. In publick, they spake a very different Language, to the *Roman* Deputies. They invited them to *Tegea* 50, to meet an extraordinary Assembly, in which the Affairs of *Lacedæmon* should be amicably adjusted, to the Satisfaction of both Parties. But the artful *Greeks* intended only to deceive and provoke the Ambassadors themselves, by shewing them that they sported with their Credulity. However, *Critolaus* appointed the Day when the Conference was to be held at *Tegea*; fully resolved both to frustrate the Expectations of the Ambassadors, and to exasperate them.

§. XLIII. ACCORDINGLY, *Julius* and his Collegues came with the *Lacedæmonians* to the Place appointed; and long waited for the Arrival of the Deputies of *Achaia*. Not an *Achæan* appeared. Whilst the *Romans* were idle in one Corner of the Province, *Critolaus* was sending Couriers from City to City, to prevent the Heads appearing at the Congress. *Julius* was impatient, and already began to express his Uneasiness, when *Critolaus* alone came to *Tegea*; and, to the great Surprise of the *Romans*, said, That the Dispute between the *Achæans* and *Lacedæmonians* was of too much Importance to be determined in a private Assembly; That it was necessary to postpone the Consideration of it, till a general Diet could meet; and That such a

49 We have several times mentioned *Ægium*, a City of *Achaia Propria*. It stood on the South Coast of *The Gulph of Corinth*, between *Patriæ* and *Sicyon*. It is now called *Vostiza*.

50 *Tegea* was a City of *Peloponnesus*, situated on the Banks of the River of *Eurotas*. It belonged to

*Arcadia*. It is now only a Castle, to which *Chalcondylas* and *Niger* give the Name of *Muchli*. This City was famous for a Temple consecrated to *Minerva*, and a Marble Theatre built by *Perfes* King of *Macedon*. The Temple was an inviolable *Asylum* for all who took Sanctuary in it.



Year of Diet could not be assembled, according to Law, in less than six Months. The  
 R O M E Pride of the *Romans* is well known; and we may from thence judge how provok-  
 DCVII. ing this Deceit of *Critolaus* was to the Ambassadors. They thought their Repub-  
 CN. CORNELI- lick insulted, and complained that they had been personally ill used, and laughed  
 US LENTULUS, at by the *Prætor*. The latter gloried in having mortified *Rome*, in the Persons of  
 L. MUMMIUS her Envoys, and took no one Step to pacify them. He laughed at their Rage, and  
 ACHAICUS, suffered them to set out for *Rome*, without vouchsafing to send *Thearidas* thither  
 Consuls. to justify his Proceedings to the Senate. *Critolaus* desired War, and sought to  
 bring it upon himself in such a manner, that his Nation should not be able to  
 reproach him with having offered any Violence. He attacked the *Romans* by their  
*Foible*; and thought that indiscreet Acts of Contempt would as effectually exasper-  
 ate them, as Rage, and direct Hostilities. Nevertheless *Rome* was not in Haste to  
 declare herself openly. Notwithstanding the warm Complaints of *Julius* and his  
 Collegues, the Senate would not immediately resolve on a War with *Achaia*.  
 They contented themselves with referring the Affair to *Metellus*, who having con-  
 quered the false *Philip*, and the false *Alexander*, in *Macedon*, was now governing  
 that *Province* in Peace. The Orders sent him were, to treat, as of his own Head,  
 with *Critolaus*, in order to bring him to Reason. *Metellus* therefore sent to *Achaia* four  
 Agents, whom he probably chose out of the Officers of his Troops. Their Names  
 were, *Cn. Papirius*, *Ælius Lamia*, *A. Gabinius*, and *Q. Fannius*. This new Em-  
 bassy ought to have been received with the more Respect, as it came from a victo-  
 rious General, whose Army was encamped in *Macedon*, on the Confines of *Greece*.  
 Could *Rome* then possibly have shewn *Achaia* more Condescension and Regard?  
 She plainly did all that was in her Power to preserve her from the Destruction which  
 she was rashly bringing upon her own Head.

*CRITOLAUS*, after the Departure of *Julius*, appeared like a Fury let loose  
 to destroy his Country. He vented his Rage in all Places, and spread his Reproaches  
 from City to City. He spent the whole Winter in inveighing against the *Romans*,  
 blackening them with Calumnies, and making their Name odious, even beyond  
 the Confines of *Peloponnesus*. In order to increase his Party, he published an Edict  
 in favour of Persons over-run with Debt. He forbade the Judges of all the Can-  
 ton to prosecute or imprison any *Achaean* for Debt, till the Dispute between the  
 Diet and *Lacedæmon* was at an End. This made the greatest Number desire the  
 Continuation of the present Troubles, and gained him their Suffrages.

A little transient Advantage made the Multitude forget their common Danger;  
 and the People inconsiderately gave in to the Passions of a Madman, who neither  
 foresaw his own Misfortunes, nor those of his Nation. During these Transactions,  
 the four Deputies whom the *Prætor* sent from *Macedon*, to make the last Efforts  
 upon *Critolaus*, landed at *Corinth*. But the Diet was not assembled to receive  
 them; neither were they suffered to appear before an Assembly of grave, peace-  
 able Men, who were capable of hearkening to Reason. The *Achaean Prætor*  
 would only suffer them to declare their Business to the Commonalty of *Corinth*,  
 assembled in the Market-place. This Assembly almost wholly consisted of factious  
 Artificers, and some turbulent Burghers; and *Papirius*, who was the Mouth of the  
*Romans*, spake with at least as much Moderation as *Julius* had done.

His Discourse tended wholly to shew, how much it was the Interest of *Achaia*,  
 to keep up a good Correspondence with *Rome*; and he said not one Word of the  
 Separation of *Lacedæmon*, and the other Cities, from the *Achaean* League. But  
*Critolaus* was base and artful, enough to make the *Corinthians* look on the Care of  
 the Ambassadors not to provoke them, as a Proof of the Weakness and Fear of the  
*Romans*; and upon this Prejudice, which was in an Instant spread thro' the Assem-  
 bly, the Populace made no Scruple of insulting the Messengers from *Metellus*.  
 There were at *Corinth* many Smiths of all kinds, who often came to their *Comitia*,  
 with their Heads warmed with the Fires of their Forges; and these Brutes now  
 fell upon the *Romans*, loaded them with Reproaches, and drove them out of the  
 Assembly. Nay, I had almost added, that they rudely beat them. But as all the  
 Historians are not agreed in this Particular, I shall only say, that they offered  
 them all the Affronts possible; and threw Dirt upon them, as they retired to their  
 Lodgings.

Livy in Epit.  
 Florus; Oro-  
 sius; Pausan.  
 &c.



§. XLIV. THUS Critolaus was now gone too far to be able to retreat; and he harangued the Multitude, whom he had already exasperated in his first Transports. His Discourse was artful; and at first fell only indirectly on the Romans. The passionate Invectives of the *Prætor* were chiefly levelled at the many Friends the Romans yet had among the *Achæans* of the first Rank. After the Death of Callicrates, said he, we had Reason to believe that the *Achæan Circle* had at length recovered her Liberty. That Advocate for a foreign Power found his Account in enslaving us, and turned our Slavery to his own Advantage. He, by his Accusations, first caused all the Nobility of the Country to be carried into Italy; and then, being left here almost without a Rival, governed us in a despotick manner. We therefore justly hated him when alive; but have we gained much by his Death? For one Callicrates, whom the Gods have taken from us, there are started up an hundred in the Bosom of *Achaia*. These Men, who are wholly devoted to their own Interest, meanly cringe to a foreign Senate, in order to get the Dominion in their native Country into their own Hands. Shall we then never extirpate these Vipers who prey upon the Vitals of their Country? Nay, shall we even raise them to the first Dignities? No, *Achæans*; we will no longer suffer those Men to govern us, who are used to receive Impressions from Abroad, and to sacrifice the Independence of their own Republick to the Caprices of an imperious Nation. *Achaia* is not yet destitute of Men who have Prudence enough to govern it by their own Understandings, without the Dictates of Foreigners; and Bravery enough to defend it, against all Attacks from Abroad. Shall we always tremble under the Dominion of the Romans? But what have I said? Why did that Expression escape me? However, since I have gone so far, I will now venture to declare my whole Mind to you. Let us have Rome for a Friend; but never suffer her to be our Mistress.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCVII.  
Cn. CORNELI-  
US LENTULUS  
L. MUMMIUS  
ACHAICUS,  
Consuls.  
Polyb. in Legat.  
N. 144.

THESE last Words terrified the prudent old Men who were in the Assembly; and they surrounded the *Prætor*, and would have silenced him. Upon this, Critolaus, transported with Rage, called to his Guard; threatened these venerable Men with the worst of Treatment, if they ventured but to touch his Robe; and, in a greater Passion than ever, went on thus. No; the *Lacedæmonians* and Romans are not our greatest Enemies. They are most to be dreaded, who, tho' educated among us, betray their Country, and divulge all her Secrets, for Gain. This said, he named two Men of unblameable Conduct, and accused them of informing the Roman Ambassadors of all that passed in the National Councils. One of these accused was of *Ægium*, and named *Evagoras*; the other of <sup>51</sup> *Trithæum*, and named *Strategius*. The latter immediately gave the *Prætor* the Lie, and steadily insisted on his Innocence. I have indeed, said he, seen *Papirius* and the Romans, and I am resolved to visit them, till such time as they are declared Enemies to us. But as to any thing more, I call the Gods to witness, that I never discovered to them any of the Secrets of our Assemblies. However, the Multitude was for the *Prætor*; and they, without farther Examination, received the Accusation as true, and condemned *Strategius*, notwithstanding his Oath. This notorious Act of Injustice convinced Critolaus that he was absolute Master of the People; and then he carried his Fury to the utmost Extremity. He, in the same Assembly, caused War to be declared with the *Lacedæmonians*, and consequently with the Romans, who were united with them in the same Cause. Thus one single Man, who was not Master of his Passions, made all the possible Haste he could, to forward his own Ruin, and that of his Country.

Pausan. in  
Achaia.  
Polyb. ibid.

§. XLV. WHEN the War was declared, the Ambassadors parted. *Papirius* went first to *Athens*, and then to *Lacedæmon*, there to watch the Steps of the Enemy. *Ælius* set out for *Naupactus*, in order to favour the March of the Roman Troops towards *Peloponnesus*. *Gabinus* and *Fannius* returned to *Metellus's* Camp in *Macedon*, and excited him not to delay revenging the Insults the *Achæans* had offered to Rome. Upon which the *Prætor* probably did not wait for the Answers of the Senate. In order to prevent Delays, he seems to have taken upon him, to march towards *Greece*, before his Republick had juridically declared the *Achæans* her Enemies. But be that as it will, *Metellus* took the Road towards *Achaia*, and resolved to enter it by *Thessaly*.

Florus, B. 2.  
c. 16.

<sup>51</sup> Herodotus and Thucydides place the City of *Trithæum* in *Phoris*, at a little Distance from the City of the *Locri Ozolæ*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCVII.  
C. CORNELIUS  
LENTULUS, L.  
MUMMIUS  
ACHAICUS,  
Consuls.  
Pausan. &  
Polyb. *ibid.*

**CRITOLAUS** had promised the *Achaëans*, that before he began the War, he would make his Party strong enough to resist both the *Lacedæmonians* and *Romans* together. A strange Delusion, which this blind People believed, contrary to all manner of Probability! However, the *Prætor* of *Achaia* resolved at least to take the Advantage of a favourable Opportunity that offered of increasing his Troops. There were two Countries in *Greece* which had been disobliged by *Metellus*, since his Abode in *Macedon*. The Inhabitants of *Thebes* in *Bæotia* had lately lost two Causes, which had been brought before the Tribunal of the *Roman Prætor*. In the first place, the *Thebans* had been condemned to make the *Phocæans* Satisfaction, for the Losses the latter had suffered by their frequent IncurSIONS. And in the second place, the same *Thebans* had been forced, by another Decree, to deliver up a third Part of their Harvest to the Inhabitants of *Amphissa* <sup>52</sup>, in *Locris*, for having reaped the Corn of these Neighbours, and taken it to themselves. These Things enraged the *Thebans*, and they joined their Forces to those of *Critolaus*, under the Command of *Pythias*, the *Theban* General. Upon the same Motives *Chalcis* also joined the *Achaëans*. The Inhabitants of that Capital had ravaged a Part of *Eubœa*, and *Metellus* had ordered them to make Restitution. But after all, what was this Addition, of two Cities rather than of two Nations, to enable them to resist the Power of *Rome*? Who can excuse *Critolaus* of Rashness, or Folly? Powerful Kings, such as *Philip*, *Antiochus*, or *Perses*, may be excused for entering the Lists with a powerful Republick. But should a petty People, whom *Rome* had treated with too great Civility, either out of Pity, or Contempt; should they, have pretended to cope with the most powerful State in the World, which had hitherto been invincible? Thus two turbulent Men, of great Interest, conveyed their own Passions into the Breasts of an inconsiderate Multitude. *Dicus* <sup>53</sup> and *Critolaus* had been of the Number of those Exiles whom the *Romans* had kept so long in *Italy*, in a kind of Captivity; and they sought to revenge themselves, tho' at the Expence of their Country.

**METELLUS**, before he heard the Report of the Ambassadors, either upon bare Conjectures, or Rumours spread from Mouth to Mouth, had left *Macedon*, and was advancing towards *Greece*, by way of *Thessaly*. He led with him only a *Prætorian* Army; but it was a victorious one, and sufficient to bring *Achaia* to Reason. And when he had received certain Information, that *Critolaus* had caused War to be declared, and begun it, he hastened his March. Indeed the *Achaean* *Prætor* was already besieging *Heraclea*, a City of the Circle of *Achaia*, which refused to submit to the Circle, and was near to *Thessaly*. But tho' the *Theban* and *Chalcidian* Succours had already joined the *Achaean* Army, and it was as complete as it could be, *Critolaus* was struck with Dread, when he heard that *Metellus* was drawing near him. His Courage and Presence of Mind failed him all at once. He might easily have seized the Pass of *Thermopylae*, and encamped in the Defiles, where the *Persians* had formerly been baffled; and thereby might have stopped at least, if not defeated, the *Roman* Army. But the *Achaean* General chose rather to enter into his own Country, *Achaia*, and post himself under <sup>54</sup> *Scarphea*, than wait for the Enemy, and fight him to Advantage. Men that talk loftily in their Passions, don't always act with a Resolution and Courage equal to their Words. *Critolaus's* Retreat had all the Appearance of a Flight. In the mean time, the *Roman* General passed the *Sperchius*, and followed close after the *Achaëans*. At length he came up with them, and fought them; and tho' the Historians have not told us the Particulars of the Battel, we may well conclude that it cost the *Greeks* dear. The *Romans* took a thousand of them Prisoners of War; and at length, the Rout of the *Achaean* Army was general. *Critolaus* himself lost his Life by it; not in the Heat of the Battel; but he in Despair made away with himself. Some say he took Poison; others that he threw himself down from Mount *Oeta* into a Marsh,

<sup>52</sup> *Amphissa*, which stood on the Banks of a little River of the same Name, was one of the greatest Cities in *Locris*. It is now called *Salona*. But *Niger* thinks its ancient Situation agrees better with that of a little Village now called *Lambino*.

<sup>53</sup> This *Dicus* is the same Man who is called *Dracus*, in *Livy's* *Epitome*. *Orosius*, *Eutropius*, and

the Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, have so disfigured the Name of this Greek, that it is hard to be known.

<sup>54</sup> *Scarphea* was a City of *Locris*. It bordered upon *Thessaly*, near The Pass of *Thermopylae*. *Momet* thought he found some Footsteps of it near a Place called *Bondoniza*.

where



where he was drowned. At least it's certain he was never seen more; neither was his Body found on the Field of Battel. A shameful End, thus to die without having performed one Feat of Valour; but worthy of such an Incendiary, whose whole Composition was Vanity and Fury!

§. XLVI. It was an established Law among the *Achæans*, That when the Head of their Nation died during his Office, his immediate Predecessor should succeed him, and govern the Republick till the next general Diet, which was held on a certain stated Day. So that *Diæus* now became Governour again, and took upon him the Command of the scattered and disbanded Army. He was informed, that a Body of about a thousand *Arcadians*, who came with *Pythias* to the Assistance of *Achaia*, had escaped out of the Battel, and fled for Refuge to *Elatea* <sup>55</sup> in *Phocis*; but that *Metellus* had fallen upon them there, and not one of them had escaped Death. This was melancholy News; nevertheless *Diæus* was not discouraged by it. He had been the first Cause of the War; and it behoved him to maintain it. He therefore sent four thousand of his Troops to *Megara*, under the Command of one *Alcamenes*. He flattered himself that this small Body would be able to stop the *Romans*, who had just utterly destroyed the whole Army of *Critolaus*. Then *Diæus* came to *Argi*, and from thence sent an Order to all the Cities of *Achaia*, to raise new Troops. The Edict commanded, 1. That no less than twelve thousand of those Slaves who had been born in the Country should be enlisted; and that in case of Necessity some of the Slaves that had been brought from foreign Countries might be incorporated with them, to make up the Number. 2. That all Men who were of Age to bear Arms, whether in *Achaia* or *Arcadia*, should repair to *Corinth*, and there take the military Oaths. 3. That all Persons of Substance, whether Men or Women, should bring all their Gold and Silver into the publick Treasury. This Edict convinced all *Achaia* of the extreme Danger that threatened them; and as they could not depend on the Ability of their Governours, the Despair was universal. Nevertheless, as they were embarked in a dangerous War, they blindly pursued the mad Scheme. The Consternation was greatest among the Inhabitants of *Elea*, *Messene* <sup>56</sup>, and *Patrae* <sup>57</sup>. They had been informed, That a *Consular* Army was ready to arrive from *Rome*; and That a *Consul* was immediately coming, with new *Legions*, to take the Place of the *Prætor Metellus*. And as these Cities were exposed to the first Attacks of the Enemy, after their landing, they expected the most severe Treatment. *Patrae* especially, had already lost the finest Part of her Youth, which had been killed in the Battel of *Scarphea*; and the greatest Number of her unfortunate Citizens gave themselves up to Rage and Despair. Several of them killed themselves, for fear of falling into the Conqueror's Hands. But the wisest Part had Recourse to the Clemency of the Conqueror, and fled to *Metellus's* Camp for Refuge. There they informed against the most factious of their Countrymen, tho' no Enquiry was yet made after them. This was the Temper of the *Greeks*. They scrupled nothing, to gain the Favour of any new Party that they embraced.

In the mean time, the *Roman* *Prætor* entered *Arcadia*, and drew near to *Thebes*, a City which had openly declared for the *Achæan* Confederacy. *Pythias* the *Theban* had stirred up all the People there; and it was in search of him that *Metellus* came. But the Incendiary had banished himself from his native Country, and was gone, with his Wife and Children, to some Place in *Peloponnesus*; and after his Example, most of the *Thebans* had abandoned their City. So that it was nothing but a vast Desert. However, the *Roman* General, who made himself Master of it, shewed great Moderation. He gave the few Citizens he found there their Lives, saved the Temples and Houses from being plundered, and only set a Price upon *Pythias's* Head. Then the Incendiary was soon brought to the *Prætor*, and immediately executed by his *Lictors*. This Mixture of Mildness and Severity, filled the People of *Achaia* with Confidence, and their Governours with Dread; and *Metellus* marched on, to enter the Lands of the *Achæan* Republick. *Me-*

<sup>55</sup> See what we have said of the City of *Elatea*, Vol. 3. The Moderns pretend that it stood near a Village which is now called *Turchacori*.

<sup>56</sup> We have already described the Cities of *Elea* and *Messene*.

<sup>57</sup> *Patrae*, which stands on *The Gulph of Corinth*, retains the same Name to this Day. We have spoken of it already.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCVII.

CN. CORNELI-  
US LENTULUS  
L. MUMMIUS  
ACHAICUS,  
Consuls.

*Pausan. in  
Achaic.  
Polyb. in ex-  
cerptis ex Va-  
lejo.*



Year of *gara* 58 was the first Post he was to seize; but it was guarded by *Alcamenes*, with a Detachment of four thousand Men. Nevertheless, the bare Presence of a *Prætorian* Army so terrified this Commander, that he left the City defenceless, and retired to *Corinth*, whither *Diaus* was already come: So that *Megara* opened her Gates to the *Romans*, and the Plains of *Achaia* became a Prey to the Enemy. And then *Metellus* thought he might take Advantage of this general Consternation, to promote his own Glory. He had been informed, that the Consul *Mummius* had obtained Leave of the Senate to come into *Achaia*, and finish the War there by the Destruction of *Corinth*. To end the War therefore by a Peace, would be both for the Advantage of *Metellus* and the *Achæans*. The former would have triumphed, for having vanquished *Andriscus* and settled *Achaia* in Peace. The latter would have prevented the Loss of many of their Lives, and saved their Capital from the Fire and Swords of the *Romans*. All then that was wanting to conclude a Treaty that should be favourable to both Parties, was only to find Reason enough in *Diaus* and the Heads of his Faction to consent to it. The *Achæans* in general inclined to Peace, and dreaded the Consequences of the War; and this favourable Opportunity of working upon *Diaus* and his Faction was not to be neglected. *Metellus* therefore sent from his Camp three *Achæans* of Consideration in their own Country, and well affected to the *Romans*; but more strongly touched with the Misfortunes into which their own Republick was going to be plunged. The Names of these three *Achæans* were *Andronidas*, *Logius*, and *Archippus*. *Metellus* would not chuse *Romans* for this Embassy. Those he had formerly sent to *Corinth* had been too unworthily treated. And the Deputies he now sent met with a much worse Reception. *Diaus* looked on the three Ambassadors as the Subjects of his Republick, and Traitors to their Country; and after he had produced them before the Assembly of the People, he ordered them to be thrown into Prison. The *Achæan* *Prætor* was so obstinate that he could not be prevailed on to alter his Measures, either by the Remonstrances of *Philo*, who came on purpose from *Thessaly*; or by the Intreaties and Caresses of *Stratius*, a wise old Man of *Trithæum*, his particular Friend.

§. XLVII. But notwithstanding the Bravadoes of the *Achæan* General, it was visible enough that he preferred War to Peace, only because he secretly despaired of being able to reconcile himself to the *Romans*. The Madman gave himself but little Pain, that his own Ruin would bring with it that of all his Nation; and made it his whole Business to bring into his Measures the principal Members of the Council, who were Men of Passion, and devoted to his Faction. These, to shew their Resentment to the uttermost, condemned to Death *Andronidas*, *Logius* and *Archippus*, the three Deputies sent by *Metellus*; and joined with them in the same Condemnation *Sofocrates*, a venerable Senator, whose only Crime was his having voted for treating of a Peace with the *Romans*. *Sofocrates* was first executed; and no kind of Torture was spared, in order to extort from him such a Confession as *Diaus* wanted. But *Sofocrates* maintained to the last, That Peace was preferable to War; and this inflexible Constancy made some Impression on the People. *Diaus* pretended to be afraid of a Sedition, and suspended the Execution of the Sentence passed upon *Andronidas* and his Collegues. But the true Secret was, that it was agreed to sell them their Deliverance at a great Price. The covetous *Prætor* got for himself a Talent\* of *Andronidas*, and forty † *Mine* 59 of *Archippus*. Nothing but his Greediness of Gain could have quenched his Thirst for Blood. A few Days before, *Diaus* had delivered up to Death one *Phillius*, and his Children; only because they were suspected of keeping an Intelligence with *Menalcidas* at *Lacedæmon*, and inclining to favour the *Roman* Party. Unfortunate *Achæans*! to be governed by Heads who neither had any Rules of Conduct but their Passions, or any Talent for War but their Ferocity! Insomuch, that we shall soon see *Achaia* obliged to acknowledge, that the *Romans* promoted her Happiness by subduing her, after they had first delivered her from her Tyrants.

\* 193 l. 15 s. Sterl.  
† 129 l. 3 s. 4 d. Sterl.

58 *Megara* was the Capital of a Canton of *Achaia*, called *Megaritis*. It is now but a little City situated on an Hill, near *The Isthmus of Corinth*. It had the Glory to give Birth to the famous Mathematician *Euclid*.

59 The forty *Mine* made two thirds of an Attick Talent, which contained sixty.



THE Victory which *Metellus* had gained near *Scarphea*, was already known at *Rome*. A vain Coxcomb, named *Postumius*, had sent an Account of it, and tho' absent from the Battel, under Pretence of Sickneſs, had given a pompous Deſcription of it, as if he had been in it. This Relation made the *Conſul Mummius* haſten his Departure for *Achaia*, which had fallen to his Lot. Why the Senate did not ſuffer *Metellus* to finiſh a War which he had proſecuted ſo far, is now hard to ſay. Perhaps they were reſolved to puniſh him for having undertaken it, without waiting for the Orders of the Republick. But be that as it will, *Mummius* came to ſucceed *Metellus*, and had no Difficulty in making a Conqueſt which his Predeceſſor had almoſt finiſhed. The *Conſul* had already landed the numerous Army he brought with him, when *Metellus* was advancing towards *Corinth*, to make his laſt Efforts to perſuade *Diæus*. If he had found him at all tractable, he would have concluded the Treaty of Peace with him, before the Arrival of the *Conſular* Army, and would have deprived *Mummius* of the Honour of finiſhing his Work. But the Obſtinacy of the *Achaean* Head, and the Vengeance of Heaven, which led him on to his Deſtruction, made *Diæus* deſpiſe very advantageous Offers.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCVII.  
CN. CORNELI-  
US LENTULUS  
L. MUMMIUS  
ACHAICUS,  
Conſuls.

*Pauſan. in  
Achaic.*

AT length *Mummius*, inveſted with all the Authority of his Republick, appeared before *Corinth*. His firſt Care was immediately to ſend back *Metellus* and his Troops into *Macedon*. The *Conſular* Army was ſufficient for him. It conſiſted of three thouſand five hundred Horſe, and twenty three thouſand Foot, excluſive of a Body of *Cretan* Archers, and the *Pergamian* Troops which King *Attalus* the Son of *Eumenes* had ſent to the *Conſul*, to enlarge his Army. *Mummius* encamped near *The Iſthmus of Corinth*, and poſted Advanced-Guards in ſeveral Places. But as no Enemy appeared, and all the *Achaean* Army was ſhut up in the Place, Diſcipline was a little neglected among the *Romans*. They rambled about the Fields, and no one kept to his Poſt. The *Corinthians* obſerved this, fell ſuddenly on theſe *Legionaries*, routed them, and drove them fighting to their Trenches. But a ſlight Advantage is often a Bait to draw raſh Men into a Snare. *Diæus* now conceived great Hopes of conquering; and *Mummius* heightened them by a feigned Terror. The *Conſul* kept his *Legions* cloſe in his Camp, and pretended not to be able to bear the Sight of the Enemy. Which made the *Achaean* General both audacious and insolent.

AFTER he had aſſembled together all the Soldiers in the Country, he formed a *Phalanx* of them, which, with the auxiliary Troops he received from *Chalcis*, made up an Army equal, if not ſuperior in Number, to that of the *Romans*. It only wanted a General of Experience, and Soldiers who had been long uſed to fight pitched Battels. However, *Diæus* thought that Deſpair, and the great Importance of their Cauſe, would ſupply the Want of Courage and Experience in his Soldiers. And he therefore offered the *Conſul* Battel, which the latter pretended to decline. This he did, to draw the *Achaean* into a Valley called *Leucopetra*<sup>60</sup>, at the Extremity of the *Iſthmus* which joined *Attica* to *Peloponneſus*: And accordingly, the *Achaean* Army repaired thither, long before the *Conſular*. *Diæus* was ſo ſure of Victory, that he had invited the Women and Children of *Corinth* to come and entertain themſelves with the Sight of the Slaughter of the Enemy. He placed them on the Eminencies, where he ſuppoſed they would be ſafe: And had ordered a great Number of Waggonſ to follow his Army, to carry the Booty which he was to take from the Enemy.

*Auth. de Vir.  
Illustr.*

AT length, the *Conſul* appeared in the Plain with his Troops, which he drew up in Battalia. He had the Day before had the Precaution to lay in Ambuſh the greateſt Part of his Squadrons, in a Place from whence they were to ſally out in the Heat of the Action, and attack the *Achaean Phalanx* in Flank. The Battel began; and the *Achaean* Cavalry gave way before that of the *Romans*. But the *Phalanx*, whoſe Diſpoſition was its ſole Support, made a little more Reſiſtance. However, at length a Body of a thouſand *Legionaries* broke it; and then the Slaughter was terrible. The two Seas which were divided by *The Iſthmus of*

*Pauſan. in  
Achaic.  
Zonaras, B. 9.  
c. 31.*

<sup>60</sup> The Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men* is the only one who mentions a Valley in *Achaia*, called *Leucopetra*. We know no Place of this Name, but a Mountain which divides the Country

of the *Parthians* from *Hyrcania*; and a Promontory now called *Capo dell' Armi*, in *South Calabria*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCVII.  
CN. CORNELI-  
US LENTULUS,  
L. MUMMIUS  
ACHAICUS,  
Consuls.

*Corinth*<sup>61</sup>, were died with Blood. All that escaped the Sword of the Enemy fled; and the fierce *Diæus* took Refuge in *Megalopolis*, his native City. It was an unpardonable Fault in him to abandon *Corinth*, and not to have appointed that for a Place of Retreat for his Troops, in case of Misfortune. This City was then one of the strongest Places in the World. Besides the two Ports of *Lechaëum* and <sup>62</sup>*Cenchrea*, which covered it on the two Sides of *The Isthmus*, it had a Citadel within its Walls, which was so high that it was for that Reason called <sup>63</sup>*Acro-Corinthus*. It may safely be affirmed, That, notwithstanding the Loss of the Battel, *Diæus* might have held out a Siege in his Capital longer than *Asdrubal* kept *Africanus* the Second before *Carthage*. But this is a common Fault with presumptuous Generals: They depend so much on Victory, that they make no Provision for a Retreat, in case of ill Success. However, *Diæus* had his Share of that Courage at least which the Ancients so much commend in some of their Heroes. When he came to <sup>64</sup>*Megalopolis*, he set Fire to his House; threw his Wife into the Flames, for fear she should fall into the Enemy's Hands; and dispatched himself by Poison. A melancholy Effect of Rashness and Despair! If he had shut himself up in *Corinth*, he might perhaps have saved the City by an honourable Capitulation.

§. XLVIII. AFTER the Loss of the Battel, all things were in Confusion at *Corinth*. The few Remains of the routed Troops which had fled thither left the Walls, which the General himself had abandoned; and after the Example of the Soldiers, the Inhabitants fled to other Places for Safety, leaving the City deserted. The Gates were opened, and there appeared no Body on the Ramparts to defend them. This News was brought to the victorious Army; and the Consul, who was surprized at it, suspected that an Ambuscade was laid for him, under the Pretence of a Desertion: And therefore he restrained the Ardour of his Soldiers, who were very earnest to enter *Corinth*, and plunder it. But at length, after three Days Delay, when *Mummius* had taken proper Precautions, and narrowly observed all Places within and without the City, he led his Troops thither, and made himself Master of it. Then the Cruelty of the *Roman* Soldiers was such, that they spared none who were able to bear Arms. They gave Life only to the Women and Children, whom they sold for Slaves to the best Bidder. After this, the City was plundered; and who can reckon up the immense Riches which the *Romans* brought from thence? There were more Workmen in Gold, Silver, and Copper, in *Corinth*, than in any City in the World. It was, if I may so speak, the universal Magazine where *Europe* and *Asia* furnished themselves with Vessels of all Sorts of Metals. There the finest Statues were cast for Temples and Palaces. The Arts seemed to have taken up their Habitation in this City, where <sup>65</sup>Painting and Sculpture especially were brought to great Perfection. What Pity was it then, that so many valuable Works of the greatest Masters should fall into the Hands of Soldiers, who set no Value on these Master-pieces of Art! *Polybius* the *Achaean* was himself an Eye-witness, according to *Strabo*, both of the Destruction of the Capital of his Country, and the Want of Taste in the *Roman* Troops. He had hastened from *Africa* to do his Country what Service he could, and saw

<sup>61</sup> *The Isthmus of Corinth* was shut in, to the West by the *Ionian*, and to the East by the *Ægean*, Sea.

<sup>62</sup> The Port of *Cenchrea* was formed by the *Ægean* Sea, and that of *Lechaëum* by the *Ionian*. These two Ports, which lay at the Extremities of the *Isthmus*, were forty *Stadia*, or five thousand geometrical Paces, asunder.

<sup>63</sup> According to *Strabo*, the *Acro-Corinthus* was three *Stadia* and an half, or two thousand one hundred and ninety Foot, perpendicular in Height. The Declivity or Descent of it was thirty *Stadia*, or almost a *French* League and a quarter. *Stephen of Byzantium* says, that the Mountain on which the Citadel of *Corinth* was built, was first called *Heliopolis*, or *The City of the Sun*, on account of the dryness of the Soil. Nevertheless, *Strabo* says there were several Springs of fresh Water in it, which filtrated thro' the Earth, and ran to the City. These Waters made a large Fountain, which was suffici-

ent to supply the Wants of all the Inhabitants. There was the famous Fountain of *Peirene* consecrated to the *Muses*. The same Geographer also says, that it never overflowed. He makes the City alone to have been forty *Stadia*, or near two Leagues, in Circumference; and inclusive of the Mountain, or *Acro-Corinthus*, he makes its whole Compass to have been eighty five *Stadia*.

<sup>64</sup> See what we have already said in this Volume, of *Megalopolis*, one of the most considerable Cities in *Arcadia*.

<sup>65</sup> According to *Isidorus*, Painting was first invented at *Corinth*. But *Pliny* seems to divide this Honour between *Corinth* and *Sicyon*. At least he says, that the first Sketches of Pictures were made by *Ardius*, and *Tolophanes*; one a *Corinthian*, and the other a *Sicyonian*. *Thucydides* also ascribes the Invention of *Triremes*, or of Gallies with three Ranks of Oars, to the Inhabitants of *Corinth*.



the *Roman* Soldiers casting Dice on a Picture of *Aristides* <sup>66</sup>, which was thought one of the Wonders of the World. It was a *Bacchus*; and so very fine a one, that it became a Proverb in *Greece*, that nothing ever excelled the *Bacchus* of *Aristides*. But this perfect Original was taken from these Barbarians, and the King of *Pergamus* offered for it six hundred thousand \* *Sesterces* <sup>67</sup>, when the Spoils of *Corinth* were put up to Sale. The *Consul* was so surprized to hear such a Sum offered for a Picture, that he thought there was some magical Virtue in it; and therefore kept it, brought it to *Rome*, and placed it in the Temple <sup>68</sup> of *Ceres*. *Mummius* appears to have understood the Art of War much better than those of Painting and Sculpture. When he put the Pictures and Statues he had taken in *Corinth*, on board the Transports, he made it a Condition with the Captains, that if any of them were spoiled, they should find him others instead of them. As if any Copies could equal these capital Pieces of the most celebrated Masters in *Greece*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCVII.  
C.N. CORNELI-  
US LENTULUS,  
L. MUMMIUS  
ACHAICUS,  
Consuls.  
\* 4843 L. 15 s.  
Sterl.  
Plin. B. 35.  
c. 4.  
Vell. Pat. B. 1.

WHEN *Corinth* was pillaged, nothing remained but to reduce it to Ashes. This was the Decree of the Senate of *Rome*, which the *Consul* was obliged to put in Execution. But what Inhumanity was it, to give up two of the most wealthy Cities in the World, *Carthage* and *Corinth*, a Prey to the Flames in one Year! The *Roman* Policy then went no farther, than to strike Terror into the rest of the World, thereby to keep all Nations steady in their Obedience to *Rome*. The Fire was set to all the Corners of *Corinth* at the same time, and the Flames increasing more and more towards the Center, at last united there, and then made but one Conflagration. And this produced that famous Mixture of Metals which Art could never imitate. The Gold, Silver, and Brass, which the *Corinthians* had hid, and which had escaped the Searches of the Soldiers, were melted, and ran down the Streets in Streams. As dangerous as it was to gather it up, some of the greedy Soldiers broke thro' the Flames in order to it, and were burnt to Death. And at length, when the Fire was extinguished, then was picked up that Metal, composed of <sup>69</sup> a Mixture of several Metals, which was so much esteemed in the following Ages. The Walls of the City, which were already calcined, were easily demolished, and the *Romans* diverted themselves with beating them down. Thus was destroyed that famous City, which, according to some, was founded as early as the Days of *Moses*; and, as others say, in the time of *Othniel*, above thirteen hundred Years before its Destruction. But it is more probable, That it was built by <sup>70</sup> *Alethes*, the Son of *Hyppotes*, the fifth Grandson of *Hercules*; and That it did not subsist above nine hundred and fifty two Years.

Vell. Pat. B. 7.

§. XLIX. THUS was the Capital of *Achaia* destroyed; and it was now necessary to determine the Fate of the *Achaens* in general. As to the *Corinthians*, and the Slaves that had taken up Arms against *Rome*, they were again condemned to Slavery. After they had been sought for, in all the Places where they were dispersed, the whole Nation was ordered to assemble in the open Fields. This great Crowd was surrounded by the *Roman* Soldiers; and because they were all afraid of being involved in one common Misfortune, therefore Proclamation was made, That only the Natives of *Corinth*, and the Slaves that had become Soldiers, should

<sup>66</sup> *Aristides*, a Co-temporary of the famous *Apelles*, one of the most celebrated Painters of Antiquity, flourished at *Thebes*, about the 122d *Olympiad*, which answers to the Year of *Rome* 467, or thereabouts. He was thought the first who attempted to give a visible Representation of the Motions of the Heart of Man, and represent the Passions of the Soul in Colours.

<sup>67</sup> Supposing, as we have elsewhere done, that the *Roman* *Denarius* was worth ten *French* *Sols*, and that the *Little Sesterce* was the fourth Part of the *Denarius*, it will follow that six hundred thousand *Sesterces* were worth seventy five thousand *Livres*.

<sup>68</sup> *Strabo* says that he had the Pleasure of admiring this Master-piece, before it was consumed in the Fire which reduced the Temple of *Ceres* to Ashes.

<sup>69</sup> *Pliny* says there were three Sorts of *Corinthian* Brass; the white, the red, and that which was of the Colour of Money; according to the differ-

ent Proportions of Gold, Silver, and Copper, that were in it.

<sup>70</sup> Indeed *Corinth* had been in being, several Ages before *Alethes* made himself Master of it. But *Velleius Paterculus* gives us Reason to believe, that this Conqueror was at least the Restorer of this great City, if he did not lay the first Foundations of it. It was originally called *Ephyra*. Afterwards, when it was re-peopled by one *Corinthus*, the Son of *Pelops*, it was called *Corinth*. Prophane Authors say it was successively governed by Kings, from *Sisyphus*, of the Race of the *Aeolidae*, till it was conquered by the *Heraclidae*. The latter also furnished it with some Kings, of whom the first was *Alethes*, the Son of *Hyppotes*. But at length, the *Corinthians* abolished the Regal Power, which ended with *Automenes*, of the Race of the *Bacchiadae*; and from that time to its Destruction, *Corinth* was governed by Magistrates who were annually chosen, called *Prytaneis*.



Year of  
ROM E  
DCVII.

CN. CORNELI-  
US LENTULUS,  
L. MUMMIUS,  
ACHAICUS,  
Consuls.

\* 19375 l.  
Sterl.

† 38750 l.  
Sterl.

Pausan. in  
Achaic.

be sold. The *Consul* gave the rest of the Inhabitants of the Country their Liberty. Then he sold the Lands of the Citizens of *Corinth*; and the *Sicyonians* got the best Part of them. *Thebes*, *Chalcis*, and some other Cities, were punished for having borne Arms against *Rome*, by being dismantled. *Chalcis* was obliged to pay the Inhabitants of *Heraclea* a hundred \* *Talents*, and *Achaia* to pay the *Lacedæmonians* two hundred †, by way of Satisfaction for the Injuries they had done them. Soon after, ten Commissioners arrived from *Rome*, to settle the Government of *Greece* in general, and of *Achaia* in particular; and they ordered that *Peloponnesus* should be reduced to the State of a *Roman Province*, and governed by a *Prætor*. So that the general Diets, and the Union of the Cities with one another, were abolished. Nevertheless, each City continued in Possession of its Liberty, and was governed by its own Laws, under the Superintendency of the Magistrate *Rome* annually sent to *Achaia*. The whole Nation paid a certain Tribute to the *Romans*; and the Rich were forbidden to possess Lands any where but in their own Country.

THE Presence of *Polybius* was of more Service to his Country than can be expressed. By his Interest in *Africanus the Second*, he obtained many Favours for his Countrymen. The Statues of the Great Men, who had done Honour to *Achaia*, were restored to her, by his Means; and therefore the People erected one to him, with this Inscription. *To the Memory of Polybius, whose Counsels would have saved Achaia, if they had been followed; and who comforted her in her Distress.* *Rome* appointed him to go to all the Cities, and every where settle the new Form of Government. A most honourable Commission, which he discharged both to the Satisfaction of the Senate of *Rome*, and the People of *Achaia*! The ten Deputies tarried but six Months in the *Levant*; and then *Metellus* set out with them, in order to triumph. His Procession preceded that of *Mummius*, who tarried some Days after him in *Achaia*. It cannot be denied, That *Metellus* had justly merited the greatest military Honours; and accordingly, after he had vanquished *Andriscus* in several pitch'd Battels, he made him walk before his Chariot, with all the Ornaments of a true King. A whole Squadron of *Equestrian* Statues were carried in Waggon; which Statues *Alexander the Great* had ordered to be cast by the famous <sup>71</sup> *Lysippus*, in Honour to the brave Cavaliers who had followed him, and lost their Lives in passing the *Granicus*. The City of *Dium* in *Macedon* had been adorned with these valuable Monuments, which were now removed to *Rome*, and became Part of its Decorations. The triumphant Victor was also permitted to take the Surname of *Macedonicus*, as the *Scipio's* had taken that of *Africanus*. But this was thought too great a Mark of Distinction, and displeased the Publick. Was it just to grant so splendid a Title to the Conqueror of a mock King, when it had not been granted to *Paulus Æmilius*, after he had vanquished and taken Prisoner *Perfes*, the true King of *Macedon*? The bare demanding it by *Metellus*, was a Mark of Pride which much displeased the Commons; and they soon found Means to make him repent of it.

S. L. AFTER him, *Mummius* triumphed in his Turn; for having conquered *Achaia*, and subjected her to the Republick. But it must be owned, that if this *Consul* finished that Work, the *Prætor Metellus* had very far advanced it. Yet after all, *Mummius* had filled *Peloponnesus* with his Fame. The Victory he had gained over *Dicus* was indeed an easy one; but *Corinth*, which could have made a long Resistance, surrendered without fighting. And the Republick received the same Benefits from his Conquest, as she would have done, if he had completed it with much more Bloodshed. The Riches the *Consul* had brought from *Corinth* were as great as they would have been if he had taken it by Force. Besides, *Mummius's* civil Virtues had gained him as much Honour, as the Flight of the Enemy had deprived him of. During his whole Abode at *Achaia*, you would have taken him for one of those ancient *Romans* whom the Contagion of the Vices of the *Levant* had not yet infected. Great Sweetness of Disposition, Moderation, and Disinterestedness, appeared in all his Actions. Of all that prodigious Quantity of Wealth which he took from the *Corinthians*, he reserved nothing for himself. This plainly appeared after his Return. When he came to marry his Daughter, his Poverty

71 See Vol. 3.



was so well known, that the Republick thought herself obliged to give her a Portion. This Man, who was so brave, so wise, and so virtuous, came to the Temple of *Bellona*, there to wait the Decree for his Triumph; and both Senate and People readily agreed to grant it: So that he entered *Rome* with a Magnificence surpassing every thing that had been seen before. Indeed, no Kings in Chains walked before his Chariot; but his Triumph was embellished with all the finest Paintings and Sculptures that *Greece* had produced. And the Booty that was taken in *Corinth* <sup>72</sup> only, furnished *Rome* with more Ornaments than it could contain. The triumphant Victor distributed some in all the neighbouring Cities. It happened, that a Man of Figure, named *Licinius Lucullus*, desired to borrow Part of his Statues, to adorn a Temple which he had vowed to build, and which he was going to dedicate; and *Mummius* granted his Request. But the Borrower was not so ready to restore what he had borrowed. He alledged, That whatever had been used in any religious Ceremony, belonged to the Gods, to whom it had been consecrated. And *Mummius* had more Magnanimity than *Lucullus* Honesty. As valuable as these Monuments were, he never asked for them more. By all these Virtues therefore, and so fine a Conquest, he justly merited the glorious Surname of *Achaicus*. No Body had any Claim to it but himself; and he assumed and bore it all his Life, without Envy. Thus ended a Year which advanced the *Roman* Republick to her highest Pitch of Glory. But if it was remarkable for the great Valour of her Generals and Soldiers, it must be owned at the same time, that the History of it leaves such Impressions of the Avarice and Inhumanity of the Senate on the Reader's Mind, as are not for her Honour. To destroy every thing that gave her Umbrage, To sack other Nations to enrich herself, and To conquer purely for the sake of Plunder; what was all this, but to make War after the Manner of Barbarians? So that upon the whole, if on the one hand, *Rome* was now more formidable than ever; it must be allowed on the other, that she had much less Virtue than in former Ages.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCVII.  
CN. CORNELI-  
US LENTULUS  
L. MUMMIUS  
ACHAICUS,  
Consuls.  
Plin. Strab.  
Aust. de Vir.  
Illustr. Cicer.  
pro Muren.

<sup>72</sup> According to *Tacitus*, *Annal*, B. 14. *Lucius Mummius* brought from *Greece* into *Italy*, a true Taste for Dramatic Performances. During the Ceremony of his Triumph, he ordered some to be presented, which were composed after the Model of the *Greeks*. So that, through the Care of the

Conqueror of *Achaia*, the Stage at *Rome* was reformed, and made more regular and decent. And consequently, if *Tacitus* was not mistaken, the Historians who represent *Mummius* as an heavy dull Man, have not done Justice to his Memory.

*The End of the FOURTH VOLUME.*





# A LIST of the PLATES of the Four First Volumes of the *ROMAN HISTORY.*

## V O L. I.

<b>F</b> rontispiece.	
Plate 1. Map of <i>Latium</i> .	Page 1
2. First Plan of <i>Rome</i> .	22
3. <i>Bulle</i> .	44
4. Second Plan of <i>Rome</i> .	45
5. <i>Vesta</i> , &c.	63
6. <i>Salii</i> , &c.	64
7. <i>Termini</i> .	129
8. <i>Fortuna</i> .	136
9. Temple of <i>Jupiter Capitolinus</i> .	179
10. Third Plan of <i>Rome</i> .	191
11. 12. <i>Battering-Rams</i> .	235
13. 14. Other <i>Battering-Rams</i> .	236
15. The Battel of the Lake <i>Regillus</i> .	255
16. Military Ensigns.	278
17. <i>Romans</i> in the <i>Toga</i> .	394

## V O L. II.

<b>F</b> rontispiece.	
Plate 1. Map of <i>Gallia Cisalpina</i> , &c.	1
2. <i>Military Tortoises</i> .	19
3. <i>Matuta</i> .	62
4. <i>Triclinium</i> .	83
5. Bucklers.	95
6. <i>Sagum</i> and <i>Paludamentum</i> .	143
7. Map of <i>Great Greece</i> , &c.	179
8. Ceremonies relating to <i>Colonies</i> .	183
9, 10. Tortures.	186
11. Medals.	189
12. <i>Covered Galleries</i> and <i>Vineæ</i> .	190
13. Towers.	191
14. <i>Terrasses</i> .	ibid.
15. Medals.	214
16. The <i>Caudian Forks</i> .	235
17. <i>Angusticlave</i> and <i>Laticlave</i> .	241
18. <i>Roman Soldiers</i> on a March.	277
19. <i>Samnite Gladiators</i> .	288
20. Priests of <i>Bellona</i> .	332
21. <i>Greek Phalanxes</i> .	435
22. A <i>Roman Camp</i> .	441
23. The Battel of <i>Heraclea</i> .	444
24. The Battel of <i>Asculum</i> .	458
25. A <i>Roman Army</i> in <i>Battalia</i> .	460

26. Map of <i>Sicily</i> .	469
27. The Battel of the <i>Taurasian Fields</i> .	483
28. <i>Duilius's Corvus</i> .	555
29. The <i>Columna Rostrata</i> .	559
30. Map of <i>Africa Propria</i> .	569

## V O L. III.

<b>F</b> rontispiece.	
Plate 1. Medals.	8
2. <i>Hannibal's Rout</i> thro' <i>Gaul</i> , &c.	59
3. The Battel of the Lake <i>Thrasimenus</i> .	89
4. The Battel of <i>Cannæ</i> .	124
5. <i>Catapultæ</i> .	177
6. A <i>Quinqueremis</i> .	204
7. Map of ancient <i>Syracuse</i> .	225
8. <i>Sambucæ</i> .	250
9. Map of <i>New Carthage</i> .	345
10. Map of <i>Spain</i> .	381
11. <i>Augural Temple</i> .	384
12. Medals.	390
13. Urns.	392
14. Rings or Seals.	393
15. Medals.	398
16. The Battel of the <i>Metaurus</i> .	416
17. The Battel of <i>Zama</i> .	555
18. A <i>Triumphal Chariot</i> , &c.	572

## V O L. IV.

<b>F</b> rontispiece.	
Plate 1. Map of <i>Peloponnesus</i> .	1
2. Map of <i>Epirus</i> .	ibid.
3. The Battel of <i>Cynocephalæ</i> .	74
4. <i>Philippuses</i> .	131
5. Map of <i>Thermopylæ</i> .	175
6. The Battel of <i>Magnesia</i> .	218
7. Map of <i>Macedon</i> .	435
8. Map of <i>Thrace</i> .	ibid.
9. Map of <i>Illyricum</i> .	ibid.
10. The Battel of <i>Pydna</i> .	461
11. Map of <i>Carthage</i> in <i>Africa</i> .	594





THE  
FASTI CONSULARES,  
OR,  
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,  
CONTINUED.



250. Consulship. Year 551.	<b>T</b> I. CLAUDIUS NE- RO. M. SERVILIUS PU- LEX GEMINUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	C. LÆLIUS NEPOS. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA. CN. MANLIUS VULSO. L. OPPIUS SALINATOR. C. URSANIUS NEPOS. AP. CLAUDIUS NERO. C. ATTILIUS SERRANUS. L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.
<i>Dictator.</i>	C. SERVILIUS NEPOS.		
<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.		
<i>Prætor of Rome.</i>	C. AURELIUS COTTA.	<i>Pro-Consul in Hetruria.</i>	C. SERVILIUS NEPOS.
<i>Prætor at Ari- minum.</i>	M. SEXTIUS SABINUS.	<i>Pro Consul in Cisalpine Gaul.</i>	M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
<i>Prætor in Bruttium.</i>	C. LIVIUS SALINATOR.	<i>Pro-Consul in Hither Spain.</i>	L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
<i>Prætor in Sicily.</i>	C. TREMELLIUS FLACCUS.	<i>Pro-Consul in Further Spain.</i>	L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS.
<i>Curule Æ- diles.</i>	L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS. Q. FULVIUS PÆTINUS.	<i>Pro-Consul in Africa.</i>	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
<i>Plebeian Æ- diles.</i>	P. ÆLIUS TUBERO. L. LÆTORIUS PLANCIANUS. M. CINCIUS ALIMENTUS. C. SCANTINIUS CAPITOLINUS.	<i>Pro-Prætor in Liguria.</i>	SP. LUCRETIVS GALLUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. TERENTIUS MASSA. L. VILLIUS TAPPULUS. L. MEMMIUS GALLUS. SP. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS. C. ÆBUTIVS CARUS. SEX. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. L. CASSIUS LONGINUS. P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS. T. ÆBUTIVS CARUS. SP. VETURIUS CALVINUS.	<i>Pro-Prætor in Sardinia.</i>	CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
		<i>Pro-Prætor on the Sea- Coasts of Si- cily.</i>	P. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.
		<i>Pro-Prætor on the Coasts of Sardinia.</i>	CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.



## A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

*Pro Prætor* } *on the Sea-*  
*Coasts of Italy.* } M. MARCIUS RALLA.

*Pro-Quæstors.* C. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.  
SEX. DIGITIUS NEPOS.  
T. JUVENTIUS THALNA.

251. *Consulship.* CN. CORNELIUS LENTU-  
*Year 552.* LUS.  
P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

*Prætor of* M. JUNIUS PENNUS.  
*Rome.*

*Prætor in* M. VALERIUS FALTO.  
*Campania.*

*Prætor in* P. ÆLIUS TUBERO.  
*Sicily.*

*Prætor in* M. FABIUS BUTEO.  
*Sardinia.*

*Curule Æ-* L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.  
*diles.* T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.

*Plebeian Æ-* L. APUSTIUS FULLO.  
*diles.* Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

*Tribunes of the* Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS.  
*People.* M' ACILIUS GLABRIO.  
C. HELVIUS BLASIO.  
L. ATILIUS REGULUS.  
M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.  
L. CANULEIUS DIVES.  
L. HORTENSIUS NEPOS.  
M. HELVIUS BLASIO.  
M. MINUCIUS FESSUS.  
C. TERENTIUS VARRO.

*Quæstors.* Q. MARCIUS REX.  
CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.  
P. MANLIUS VULSO.  
CN. CORNELIUS MERENDA.  
C. ATINIUS LABEO.  
T. ROMULEIUS NEPOS.  
M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.  
Q. OPPIUS SALINATOR.

*Pro-Consul in* M. SERVILIUS PULEX GEMINUS.  
*Ætruria.*

*Pro-Consul in* L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.  
*Hither Spain.*

*Pro-Consul in* L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS.  
*Further Spain.*

*Pro-Consul in* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.  
*Africa.*

*Pro-Prætor* }  
*on the Coast* } CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.  
*of Sardinia.*

*Pro-Prætor* }  
*on the Sea-* }  
*Coasts of* } M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.  
*Greece.*

*Pro-Quæstors.* C. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.  
C. LÆLIUS NEPOS.  
P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.  
L. OPPIUS SALINATOR.

SCIPIO triumphs over *Hannibal*  
the *Carthaginian*, and *Sy-*  
*phax* King of *Numidia*.

252. *Consulship.* P. SULPICIUS GALBA  
*Year 553.* MAXIMUS.  
C. AURELIUS COTTA.

The *Macedonian War*.

*Prætor of* CN. SERGIUS PLANCUS.  
*Rome.*

*Prætor in* L. FURIUS PURPUREO. He  
*Cisalpine Gaul.* triumphs over the *Gauls*.

*Prætor in* Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS.  
*Bruttium.*

*Prætor in* Q. FULVIUS GILLO.  
*Sicily.*

*Curule Æ-* M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.  
*diles.* SEX. ÆLIUS PÆTUS CATUS.

*Plebeian Æ-* L. TERENTIUS MASSA.  
*diles.* CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

*Tribunes of the* C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.  
*People.* M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.  
L. OGULNIUS GALLUS.  
Q. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.  
TI. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.  
M. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.  
L. STERTINIUS NEPOS.  
Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.  
Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.  
P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

*Quæstors.* L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.  
L. VALERIUS TAPPUS.  
M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.  
D. JUNIUS BRUTUS.  
M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.  
L. PORCIUS LICINUS.  
M. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.

*Pro-Consul in* C. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.  
*Hither Spain.* *Pro-*



*Pro-Consul in* L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS.  
Further Spain.

*Pro-Prætor*  
*on the Sea-*  
*Coasts of*  
*Greece.* } M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.

*Pro-Prætor in* M. VALERIUS FALTO.  
Sardinia.

*Pro-Quæstors.* M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.  
CN. CORNELIUS MERENDA.  
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. Up-  
on his Return from *Spain*, he  
receives the Honours of an  
*Ovation.*

253. *Consulship.* L. CORNELIUS LENTU-  
Year 554. LUS.  
P. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.

*Censors.* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO *Africa-*  
*nus.*  
P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

THE FORTY SIXTH LUSTRUM.

*Prætor of* L. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.  
Rome.

*Prætor at Ari-* CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.  
*minum.*

*Prætor in* L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.  
*Sicily.*

*Prætor in* L. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.  
*Sardinia.*

*Curule Æ-* C. VALERIUS FLACCUS.  
*diles.* C. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

*Plebeian Æ-* M. PORCIUS CATO.  
*diles.* C. HELVIUS BLASIO.

*Tribunes of the* M. PORCIUS LÆCA.  
*People.* M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.  
M' CURIUS DENTATUS.  
C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.  
C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.  
T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.  
C. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.  
TI. CLAUDIUS CANINA.  
L. AURELIUS ORESTES.  
C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.

*Quæstors.* Q. ÆLIUS TUBERO.  
M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.  
M. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.  
M. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.  
M. TUCCIUS NEPOS.

A. CORNELIUS MAMMULA.  
C. LIVIUS SALINATOR.  
L. ARUNCULEIUS COTTA.

*Pro-Consul in* P. SULPICIUS GALBA MAXI-  
Macedon. MUS.

*Pro-Consul in* CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.  
Hither Spain.

*Pro-Consul in* L. STERTINIUS NEPOS.  
Further Spain.

*Pro-Prætor in* Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS.  
Bruttium.

*Pro-Quæstors.* L. VALERIUS TAPPUS.  
D. JUNIUS BRUTUS.  
L. PORCIUS LICINUS.

254. *Consulship.* T. QUINCTIUS FLAMINI-  
Year 555. NUS.  
SEX. ÆLIUS PÆTUS CA-  
TUS.

*Prætor of* L. CORNELIUS MERULA.  
Rome.

*Prætor in Cis-* C. HELVIUS BLASIO.  
*alpine Gaul.*

*Prætor in* M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.  
*Sicily.*

*Prætor in* M. PORCIUS CATO.  
*Sardinia.*

*Curule Æ-* Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS.  
*diles.* TI. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.

*Plebeian Æ-* C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.  
*diles.* M. HELVIUS BLASIO.

*Tribunes of the* CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.  
*People.* SEX. DIGITIUS NEPOS.  
C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.  
C. CLAUDIUS CANINA.  
P. RUTILIUS RUFUS.  
T. JUVENTIUS THALNA.  
SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.  
CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.  
M. PORCIUS LICINUS.  
C. COSCONIUS NEPOS.

*Quæstors.* C. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.  
C. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.  
C. SALLONIUS SARRA.  
M. EMILIUS LEPIDUS.  
CN. FULVIUS FLACCUS.  
C. ATINIUS LABEO.  
C. CORNELIUS BLASIO.  
CN. CORNELIUS MERULA.

*Pro-*



*Pro Consul in* L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.  
Cisalpine Gaul.

*Pro-Consul in* CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.  
Hither Spain.

*Pro-Consul in* L. STERTINIUS NEPOS.  
Further Spain.

*Pro-Prætor*  
*on the Coast* } L. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.  
*of Greece.* }

*Pro-Quæstors.* M. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.  
M. TUCCIUS NEPOS.  
A. CORNELIUS MAMMULA.  
L. ARUNCULEIUS COTTA.

255. *Consulship.* C. CORNELIUS CETHE-  
GUS. He triumphs over  
the *Insubres* and *Cænomani*.  
Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS. He  
triumphs over the *Ligures*  
and *Boii*, on the Hill of *Alba*.

*Prætors of* M. SERGIUS SILUS.  
Rome. M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

*Prætor in Si-* L. MANLIUS VULSO.  
cily.

*Prætor in Sar-* L. ATTILIUS REGULUS.  
dinia.

*Prætor in Hi-* C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.  
ther Spain.

*Prætor in Fur-* M. HELVIUS BLASIO.  
ther Spain.

*Curule Æ-* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASI-  
diles. CA.  
CN. MANLIUS VULSO.

*Plebeian Æ-* M' ACILIUS GLABRIO.  
diles. C. LÆLIUS NEPOS.

*Tribunes of the* L. OPPIUS SALINATOR.  
*People.* Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.  
C. ACILIUS GLABRIO.  
C. ATINIUS LABEO.  
C. URSANIUS NEPOS.  
L. PORCIUS LÆCA.  
L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.  
C. RUTILUS RUFUS.  
K. DUILIUS NEPOS.  
CN. PUPIUS NEPOS.

*Quæstors.* L. EMILIUS REGILLUS.  
L. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS.  
L. BÆBIUS DIVES.  
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

M. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.  
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.  
Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.  
SEX. POMPONIUS NEPOS.

*Pro-Consul in* T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.  
Macedon.

*Pro-Prætor*  
*on the Sea-* } L. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.  
*Coasts of* }  
*Greece.* }

*Pro-Quæstors.* C. SALLONIUS SARRA.  
CN. CORNELIUS MERULA.  
L. ARUNCULEIUS COTTA.  
CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.

256. *Consulship.* L. FURIUS PURPUREO.  
Tear 557. M. CLAUDIUS MARCEL-  
LUS. He triumphs over  
the Inhabitants of *Coma*, and  
the *Insubres*.

*Prætors at* L. APUSTIUS FULLO.  
Rome. M' ACILIUS GLABRIO.

*Prætor in Sici-* C. LÆLIUS NEPOS.  
ly.

*Prætor in Sar-* T. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.  
dinia.

*Prætor in Hi-* Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS.  
ther Spain.

*Prætor in Fur-* Q. FABIUS BUTEO.  
ther Spain.

*Curule Æ-* M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.  
diles. C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.

*Plebeian Æ-* CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.  
diles. C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.

*Tribunes of the* Q. MARCIUS REX.  
*People.* C. ATINIUS LABEO.  
T. ROMULEIUS NEPOS.  
C. ATILIUS SERRANUS.  
M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.  
Q. OPPIUS SALINATOR.  
SEX. TULLIUS NEPOS.  
L. FLAVIUS NEPOS.  
L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.  
C. LIVIUS DRUSUS.

*Quæstors.* Q. FABIUS LABEO.  
L. AURELIUS COTTA.  
SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.  
P. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.  
C. STERTINIUS NEPOS.

C. AU-



C. AURELIUS SCAURUS.  
M. FURIUS LUSCUS.  
T. MÆNIUS NEPOS.

*Pro-Consul in* T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.  
Macedon.

*Pro-Prætor*  
*on the Sea-*  
*Coasts of* } L. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.  
Greece.

*Pro-Quæstors.* C. SALLONIUS SARRA.  
CN. CORNELIUS MERULA.  
L. ARUNCULEIUS COTTA.  
CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.  
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.  
He receives the Honours of  
an *Ovation*.

257. *Consulship.* M. PORCIUS CATO.  
Year 558. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

*Prætors of* C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.  
Rome. C. ATINIUS LABEO.

*Prætor in Sici-* CN. MANLIUS VULSO.  
ly.

*Prætor in Hi-* P. MANLIUS VULSO.  
ther Spain.

*Prætor in Fur-* AP. CLAUDIUS NERO.  
ther Spain.

*Prætor in He-* P. PORCIUS LÆCA.  
truria.

*Curule Æ-* L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.  
*diles.* M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.

*Plebeian Æ-* M. JUVENTIUS THALNA.  
*diles.* SEX. DIGITIUS NEPOS.

*Tribunes of the* M. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.  
*People.* L. VALERIUS TAPPUS.  
M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.  
D. JUNIUS BRUTUS.  
L. PORCIUS LICINUS.  
C. ÆBUTIUS CARUS.  
Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS.  
CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.  
M' MARCIUS RALLA.  
C. NUMICIUS NEPOS.

*Quæstors.* P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.  
L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS FUL-  
VIANUS.  
M. FURIUS CRASSIPES.  
C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.  
C. CALPURNIUS PISO.  
Q. FABIUS PICTOR.

Q. NÆVIUS MATHO.  
C. AFRANIUS STELLIO.

*Pro-Consul in* T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.  
Greece.

*Pro-Prætor*  
*on the Coasts* } L. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.  
*of Greece.*

*Pro-Consul in* TI. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.  
Sardinia.

*Pro-Quæstors.* C. SALLONIUS SARRA.  
C. AURELIUS SCAURUS.  
CN. CORNELIUS MERULA.  
M. HELVIUS BLASIO; *Pro-*  
*Prætor in Hither Spain.* He  
receives the Honours of an  
*Ovation*.  
Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS. He  
triumphs over *Hither Spain*.

258. *Consulship.* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO A-  
Year 559. FRICANUS, a second time.  
TI. SEMPRONIUS LONG-  
GUS.

*Censors.* SEXTUS ÆLIUS PÆTUS CATUS.  
C. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

## THE FORTY SEVENTH LUSTRUM.

*Prætors of* CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.  
Rome. T. JUVENTIUS THALNA.

*Prætor in Sici-* CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.  
ly.

*Prætor in Hi-* SEX. DIGITIUS NEPOS.  
ther Spain.

*Prætor in Fur-* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASI-  
ther Spain. CA.

*Curule Æ-* C. ATILIUS SERRANUS.  
*diles.* L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.

*Plebeian Æ-* M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.  
*diles.* Q. OPPIUS SALINATOR.

*Tribunes of the* Q. ÆLIUS TUBERO.  
*People.* C. LIVIUS SALINATOR.  
L. ARUNCULEIUS COTTA.  
Q. SALLONIUS SARRA.  
C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.  
P. POPILIUS LÆNAS.  
M. TUCCIUS NEPOS.  
A. ATILIUS SERRANUS.  
M. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.  
Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS.



<i>Quæstors.</i>	L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS. AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. P. SULPICIUS GALBA. P. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS. C. SEMPRONIUS RUTILUS. Q. TERENTIUS CULEO. C. DECIMIUS FLAVUS. C. ATILIUS SERRANUS.		
<i>Pro-Consul in</i> Cisalpine Gaul.	L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	L. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS. C. LICINIUS LUCULLUS. C. VALERIUS TAPPUS. SER. SULPICIUS GALBA. P. CORNELIUS SULLA. L. QUINCTIUS CRISPINUS. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLINUS. P. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS. L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS. CN. SICINIUS NEPOS.
<i>Pro-Consul in</i> Hither Spain.	M. PORCIUS CATO.	<i>Pro-Consul in</i> Cisalpine Gaul.	TI. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
<i>Pro-Consul in</i> Greece.	T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS. He triumphs over <i>Macedon</i> , and King <i>Philip</i> , for three Days together.	<i>Pro-Consul in</i> Further Spain.	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASI- CA.
<i>Pro-Consul</i> <i>on the Coast</i> <i>of Greece.</i>	} L. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.	<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	C. DECIMIUS FLAVUS. C. AFRANIUS STELLIO. Q. NÆVIUS MATHO. C. ATILIUS SERRANUS.
<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS. C. SALLONIUS SARRA. C. AFRANIUS STELLIO. M. FURIUS CRASSIPES. C. CALPURNIUS PISO. Q. NÆVIUS MATHO. MARCUS PORCIUS CATO. He triumphs over <i>Hither Spain</i> .	260. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 561.</i>	L. QUINCTIUS FLAMINI- NUS. CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBAR- BUS.
259. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 560.</i>	L. CORNELIUS MERULA. Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS.	<i>Prætors of</i> Rome.	CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS. L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.
<i>Prætors of</i> Rome.	C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO. M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.	<i>Prætor in</i> Sicily.	L. VALERIUS TAPPUS.
<i>Prætors in</i> Sicily.	L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO. L. PORCIUS LICINUS.	<i>Prætor in</i> Bruttium.	Q. SALLONIUS SARRA. M. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.
<i>Prætor in</i> Hi- ther Spain.	C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.	<i>Prætor in</i> Further Spain.	A. ATILIUS SERRANUS.
<i>Prætor in</i> Fur- ther Spain.	M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.	<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	M. TUCCIUS NEPOS. D. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS. L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.	<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	C. LIVIUS SALINATOR. L. ARUNCULEIUS COTTA.
<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	L. OPPIUS SALINATOR. M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.	<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. C. ATINIUS LABEO. P. PUPPIUS NEPOS. SEX. POMPONIUS NEPOS. L. BÆBIUS DIVES. Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS. M. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. P. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS. L. APULEIUS SATURNINUS.
<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS. M. TITINIUS NEPOS. C. TITINIUS NEPOS. M. LICINIUS LUCULLUS. CN. FULVIUS FLACCUS. L. JUVENTIUS THALNA. C. ANTISTIUS NEPOS. L. PUBLICIUS BIBULUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS. TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS. P. COR-



P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.  
M. ABURIUS GEMINUS.  
A. TERENTIUS VARRO.  
L. MUMMIUS NEPOS.  
L. PUPPIUS NEPOS.

*Pro-Consul in* Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS.  
*Liguria.*

*Pro-Prætor in* C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.  
*Hither Spain.*

*Pro-Prætor in* M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.  
*Further Spain.*

*Pro Prætor*  
*on the Coast* } L. OPPIUS SALINATOR.  
*of Sicily.*

*Pro-Quæstors.* L. QUINCTIUS CRISPINUS.  
CN. SICINIUS NEPOS.  
L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.  
C. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

*War with Antiochus the Great.*

261. *Consulship.* M. ACILIUS GLABRIO.  
*Year 562.* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO  
NASICA. He triumphs o-  
ver the *Boii*.

*Prætor of* M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.  
*Rome.*

*Prætor in* A. CORNELIUS MAMMULA;  
*Bruttium.*

*Prætor in the*  
*Fleet sent a-* } C. LIVIUS SALINATOR.  
*gainst Antio-  
*chus.**

*Prætor in* M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.  
*Sicily.*

*Prætor in* L. OPPIUS SALINATOR.  
*Sardinia.*

*Prætor in* L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.  
*Further Spain.*

*Curule Æ-* SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.  
*diles.* Q. FABIUS PICTOR.

*Plebeian Æ-* L. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS  
*diles.* M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

*Tribunes of the* P. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.  
*People.* C. STERTINIUS NEPOS.  
C. AURELIUS SCAURUS.  
L. ALBINIUS NEPOS.  
M. ALLIENIUS NEPOS.

C. CENTENIUS PENULA.  
T. MÆNIUS NEPOS.  
C. TERENTIUS MASSA.  
C. ALBIUS CARRINAS.  
L. APUSTIUS FULLO.

*Quæstors.* Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.  
SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS PAUL-  
LULUS.  
C. TERENTIUS ISTRÆ.  
L. CÆCILIUS DENTER.  
L. DURONIUS NEPOS.  
C. FANNIUS STRABO.  
Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.  
Q. MUMMIUS NEPOS.

*Pro-Consul in* CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.  
*Cisalpine Gaul.*

*Pro-Consul in* Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS.  
*Liguria.*

*Pro-Prætor in* L. VALERIUS TAPPUS.  
*Sicily.*

*Pro-Prætor in* C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.  
*Hither Spain.*

*Pro-Prætor*  
*in Epirus and* } M. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.  
*Greece.*

*Pro-Prætor*  
*on the Sea-* } A. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.  
*Coasts of*  
*Greece.*

*Pro-Quæstors.* L. QUINCTIUS CRISPINUS.  
L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.  
L. PUPPIUS NEPOS.  
M. ABURIUS GEMINUS.  
L. MUMMIUS NEPOS.  
M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR. He re-  
ceives the Honours of an *Ova-*  
*tion*, at his Return from *Fur-*  
*ther Spain.*

262. *Consulship.* L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.  
*Year 563.* C. LÆLIUS NEPOS.

*Prætors of* L. ARUNCULEIUS COTTA.  
*Rome.* CN. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

*Prætor in* D. JUNIUS BRUTUS.  
*Hetruria.*

*Prætor in A-*  
*pulia and* } M. TUCCIUS NEPOS.  
*Bruttium.*

*Prætor in* L. ATINIUS LABEO.  
*Sicily.*

*Prætor*



*Prætor on Board the Fleet designed to act against Antiochus.*

L. ÆMILIUS REGILLUS.

*Curule Ædiles.*

P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.  
L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS FULVIANUS.

*Plebeian Ædiles.*

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.  
Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

*Tribunes of the People.*

L. AURELIUS COTTA.  
T. SEMPRONIUS RUTILUS.  
C. CALPURNIUS PISO.  
M. OGULNIUS GALLUS.  
Ti. SEMPRONIUS RUTILUS.  
M. FURIUS CRASSIPES.  
M. FURIUS LUSCUS.  
M. ALBINIUS NEPOS.  
P. PETILLIUS GEMINUS.  
M. CONSIDIUS NEPOS.

*Quæstors.*

C. FURIUS ACULEO.  
Ti. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS MOLLICULUS.  
M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.  
L. JULIUS CÆSAR.  
P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.  
P. CORNELIUS SISENNA.  
A. MANLIUS VULSO.  
P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

*Pro Consul in Cisalpine Gaul.*

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.

*Pro Consul in Greece.*

M. ACILIUS GLABRIO. He triumphs over King *Antiochus*, and the *Ætolians*.

*Pro Consul in Liguria.*

Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS.

*Pro Consul in Further Spain.*

L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

*Pro Prætor in Ætolia.*

A. CORNELIUS MAMMULA.

*Pro Prætor in Sicily.*

L. VALERIUS TAPPUS.

*Pro Prætor in Sardinia.*

L. OPPIUS SALINATOR.

*Pro Prætor in Hither Spain.*

C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.

*Pro Quæstors.*

Q. PETILIUS SPURINUS.  
C. FANNIUS STRABO.  
L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.  
M. ABURIUS GEMINUS.

263. *Consulship.*  
*Year 564.*

CN. MANLIUS VULSO.  
M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.

*Censors.*

T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.  
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

THE FORTY EIGHTH LUSTRUM.

*Prætor of Rome.*

SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

*Prætor in Sicily.*

M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

*Prætor in Sardinia.*

Q. FABIUS PICTOR.

*Prætor in Hither Spain.*

L. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS.

*Prætor in Further Spain.*

L. BÆBIUS DIVES.

*Prætor on the Sea-Coasts of Greece.*

Q. FABIUS LABEO.

*Curule Ædiles.*

AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.  
P. SULPICIUS GALBA.

*Plebeian Ædiles.*

Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.  
M. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

*Tribunes of the People.*

P. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.  
C. SEMPRONIUS RUTILUS.  
Q. TERENTIUS CULEO.  
C. ATILIUS SERRANUS.  
C. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.  
Q. FICTORIUS NEPOS.  
Q. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.  
C. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.  
C. MÆNIUS NEPOS.  
C. NÆVIUS CRISPUS.

*Quæstors.*

Q. FABIUS BUTEO.  
P. CORNELIUS MAMMULA.  
L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.  
Q. MUCIUS SCAEVOLA.  
P. ÆLIUS LIGUS.  
T. ÆBUTIUS CARUS.  
M. TITINIUS CURVUS.  
M. PINARIUS POSCA.

*Pro Consul in Cisalpine Gaul.*

C. LÆLIUS NEPOS.

*Pro Consul in Further Spain.*

L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

*Pro Prætor in Hetruria.*

D. JUNIUS BRUTUS.

*Pro-*



# A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

9

*Pro-Prætor in* M. TUCCIUS NEPOS.  
Bruttium.

*Pro-Prætor in* L. OPPIUS SALINATOR.  
Sardinia.

*Pro-Quæstors.* C. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.  
C. FANNIUS STRABO.  
P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.  
Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.  
A. MANLIUS VULSO.  
P. CORNELIUS SISENNA.

L. ÆMILIUS REGILLUS has a  
Naval Triumph for having  
beaten *Antiochus's* Fleet.

L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASIA-  
TICUS triumphs for having  
vanquished *Antiochus*.

Q. FABIUS LABEO triumphs af-  
ter his happy Expedition in  
the Island of *Crete*.

264. *Consulship.* C. LIVIUS SALINATOR.  
Year 565. M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.

*Prætor of* M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.  
Rome.

*Prætor in* Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.  
Sicily.

*Prætor in* C. STERTINIUS NEPOS.  
Sardinia.

*Prætor in Hi-* L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS FUL-  
ther Spain. VIANUS.

*Prætor in* C. ATINIUS LABEO.  
Further Spain.

*Curule Æ-* P. CORNELIUS SYLLA.  
*diles.* L. QUINTIUS CRISPINUS.

*Plebeian Æ-* M. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.  
*diles.* T. MÆNIUS NEPOS.

*Tribunes of the* C. VALERIUS NEPOS.  
*People.* M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLINUS.  
Q. NÆVIUS MATHO.  
CN. SICINIUS NEPOS.  
M. RACILIUS NEPOS.  
M. DECIMIUS NEPOS.  
P. MINUCIUS RUFUS.  
P. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.  
L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.  
SEX. ROSCIUS NEPOS.

*Quæstors.* Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS.  
C. LICINIUS CRASSUS.  
P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.  
C. CLAUDIUS NERO.

P. MUCIUS SCAEVOLA.  
M. TITINIUS NEPOS.  
T. FONTEIUS CAPITO.  
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

*Pro-Consul in* M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.  
*Ætolia.*

*Pro-Consul in* CN. MANLIUS VULSO.  
*Asia.*

*Pro-Prætor in* M. TUCCIUS NEPOS.  
Bruttium.

*Pro-Quæstors.* Q. MUCIUS SCAEVOLA.  
P. CORNELIUS SISENNA.  
P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.  
L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.  
A. MANLIUS VULSO.

265. *Consulship.* M. ÆMILIUS LÆPIDUS.  
Year 566. C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.

*Prætors at* SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.  
Rome. Q. TERENTIUS CULEO.

*Prætor in Cis-* M. FURIUS CRASSIPES.  
*alpine Gaul.*

*Prætor at* AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.  
Tarentum.

*Prætor in* L. TERENTIUS MASSA.  
Sicily.

*Prætor in* Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.  
Sardinia.

*Curule Æ-* P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.  
*diles.* A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

*Plebeian Æ-* C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.  
*diles.* M. FURIUS LUSCUS.

*Tribunes of the* Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS, the  
*People.* Son of *Quinctus*.  
Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS, the  
Son of *Caius*.

M. NÆVIUS CRISPUS.  
C. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.  
L. MUMUNIUS NEPOS.  
Q. MUMUNIUS NEPOS.  
C. FANNIUS STRABO.  
T. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.  
M. ABURIUS GEMINUS.  
L. PUPIUS NEPOS.

*Quæstors.* C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.  
CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.  
C. NUMISIUS NEPOS.  
L. AQUILIUS GALLUS.  
M. POPILLIUS LÆNAS.



## A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	M. LICINIUS CRASSUS. M. FULVIUS FLACCUS. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.		C. VALERIUS LÆVINUS. C. LUCRETIVS TRIO. C. CLUVIUS SAXULA.
<i>Pro-Prator in</i> Hither Spain.	L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS FUL- VIANUS.	<i>Pro-Prætors</i> in Spain.	The same as the last Year.
<i>Pro-Prator in</i> Further Spain.	C. ATINIUS LABEO.	<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS. C. LICINIUS CRASSUS. M. FULVIUS FLACCUS. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, the Son of <i>Publius</i> . P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, the Son of <i>Marcus</i> . A. MANLIUS VULSO.
<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS. C. LICINIUS CRASSUS. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS. A. MANLIUS VULSO. M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR. He triumphs over the <i>Ætoli- ans</i> and <i>Cephalenians</i> . CN. MANLIUS VULSO. He tri- umphs over the <i>Asiatick</i> <i>Gauls</i> .	267. <i>Consulship.</i> Year 568.	AP. CLAUDIVS PULCHER. M. SEMPRONIUS TUDI- TANUS.
266. <i>Consulship.</i> Year 567.	SP. POSTUMIVS ALBINUS. Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.	<i>Prætors.</i>	P. CORNELIVS CETHEGUS. C. AFRICANIVS STELLIO. M. CLAUDIVS MARCELLINUS. A. POSTUMIVS ALBINUS. C. ATILIVS SERRANUS. L. POSTUMIVS TYMPANUS.
<i>Prætor of</i> Rome.	M. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.	<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	L. JULIVS CÆSAR. M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.
<i>Prætor in</i> Sicily.	P. CORNELIVS SYLLA.	<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	CN. SICINIUS NEPOS. L. PUPPIUS NEPOS.
<i>Prætor in Sar-</i> <i>dinia.</i>	C. AURELIUS SCAURUS.	<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	M. NÆVIUS CRISPUS. Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS. A. TREBIUS GALLUS. C. TREBONIUS ASPER. L. MÆDIUS TULLUS. T. MINUCIVS AUGURINUS MOLLICULUS. Q. CATIVS NEPOS. M. TREBIUS GALLUS. SP. ANTIUS RESTIO. P. SCANTINIUS CAPITOLINUS.
<i>Prætor in Hi-</i> <i>ther Spain.</i>	L. QUINCTIVS CRISPINUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	TI. CLAUDIVS NERO. A. LICINIUS NERVA. C. QUINCTIVS FLAMINIVS. C. ABURIUS GEMINUS. T. ANNIUS LUSCUS. C. MEMMIUS GALLUS. C. ARENNIVS NEPOS. T. METILIVS CROTO.
<i>Prætor in Fur-</i> <i>ther Spain.</i>	C. CALPURNIVS PISO.	<i>Pro-Prætors</i> <i>in Hither and</i> <i>Further</i> <i>Spain.</i>	L. QUINCTIVS CRISPINUS. C. CALPURNIVS PISO.
<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	P. CORNELIVS SISENNA. SP. POSTUMIVS ALBINUS PAU- LULUS.	<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	C. LUCRETIVS TRIO. M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	Q. NÆVIUS MATHO. C. DECIMIUS FLACCUS.		C. CLU-
<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	M. FULVIUS FLACCUS. M. OGULNIUS GALLUS. C. TERENTIUS ISTRÆ. L. ACILIUS GLABRIO. Q. OPIMIUS NEPOS. Q. OPIMIUS PANSÆ. A. TERENTIUS VARRO. L. CÆCILIUS DENTER. L. DURONIUS NEPOS. M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.		
<i>Quæstors.</i>	A. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS. L. VILLIVS TAPPULUS. L. POSTUMIVS ALBINUS. C. POPILLIVS LÆNAS. CN. CORNELIVS SCIPIO HISPÆ- LUS.		



C. CLUVIUS SAXULA.  
P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS FULVI-  
ANUS.  
L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS FULVI-  
ANUS. He receives the Ho-  
nours of an *Ovation*, at his  
Return from his *Pro-Præ-*  
*torship* in *Spain*.

C. ARENNIUS NEPOS.  
M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.  
T. METILIUS CROTO.  
C. CALPURNIUS PISO. He  
triumphs over the *Lusitani-*  
*ans*, and *Celtiberians*.  
L. QUINCTIUS CRISPINUS. He  
triumphs over the same Na-  
tions.

268. *Consulship*. P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.  
*Tear* 569. L. PORCIUS LICINUS.  
*Censors*. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.  
M. PORCIUS CATO.

269. *Consulship*. Q. FABIUS LABEO.  
*Tear* 570. M. CLAUDIUS MARCEL-  
LUS.

## THE FORTY NINTH LUSTRUM.

*Prætors at* C. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.  
*Rome*. P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

*Prætor in Si-* C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.  
*cily*.

*Prætor in Sar-* Q. NÆVIUS MATHO.  
*dinia*.

*Prætors in* }  
*Hither and* } A. TERENTIUS VARRO.  
*Further* } P. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.  
*Spain*.

*Curule Æ-* Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.  
*diles*. M. OGULNIUS GALLUS.

*Plebeian Æ-* L. MUMMIUS NEPOS.  
*diles*. L. CÆCILIUS DENTER.

*Tribunes of the* M. TITINIUS CURVUS  
*People* L. MINUCIUS THERMUS.  
P. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.  
M. FANNIUS STRABO.  
C. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.  
Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.  
M. SCAPTIUS NEPOS.  
M. POMPILIUS NEPOS.  
Q. TITIUS NEPOS.  
Q. APRONIUS NEPOS.

*Quæstors*. CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.  
AP. CLAUDIUS CENITHO.  
C. PAPIRIUS TURDUS.  
SER. CORNELIUS SYLLA.  
C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.  
M. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.  
C. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.  
M. MATTIENIUS NEPOS.

*Pro-Prætor at* L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.  
*Tarentum*.

*Pro-Quæstors*. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.

*Prætors at* P. CORNELIUS SISENNA.  
*Rome*. C. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

*Prætor in* L. PUPIUS NEPOS.  
*Apulia*.

*Prætor in* L. JULIUS CÆSAR.  
*Cisalpine Gaul*.

*Prætor in Sici-* SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.  
*ly*.

*Prætor in* CN. SICINIUS NEPOS.  
*Sardinia*.

*Curule Æ-* A. MANLIUS VULSO.  
*diles*. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS.

*Plebeian Æ-* L. DURONIUS NEPOS.  
*diles*. M. PINARIUS POSCA.

*Tribunes of the* P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.  
*People* T. FONTEIUS CAPITO.  
C. FURIUS ACULEO.  
Q. ANTONIUS BALBUS.  
M. GENUCIUS CIPUS.  
P. ÆLIUS LIGUS.  
C. LICINIUS CRASSUS.  
L. ATIUS NEPOS.  
C. SEXTIUS CALVINUS.  
A. VIRGINIUS NEPOS.

*Quæstors*. Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.  
L. PAPIRIUS MASO.  
M. CORNELIUS SCIPIO MALU-  
GINENSIS.  
C. CICEREIUS NEPOS.  
L. CLAUDIUS ASELLUS.  
L. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.  
CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.  
C. MATTIENIUS NEPOS.

*Pro-Consul in* L. PORCIUS LICINUS.  
*Liguria*.

*Pro-Consuls* }  
*in Hither and* } A. TERENTIUS VARRO.  
*Further* } P. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.  
*Spain*.

*Pro-*



*Pro-Quæstors.* SER. CORNELIUS SYLLA.  
C. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.  
C. ARENNIUS NEPOS.  
M. MATTIENUS NEPOS.  
T. METILIUS CROTO.

270. *Consulship.* L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.  
Year 571. CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

*Prætors at* M. OGULNIUS GALLUS.  
Rome. M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.

*Prætor in Sici-* L. CÆCILIUS DENTER.  
*ly.*

*Prætor in* C. TERENTIUS ISTRÆ.  
*Sardinia.*

*Prætor in Hi-* Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.  
*ther Spain.*

*Prætor in Fur-* P. MANLIUS VULSO.  
*ther Spain.*

*Curule Æ-* TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.  
*diles.* A. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.

*Plebeian Æ-* TI. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS  
*diles.* MOLLICULUS.  
C. MÆNIUS NEPOS.

*Tribunes of the* T. ÆBUTIUS CARUS.  
*People.* C. NUMISIUS NEPOS.  
P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.  
C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.  
M. TITINIUS NEPOS.  
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.  
M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.  
P. LICINIUS STOLO.  
M. SEXTILIUS NEPOS.  
M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

*Quæstors.* N. FABIUS BUTEO.  
M. JUNIUS PENNUS.  
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.  
CN. SICINIUS NEPOS.  
SER. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS.  
SP. CLUVIUS SAXULA.  
L. ARENNIUS NEPOS.  
C. FURIUS BIBACULUS.

*Pro-Consuls* }  
*in Liguria and* } Q. FABIUS LABEO.  
*Cisalpine* } M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.  
*Gaul.*

*Pro-Prætor in* L. PUPIUS.  
*Apulia.*

*Pro-Quæstors.* L. CLAUDIUS ASELLUS.  
L. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.  
T. METILIUS CROTO.

C. CICEREIUS NEPOS.  
C. ARENNIUS NEPOS.  
A. TERENTIUS VARRO. He  
receives the Honours of an  
*Ovation*, after having con-  
quered the *Celtiberians*.

271. *Consulship.* P. CORNELIUS CETHE-  
Year 572. GUS.  
M. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

*Prætors at* Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.  
Rome. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS.

*Prætor in* Q. FABIUS BUTEO.  
*Cisalpine Gaul.*

*Prætor in* L. DURONIUS NEPOS.  
*Apulia.*

*Prætor in* C. CLAUDIUS NERO.  
*Sicily.*

*Prætor in* M. PINARIUS POSCA.  
*Sardinia.*

*Curule Æ-* CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.  
*diles.* C. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.

*Plebeian Æ-* Q. MUCIUS SÆVOLA.  
*diles.* P. MUCIUS SÆVOLA.

*Tribunes of the* C. ORCIUS NEPOS.  
*People.* L. AQUILIUS GALLUS.  
C. POPILIUS LÆNAS.  
CN. FURIUS BROCCCHUS.  
C. VETURIUS CALVINUS.  
M. AQUILIUS FLORUS.  
C. CLUVIUS SAXULA.  
D. QUINCTIUS NEPOS.  
T. NUMICIUS NEPOS.  
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

*Quæstors.* L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.  
P. FURIUS PHILUS.  
SP. LUCRETIVS GALLUS.  
L. HORTENSIVS NEPOS.  
C. HOSTILIUS TUBULUS.  
M. FABIVS BUTEO.  
P. LICINIUS VARUS.  
M. FABIVS DORSO.

*Pro-Consuls in* CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.  
*Liguria.* L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS. He  
triumphs over the *Ligures*.

*Pro-Prætors* }  
*in Hither* } Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.  
*and Further* } P. MANLIUS VULSO.  
*Spain.*

*Pro-Quæstors.* CN. SICINIUS NEPOS.  
SP. CLUVIUS SAXULA.  
L. ARENNIUS NEPOS.



L. ARENNIUS NEPOS.  
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.  
C. FURIUS BIBACULUS.  
L. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

*Pro-Prætor at* L. DURONIUS NEPOS.  
Tarentum.

*Pro-Prætor in* M. PINARIUS POSCA.  
Sardinia.

272. *Consulship.* A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.  
*Year 573.* C. CALPURNIUS PISO. The  
latter dies in his Office, and  
is succeeded by  
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

*Pro-Prætors* } Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.  
*in Hither* } P. MANLIUS VULSO. The for-  
*and Further* } mer triumphs for having con-  
*Spain.* } quered *Hither Spain*.

*Prætors at* A. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.  
*Rome.* TI. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS  
MOLLICULUS.  
C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

*Pro-Quæstors.* SP. LUCRETIUS GALLUS.  
SER. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS.  
P. LICINIUS VARUS.  
L. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.  
C. CICEREIUS NEPOS.  
C. FURIUS BIBACULUS.  
M. FABIVS DORSO.

*Prætor in* P. CORNELIUS MAMMULA.  
*Sicily.*

*Prætor in* C. MÆNIUS NEPOS.  
*Sardinia.*

*Prætors in* }  
*Hither and* } TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.  
*Further* } L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.  
*Spain.* }

273. *Consulship.* L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS  
*Year 574.* FULVIANUS.  
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS,  
Brothers. The latter triumphs  
over the *Ligures*.

*Censors.* M. ÆLIUS LEPIDUS.  
M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.

*Curule Æ-* TI. CLAUDIUS NERO.  
*diles.* C. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.

## THE FIFTIETH LUSTRUM.

*Plebeian Æ-* M. TICINIUS CURVUS.  
*diles.* P. ÆLIUS LIGUS.

*Prætors at* P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.  
*Rome.* CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO HIS-  
PALLUS.

*Tribunes of the* L. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.  
*People.* C. CANINIUS REBILUS.  
M. CANINIUS REBILUS.  
M. CÆCILIVS DENTER.  
Q. BÆBIUS SULCA.  
T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.  
M. MARCIUS RALLA.  
T. METILIUS CROTO.  
C. MEMMIUS GALLUS.  
C. ARENNIUS NEPOS.

*Prætor in Sici-* Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.  
*ly.*

*Prætor in* C. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.  
*Sardinia.*

*Curule Æ-* CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.  
*diles.* AP. CLAUDIUS CENTHO.

*Plebeian Æ-* C. NUMISIUS NEPOS.  
*diles.* M. POPILLIUS LÆNAS.

*Tribunes of the* T. JUVENTIUS THALNA.  
*People.* A. TERENTIUS VARRO.  
C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.  
L. MINUCIUS THERMUS.  
C. MATTIENIUS NEPOS.  
P. AQUILLIUS GALLUS.  
M. ATILIUS SERRANUS.  
C. LUCRETIUS TRIO.  
P. MATTIENIUS NEPOS.  
T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.

*Quæstors.* C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.  
C. LUCRETIUS GALLUS.  
CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.  
T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.  
Q. MÆNIUS NEPOS.  
M. CORNELIUS MAMMULA.  
C. LUTATIUS CERCO.  
C. FÆBIUS LICINUS.

*Pro-Consuls in* P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.  
*Liguria.* M. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS. They  
both triumph over the *Li-*  
*gures*.

*Quæstors.* CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.  
L. ANICIUS GALLUS.  
M. SERVILIUS PULEX.  
L. PORCIUS LICINUS.

*Pro-Prætor, in* Q. FABIUS BUTEO.  
*Cisalpine Gaul.*  
VOL. IV.



	M. MARCIUS SERMO. C. SULPICIUS GALBA. L. FURIUS PHILUS. P. FONTEIUS CAPITO.		L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. He triumphs over the <i>Lusitani</i> , and <i>Raccæi</i> .
<i>Pro-Prætors in Hither and Further Spain.</i>	Ti. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS. L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.	<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	Ti. MANLIUS TORQUATUS. L. FURIUS PHILUS. M. FABIVS DORSO. L. FABIVS LICINUS. P. FONTEIUS CAPITO. L. CORNELIVS DOLABELLA.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS. M. FABIVS DORSO. C. FABIVS LICINUS. L. CORNELIVS DOLABELLA.	<i>275. Consulship. Year 576.</i>	C. CLAUDIVS PULCHER. He triumphs over the <i>Ligures</i> , and <i>Istri</i> . Ti. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
<i>274. Consulship. Year 575.</i>	M. JUNIVS BRUTUS. A. MANLIUS VULSO.	<i>Prætors at Rome.</i>	P. ÆLIUS TUBERO. C. QUINCTIVS FLAMINIVS.
<i>Prætors in Sicily.</i>	P. ÆLIUS LIGUS.	<i>Prætors in Cisalpine Gaul.</i>	C. CORNELIVS SCIPIO. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.
<i>Prætor in Sardinia.</i>	T. ÆBUTIVS CARUS.	<i>Prætor in Sicily.</i>	C. NUMISIUS NEPOS.
<i>Prætors in Hither and Further Spain.</i>	M. TITINIUS NEPOS. T. FONTEIUS CAPITO.	<i>Prætor in Sardinia.</i>	L. MUMMIUS NEPOS.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	L. PAPIRIUS MASO. M. CORNELIVS SCIPIO MALUGINENSIS.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	SER. CORNELIVS SYLLA. N. FABIVS BUTEO.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	C. POPILIUS LÆNAS. L. AQUILLIVS GALLUS.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	T. ANNIUS LUSCUS. C. MEMMIUS GALLUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	A. LICINIUS NERVA. C. PAPIRIUS TURDUS. Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. L. EGILIUS NEPOS. C. CICEREIUS NEPOS. L. CANULEIUS DIVES. C. MATTIENIVS NEPOS. M. MATTIENIVS NEPOS. L. CLAUDIVS ASELLUS. M. RACIVS NEPOS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	CN. FULVIUS FLACCUS NOBILIOR. C. SALLONIUS SARRA. L. TERENTIUS MASSA. M. CLAUDIVS MARCELLUS. SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS. CN. SICINIUS NEPOS. L. FLAVIVS NEPOS. M. JUNIVS PENNUS. L. DECIMIUS FLAVUS. SP. CLUVIVS SAXULA.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	SEX. JULIVS CÆSAR. Q. CASSIVS LONGINUS. Q. APULEIUS PANSA. C. SERVILIUS GEMINUS. T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS. C. PAPIRIUS CARBO. P. FONTEIUS BALBUS. C. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	SER. CORNELIVS LENTULUS. L. APULEIUS SATURNINUS. M. FONTEIUS CAPITO. L. LIVIVS DENTER. C. LICINIUS NERVA. Q. MARCIUS RALLA. C. SULPICIUS GALLUS. P. TERENTIUS LUCANUS.
<i>Pro-Prætors in Hither and Further Spain.</i>	Ti. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS. He triumphs over the <i>Celtiberians</i> .	<i>Pro-Consuls at Aquileia, and in Istria.</i>	M. JUNIVS BRUTUS. A. MANLIUS VULSO.
		<i>Pro-Consul at Pisa.</i>	Ti. CLAUDIVS NERO.



*Pro-Consul in* T. ÆBUTIUS CARUS.  
Sardinia.

*Pro-Prætors*  
*in Hither* } M. TITINIUS NEPOS.  
*and Further* } T. FONTEIUS CAPITO.  
*Spain.*

*Pro-Quæstors.* Q. APULEIUS PANSÆ.  
C. PAPIRIUS CARBO.  
C. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.  
C. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.  
P. FONTEIUS BALBUS.  
P. FONTEIUS CAPITO.

276. *Consulship.* CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO  
Year 577. HISPALLUS.  
Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.  
The former dies in his Of-  
fice, and is succeeded by  
C. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.  
The latter was killed in *Li-  
guria.*

*Prætors at* L. PAPIRIUS MASO.  
Rome. M. ABURIUS GEMINUS.

*Prætor in* L. AQUILLIUS GALLUS.  
Sicily.

*Prætor in Sar-* M. POPILLIUS LÆNAS.  
*dinia.*

*Prætors in*  
*Hither and* } P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.  
*Further* } M. CORNELIUS SCIPIO MALU-  
*Spain.* } GINENSIS.

*Curule* Æ- P. FURIUS PHILUS.  
*diles.* N. FABIUS BUTEO.

*Plebeian* Æ- C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.  
*diles.* M. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.

*Tribunes of the* C. ABURIUS GEMINUS.  
*People.* L. HORTENSIUS NEPOS.  
C. MUNATIUS PLANCUS.  
P. LICINIUS VARUS.  
C. SERVILIUS CASCA.  
SP. LUCRETIVS GALLUS.  
A. POMPEIUS NEPOS.  
CN. LICINIUS NERVA.  
M. AURELIUS COTTA.  
SEX. POMPILIUS NEPOS.

*Quæstors of* CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.  
Rome. A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.  
M. ACILIUS GLABRIO.  
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.  
M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.  
C. TITINIUS NEPOS.

M. ÆBUTIUS ELVA.  
P. CLOELIUS SICULUS.

*Pro Consul in* L. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.  
Cisalpine Gaul.

*Pro-Consul at* TI. CLAUDIUS NERO.  
Pisa.

*Pro-Consul in* TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.  
Sardinia.

*Pro-Prætor in* T. ÆBUTIUS CARUS.  
Sardinia.

*Pro-Prætors*  
*in Hither and* } M. TITINIUS NEPOS.  
*Further* } T. FONTEIUS CAPITO.  
*Spain.*

*Pro-Quæstors.* M. FONTEIUS CAPITO.  
C. PAPIRIUS CARBO.  
C. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.  
L. LIVIUS DENTER.  
P. FONTEIUS BALBUS.

The *Consul* VALERIUS triumphs  
over the *Ligures.*

277. *Consulship.* P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.  
Year 578. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, a  
second time. He triumphs  
over the *Ligures.*

*Prætors.* C. POPILLIUS LÆNAS.  
T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.  
C. MEMMIUS GALLUS.  
C. CLUVIUS SAXULA.

*Prætor in* SER. CORNELIUS SYLLA.  
Sardinia.

*Prætor in Fur-* AP. CLAUDIUS CENTHO.  
*ther Spain.*

*Curule* Æ- L. CANULEIUS DIVES.  
*diles.* C. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

*Plebeian* Æ- L. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.  
*diles.* C. CANINIUS RÆBILUS.

*Tribunes of the* C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.  
*People.* Q. MÆNIUS NEPOS.  
M. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.  
T. MEMMIUS NEPOS.  
SEX. MARCIUS REX.  
C. LUCRETIVS GALLUS.  
C. LUTATIUS CERCO.  
CN. APULEIUS PANSÆ.  
C. FURIUS BROCCUS.  
P. DECIUS SUBULO.

*Quæstors.*



<i>Quæstors.</i>	M. JUVENTIUS THALNA. M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS. C. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. C. FANNIUS STRABO. SEX. SULPICIUS GALBA. TI. CLAUDIUS NERO. P. QUINCTILIUS VARUS. P. CORNELIUS BLASIO.	<i>Pro-Prætor in</i> SER. CORNELIUS SYLLA. Sardinia.
<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	C. TITINIUS NEPOS. P. CLODIUS SICULUS. M. ÆBUTIUS ELVA.	<i>Pro-Prætor in</i> AP. CLAUDIUS CENTHO. He Hither Spain. vanquishes the <i>Celtiberians</i> , and receives the Honours of an <i>Ovation</i> .
<i>278. Consulship.</i> <i>Year 579.</i>	SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.	<i>279. Consulship.</i> <i>Year 580.</i>
<i>Censors.</i>	Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS. A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.	<i>Prætors at</i> A. ATTILIUS SERRANUS. Rome. C. CLUVIUS SAXULA.
<i>Prætors at</i> Rome.	C. CASSIUS LONGINUS. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.	<i>Prætor in Sici-</i> M. FURIUS CRASSIPES. <i>ly.</i>
<i>Prætor in Si-</i> cily.	L. CLAUDIUS ASELLUS.	<i>Prætor in</i> C. CICEREIUS NEPOS. Sardinia.
<i>Prætor in Sar-</i> dinia.	M. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.	<i>Prætors in</i> Hither and } Further } Spain. } N. FABIUS BUTEO. M. MATTIENIUS NEPOS.
<i>Prætor in Hi-</i> ther Spain.	P. FURIUS PHILUS.	<i>Curule Æ-</i> T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS. <i>diles.</i> Q. HOSTILIUS TUBULUS.
<i>Prætor in Fur-</i> ther Spain.	CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.	<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. <i>diles.</i> C. SERVILIUS CASCA.
<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	C. SULPICIUS GALBA. L. FURIUS PHILUS.	<i>Tribunes of the</i> Q. CASSIUS LONGINUS. <i>People.</i> C. PAPIRIUS CARBO. C. DECIMIUS FLAVUS. CN. FULVIUS GILLO. L. PETILLIUS GEMINUS. C. SERVILIUS GEMINUS. P. FONTEIUS BALBUS. L. COELIUS CALDUS. Q. TREBELLIIUS NEPOS. M. PUBLICIUS MALLEOLUS.
<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	C. SICINIUS NEPOS. M. JUNIUS PENNUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i> C. TREMELLIUS FLACCUS. P. DECIMIUS FLAVUS. L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS. M. AUFIDIUS NEPOS. Q. PUBLICIUS BIBULUS. A. BÆBIUS SULCA. L. CINCIUS ALIMENTUS. Q. NÆVIUS POLLIO.
<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS. P. FONTEIUS CAPITO. CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS. C. RACIUS NEPOS. M. MARCIUS SERMO. L. ANICIUS GALLUS. M. SERVILIUS PULEX GEMI- NUS. L. PORCIUS LICINUS. Q. MARCIUS FIGULUS. L. PUBLILIUS PHILO.	<i>Pro-Prætor in</i> M. ATTILIUS SERRANUS. Sardinia.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	Q. VOCONIUS SAXA. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASI- CA. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. C. SULPICIUS RUFUS. M. CLAUDIUS FLAMININUS. C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO. CN. AUFIDIUS NEPOS. P. RUTILUS CALVUS.	<i>Pro-Prætor in</i> P. FURIUS PHILUS. Hither Spain.



*Pro-Quæstors.* C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.  
P. CLOELIUS SICULUS.  
CN. AUFIDIUS NEPOS.

280. *Consulship.* C. POPILIUS LÆNAS.  
Year 581. P. ÆLIUS LIGUS. Both  
*Plebeians*, for the first time.

*Prætors at* C. LICINIUS CRASSUS.  
Rome. CN. SICINIUS NEPOS.

*Prætor in* C. MEMMIUS GALLUS.  
Sicily.

*Prætor in* SP. CLUVIUS SAXULA.  
Sardinia.

*Prætor in* Hi- M. JUNIUS PENNUS.  
ther Spain.

*Prætor in* Fur- SP. LUCRETIVS GALLUS.  
ther Spain.

*Curule* Æ- C. SULPICIVS GALLUS.  
*diles.* SER. CORNELIVS LENTVLVS.

*Plebeian* Æ- Q. MÆNIUS NEPOS.  
*diles.* C. MARCIUS FIGVLVS.

*Tribunes of the* M. LUCRETIVS GALLUS.  
*People.* M. MARCIUS SERMO.  
Q. MARCIUS RALLA.  
Q. APVLEIVS PANSÀ.  
L. LIVIVS DENTER.  
M. PERPERNA.  
C. ANTISTIVS LABEO.  
L. APVLEIVS SATVRNINVS.  
P. TERENTIVS TUSCIVICANVS.  
L. JUNIVS SILANVS.

*Quæstors.* M. VALERIVS MESSALLA.  
M. CORNELIVS CETHEGVS.  
L. BÆBIVS DIVES.  
A. ANTONIVS NEPOS.  
C. APVLEIVS SATVRNINVS.  
A. POSTVMIVS ALBINVS.  
M. ANTONINVS NEPOS.  
M. POMPONIVS MATHO.

*Pro-Consul in* M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.  
Liguria.

*Pro-Quæstors.* M. AUFIDIUS NEPOS.  
M. CINCIUS ALIMENTVS.  
Q. NÆVIUS POLLIO.  
P. CLOELIVS SICVLVS.  
C. CICEREIVS. He triumphs  
over the *Corficans*, on *The*  
*Hill of Alba.*

The second War with *Macedon.*

281. *Consulship.* P. LICINIUS CRASSVS.  
Year 582. C. CASSIVS LONGINVS.

*Prætors at* C. SULPICIVS GALBA.  
Rome. L. VILLIVS TAPPVLVS.

*Prætor on*  
*Board the*  
*Fleet designed*  
*to act against*  
Perſes. } P. LUCRETIVS GALLVS.

*Prætor in* C. CANINIUS REBILVS.  
Sicily.

*Prætor in* L. FURIUS PHILVS.  
Sardinia.

*Prætor in*  
*Hither and*  
*Further*  
Spain. } L. CANVLEIVS DIVES.

*Curule* Æ- CN. BÆBIVS TAMPHILVS.  
*diles.* CN. OCTAVIVS NEPOS.

*Plebeian* Æ- P. FONTIVS CAPITV.  
*diles.* L. ANICIIVS GALLVS.

*Tribunes of the* M. FURIUS NOBILIOR.  
*People.* M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS.  
M. ICILIVS GLABRIO.  
CN. DOMITIVS ÆNOBARBVS.  
T. NUMISIVS TARQVINIENSIS.  
M. FONTIVS CAPITV.  
P. MANILIVS NEPOS.  
C. LICINIUS NERVA.  
C. TITINIUS NEPOS.  
CN. ANICIIVS GALLVS.

*Quæstors.* L. AURELIUS ORESTES.  
M. ÆMILIVS LEPIDVS.  
TI. SEMPRONIUS LONGVS.  
C. SEMPRONIUS LONGVS.  
TI. SEMPRONIUS MUSCA.  
L. NÆVIUS BALBVS.  
M. SERGIUS SILVS.  
CN. SERGIUS PLANCVS.

*Pro-Quæstors.* L. CINCIUS ALIMENTVS.  
Q. NÆVIUS POLLIO.

282. *Consulship.* A. HOSTILIVS MANCI-  
Year 583. NUS.  
A. ATTILIVS SERRANVS.

*Prætors at* M. RÆCIUS NEPOS.  
Rome. Q. MÆNIUS NEPOS.



<i>Prætor on the Sea Coasts of Greece.</i>	} L. HORTENSIVS NEPOS.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	SER. SULPICIUS GALBA. C. POSTUMIVS ALBINVS.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	Q. CASSIVS LONGINVS. CN. FVLVIVS GILLO.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	M. IYVENTIVS THALNA. CN. AVFIDIVS NEPOS. C. FANNIVS STRABO. Q. MAMILIVS VITVLVS. M. TITIVS RVFVS. P. COMINIVS NEPOS. L. SILIVS NERVA. Q. MANILIVS NEPOS. C. APRONIVS LIMO. C. CÆDICIVS NOCTVA.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	CN. CORNELIVS DOLABELLA. C. MAMILIVS TVRRINVS. TI. VETVRIVS CALVINVS SEMPRONIANVS. SEX. IYLIVS CÆSAR. Q. ÆMILIVS LEPIDV.S. Q. VALERIVS FALTO. M. ÆMILIVS REGILLVS. P. CVRATIVS NEPOS.
<i>Pro Consul in Macedon.</i>	P. LICINIVS CRASSVS.
<i>Pro-Consul on Board the Fleet.</i>	} C. LVCRETIVS GALLVS.
<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	TI. SEMPRONIVS LONGVS. M. SERGIVS SILVS. TI. SEMPRONIVS MVSQA. L. CINCIVS ALIMENTVS.
283. <i>Consulship.</i> Year 584.	Q. MARCIVS PHILIPPVS, a second time. CN. SERVILIVS CÆPIO.
<i>Censors.</i>	C. CLAVDIVS PVLCHER. TI. SEMPRONIVS GRACCHVS.

## THE FIFTY SECOND LSTRUM.

<i>Prætors at Rome.</i>	C. SULPICIVS GALLVS. C. DECIMIVS FLAVVS.
<i>Prætor on the Coasts of Greece.</i>	} C. MARCIVS FIGVLVS.
<i>Prætor in Sicily.</i>	SER. CORNELIVS LENTVLVS.

<i>Prætor in Sar- dunia.</i>	P. FONTEIVS CAPITO.
<i>Prætor in Spain.</i>	M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	P. CORNELIVS SCIPIO NASICA. P. CORNELIVS LENTVLVS.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	A. LICINIVS NERVA. L. LIVIVS DENTER.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. SULPICIVS RVFVS. M. CLAVDIVS FLAMINIVS. P. RVTILIVS CALVVS. Q. VOCONIVS SAXA. L. ANICIVS GALLVS. Q. MINVCIVS RVFVS. L. OGVLNIVS GALLVS. C. SCRIBONIVS CVRIO. C. OTACILIVS CRASSVS. M. LICINIVS LVCELLVS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	Q. OPIMIVS NEPOS. L. POMPEIVS NEPOS. T. MINVCIVS RVFVS. L. ÆMILIVS LEPIDV.S. L. LICINIVS POLLIO. Q. AVLIVS CERRETANVS. Q. MINVCIVS RVFVS. C. AVRELIVS COTTA.

<i>Pro-Consul in Macedon.</i>	A. HOSTILIVS MANCINVS.
<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	TI. VETVRIVS CALVINVS SEMPRONIANVS. M. ÆMILIVS REGILLVS. P. CVRATIVS NEPOS.
284. <i>Consulship.</i> Year 585.	L. ÆMILIVS PAVLVS, a second time. C. LICINIVS CRASSVS.

<i>Prætors at Rome.</i>	CN. BÆBIVS TAMPHILVS.
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<i>Prætor in Illyricum.</i>	L. ANICIVS GALLVS.
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<i>Prætor on the Coasts of Greece.</i>	} CN. OCTAVIVS NEPOS.
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<i>Prætor in Sicily.</i>	M. ÆBVTIVS ELVA.
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<i>Prætor in Sardinia.</i>	C. PAPIRIVS CARBO.
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<i>Prætor in Spain.</i>	P. FONTEIVS BALBVS.
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*Curule*



*Curule Æ-* M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.  
*diles.* CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

*Plebeian Æ-* C. TITINIUS NEPOS.  
*diles.* C. FANNIUS STRABO.

*Tribunes of the* L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.  
*People.* P. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.  
C. TREMELLIUS FLACCUS.  
Q. PUBLICIUS BIBULUS.  
Q. ÆLIUS TUBERO.  
CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.  
M. AUFIDIUS NEPOS.  
L. CINCIUS ALIMENTUS.  
Q. LOLLIVS NEPOS.  
P. CLAUDIUS ASELLUS.

*Quæstors.* L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS.  
L. STERTINIUS NEPOS.  
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.  
T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.  
L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.  
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS LUPUS.  
Q. MARCIUS REX.  
T. CLAUDIUS CANINA.

*Pro-Consul in* CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.  
*Cisalpine Gaul.*

*Pro-Prætor in* P. FONTEIUS CAPITO.  
*Sardinia.*

*Pro-Prætor in* M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.  
*Spain.*

*Pro-Quæstors.* L. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.  
L. LICINIUS POLLIO.  
C. AURELIUS COTTA.  
P. CURATIUS NEPOS.

285. *Consulship.* Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.  
*Year 586.* M. JUNIUS PENNUS.

*Prætors at* Q. CASSIUS LONGINUS.  
*Rome.* M. JUVENTIUS THALNA.

*Prætor in* TI. CLAUDIUS NERO.  
*Sicily.*

*Prætor in* A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.  
*Sardinia.*

*Prætors in* } CN. FULVIUS GILLO.  
*Hither and* } C. LICINIUS NERVA.  
*Further*  
*Spain.*

*Curule Æ-* M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.  
*diles.* M. VALERIUS MESSALA.

*Plebeian Æ-* CN. AUFIDIUS NEPOS.  
*diles.* L. SILIUS NERVA.

*Tribunes of the* M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.  
*People.* M. POMPONIUS MATHO.  
TI. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.  
L. BEBIUS DIVES.  
C. APULEIUS SATURNINUS.  
M. PORCIUS LÆCA.  
M. COSCONIUS NEPOS.  
A. ANTONINUS NEPOS.  
P. RUTILIUS RUFUS.  
M. CURIUS DENTATUS.

*Quæstors.* L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.  
Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.  
P. LICINIUS MURÆNA.  
C. AFRANIUS STELLIO.  
P. PORCIUS LÆCA.  
M. TUCCIUS NEPOS.  
M. HELVIUS BLASIO.  
Q. FULCINIUS TRIO.

*Pro-Consul in* L. EMILIUS PAULUS. He tri-  
*Macedon.* umphs over *Macedon*, and  
King *Perses*, for three Days  
together.

*Pro-Consul in* C. LICINIUS CRASSUS.  
*Cisalpine Gaul.*

*Pro-Prætor* } CN. OCTAVIUS. He obtains a  
*on the Coast* } Naval Triumph.  
*of Greece.*

*Pro-Prætor in* P. FONTEIUS CAPITO.  
*Sardinia.*

*Pro-Prætor in* L. ANICIUS GALLUS. He tri-  
*Illyricum.* umphs over King *Gentius*,  
and the *Illyrians*.

*Pro-Quæstors.* L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.  
L. CORNELIUS LUPUS.  
Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.  
L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.  
C. AURELIUS COTTA.

286. *Consulship.* C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.  
*Year 587.* M. CLAUDIUS MARCEL-  
LUS. He triumphs over the  
*Gauls* and *Ligures*.

*Prætors.* L. LIVIUS DENTER.  
A. LICINIUS NERVA.  
P. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.  
L. APULEIUS SATURNINUS.  
P. RUTILIUS CALVUS.  
M' FONTEIUS CAPITO.

*Curule Æ-* M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.  
*diles.* M' ACILIUS GLABRIO.

*Plebeian Æ-* L. ANICIUS GALLUS.  
*diles.* C. SULPICIUS RUFUS.

*Tribunes*



*Tribunes of the People* L. AURELIUS ORESTES.  
 TI. SEMPRONIUS MUSCA.  
 C. URSANIUS NEPOS.  
 SEX. STATIUS NEPOS.  
 C. FESCENNIUS NEPOS.  
 C. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.  
 C. NÆVIUS BALBUS.  
 T. PÆDANIUS NEPOS.  
 C. NUMITORIUS PULLUS.  
 P. SALLONIUS SARRA.

*Quæstors.* L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.  
 L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.  
 L. CORNELIUS MARULA.  
 M' ACILIUS GLABRIO.  
 Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.  
 M' MAMILIUS NEPOS.  
 C. ÆLIUS TUBERO.  
 SEX. DIGITIUS NEPOS.

*Pro-Quæstors.* M. HELVIUS BLASIO.  
 Q. FULCINIUS TRIO.  
 Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.

287. *Consulship.* T. MANLIUS TORQUA-  
 Tear 588. TUS.  
 CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.

*Prætors.* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASI-  
 CA.  
 P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.  
 CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.  
 SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.  
 M. CLAUDIUS FLAMININUS.  
 M. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

*Curule Æ-* SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.  
*diles.* CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

*Plebeian Æ-* Q. VOCONIUS SAXA.  
*diles.* P. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.

*Tribunes of the People.* C. MAMILIUS TURINUS.  
 P. CURATIUS NEPOS.  
 C. PONTIFICIUS NEPOS.  
 C. TARQUITIUS FLACCUS.  
 P. SESTIUS NEPOS.  
 C. CÆDICIUS NOCTUA.  
 Q. SCANTIUS NEPOS.  
 M. URBINIUS NEPOS.  
 L. TUCCIUS NEPOS.  
 L. JULIUS SEQUETRIS.

*Quæstors.* M. FOSLIUS NEPOS.  
 SEX. POTITIUS NEPOS.  
 L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSO-  
 NINUS.  
 CN. TREMELLIUS FLACCUS.  
 P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.  
 M. MANLIUS ACIDINUS.

C. HELVIUS BLASIO.  
 M. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.

*Pro-Prætor in* M. FONTEIUS CAPITO.  
*Further Spain.*

*Pro-Quæstors.* M. HELVIUS BLASIO.  
 Q. FULCINIUS TRIO.  
 SEX. DIGITIUS NEPOS.

288. *Consulship.* A. MANLIUS TORQUA-  
 Tear 589. TUS.  
 Q. CASSIUS LONGINUS.  
 He dies during his Office.

*Censors.* L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.  
 Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

#### THE FIFTY THIRD LUSTRUM.

*Prætors.* M. VALERIUS MESSALA.  
 C. FANNIUS STRABO.  
 M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.  
 C. TITINIUS NEPOS.  
 CN. AUFIDIUS NEPOS.  
 C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.

*Curule Æ-* M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.  
*diles.* M. POMPONIUS MATHO.

*Plebeian Æ-* C. TREMELLIUS FLACCUS.  
*diles.* L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.

*Tribunes of the People.* L. POMPONIUS NEPOS.  
 T. MINUCIUS RUFUS.  
 L. LICINIUS POLLIO.  
 C. AURELIUS COTTA.  
 M. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.  
 C. ANTONIUS NEPOS.  
 Q. OPIMIUS NEPOS.  
 Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS.  
 Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.  
 C. ÆBUTIUS CARUS.

*Quæstors.* L. MUMMIUS NEPOS.  
 L. ATILIUS REGULUS.  
 M' ACILIUS BALBUS.  
 C. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.  
 CN. CORNELIUS MERENDA.  
 L. RUTILIUS FLACCUS.  
 L. FURIUS PURPUREO.  
 C. RUTILIUS RUFUS.

*Pro-Quæstors.* M. MANLIUS ACIDINUS.  
 M. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.  
 SEX. DIGITIUS NEPOS.

289 *Consulship.* TI. SEMPRONIUS GRAC-  
 Tear 590. CHUS, a second time.  
 M' JUVENTIUS THIALNA.  
*Prætors.*



<i>Prætors.</i>	M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS. M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR. M. ACILIUS GLABRIO. L. ANICIUS GALLUS. C. SULPICIUS RUFUS. Q. PUBLICIUS BIBULUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR. C. AFRANIUS STELLIO. M. TUCCIUS NEPOS. M. HELVIUS BLASIO. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS. P. LICINIUS MURÆNA. P. PORCIUS LÆCA. Q. FULCINIUS TRIO. SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS. C. COSCONIUS NEPOS.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS LUPUS. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.		
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	TI. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS. L. AURELIUS ORESTES.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS. C. LIVIUS DRUSUS. SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. C. AURELIUS SCAURUS. A. GABINIUS NEPOS. L. ÆMILIUS RE... C. COSCONIUS N... L. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. STERTINIUS NEPOS. L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS. M. MINUCIUS FESSUS. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS. M. DECIUS MUS. T. ANNIUS LUSCUS. Q. MARCIUS REX. C. TERENTIUS CULEO. C. OPIUS CORNICINUS. M. CÆLIUS RUFUS.	<i>Pro-Consul in Sardinia.</i>	TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	M. PORCIUS CATO. A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. T. VETURIUS PHILO. M. OPIMIUS NEPOS. L. OPIUS SALINATOR. M. LICINIUS STOLO. L. PINARIUS NATTA. M. MINUCIUS THERMUS.	<i>Pro-Prætor in Sicily.</i>	M' ACILIUS GLABRIO.
<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	C. RUTILIUS RUFUS. SEX. DIGITIUS NEPOS.	<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	M. OPIMIUS NEPOS. L. PINARIUS NATTA. L. OPIUS SALINATOR. M. MINUCIUS THERMUS.
<i>290. Consulship. Year 591.</i>	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIONASICA. C. MARCIUS FIGULUS. But there was some Defect in their Election; and in their room were chosen P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.	<i>291. Consulship. Year 592.</i>	M. VALERIUS MESSALLA. C. FANNIUS STRABO.
<i>Prætors.</i>	M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS. Q. VOCONIUS SAXA. L. BÆBIUS DIVES. CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA. P. DECIMIUS FLAVUS. A. ANTONIUS NEPOS.	<i>Prætors.</i>	M' POMPONIUS MATHO. SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR. C. TREMELLIUS FLACCUS. L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS. P. SEXTIUS NEPOS. M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASIATICUS.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	Q. OPIMIUS NEPOS. C. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	C. MAMILIUS TURRINUS LIMETANUS. L. POMPEIUS NEPOS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS. M' ACILIUS GLABRIO. M' MAMILIUS NEPOS. C. ÆLIUS TUBERO. Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS. SEX. POMPONIUS NEPOS. TI. SEMPRONIUS RUTILUS. SEX. DIGITIUS NEPOS. L. FLAVIUS NEPOS. L. ATILIUS BULBUS.
		<i>Quæstors.</i>	C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS. C. TITIUS NEPOS. Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. M. JUNIUS SILANUS. Q. FULVIUS ELACCUS. P. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.



	M. ATTILIUS SERRANUS. C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.		L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS. C. MAMILIUS TURINUS. L. LICINIUS POLLIO.
<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	M. MINUCIUS THERMUS. L. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.	<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	Q. MARCIUS REX. P. LICINIUS MURENA.
<i>292. Consulship.</i> <i>Year 593.</i>	L. ANICIUS GALLUS. M. CORNELIUS CETHE- GUS.	<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	C. AFRANIUS STELLIO. L. PORCIUS LÆCA.
<i>Prætors.</i>	L. AURELIUS ORESTES. T. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS. L. JULIUS SEQUESTRIUS. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS LU- PUS. T. MINUCIUS RUFUS. L. TUCCIUS NEPOS.	<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	L. ATILIUS REGULUS. M. ACILIUS BALBUS. C. RUTILIUS RUFUS. C. APUSTIUS FULLO. C. CENTENIUS PENULA. L. MEMMIUS NEPOS. L. RUTILIUS FLACCUS. L. RUFRIUS PURPUREO. A. BÆCULONIUS NEPOS. Q. FICTORIUS NEPOS.
<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR. L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.	<i>Pro-Prætor in</i> <i>Further Spain.</i>	M. TUCCIUS NEPOS.
<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	T. ANNIUS LUSCUS. L. STERTINIUS NEPOS.	<i>Quæstors.</i>	L. AURELIUS COTTA. SER. SULPICIUS GALBA. C. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. SP. MUMMIUS NEPOS. A. TERENTIUS VARRO. Q. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS. C. APUSTIUS FULLO.
<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	CN. TREMELLIUS FLACCUS. SEX. POTITIUS NEPOS. L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSO- NIUS. M. FOSLIUS NEPOS. M. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS. L. ANTISTILIUS LABEO. C. ALBIUS CARRINUS. C. HELVIUS BLASIO. Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS. P. PETILLIUS GEMINUS.	<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	M. ABURIUS GEMINUS. C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS. C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. P. JUVENTIUS THALNA. C. VETILLIUS NEPOS. C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS. C. ATINIUS LABEO. CN. HELVIUS BLASIO. L. AURUNCULEIUS COTTA. M. ABURIUS GEMINUS.	<i>294. Consulship.</i> <i>Year 595.</i>	M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS. C. POPILIUS LÆNAS, a second time.
<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS. L. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.	<i>Prætors.</i>	Q. OPIMIUS NEPOS. L. CORNELIUS MERULA. C. ANTONIUS NEPOS. L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. M. ACILIUS GLABRIO. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
<i>293. Consulship.</i> <i>Year 594.</i>	CN. CORNELIUS DOLA- BELLA. M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.	<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. TI. VETURIUS PHILO.
<i>Censors.</i>	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASI- CA. M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.	<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS. M. MANILIUS NEPOS.
THE FIFTY FOURTH LUSTRUM.		<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	M. PORCIUS CATO. M. OPIMIUS NEPOS. M. LICINIUS STOLO. M. NÆVIUS CRISPUS. M. URBINIUS NEPOS. C. SEMPRONIUS RUTILUS. L. OPPIUS SALINATOR. CN. NÆVIUS CRISPINUS.
<i>Prætors.</i>	L. VALERIUS FLACCUS. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO. L. POMPEIUS NEPOS.		I C. PLÆ-



	C. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS. C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.	<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i> Q. CATIUS NEPOS. C. APUSTIUS FULLO. Q. COTIUS ACHILLES.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	M. JUNIUS BRUTUS. Q. NÆVIUS MATHO. L. JULIUS CÆSAR. Q. FABIVS BUTEO. CN. SICINIUS NEPOS. Q. CATIUS NEPOS. Q. COTIUS ACHILLES. C. NUMISIUS NEPOS.	296. <i>Consulship.</i> L. CORNELIUS LENTU- Year 597. LUS LUPUS. C. MARCIUS FIGULUS, a second time.
<i>Pro-Consul in</i> <i>Liguria.</i>	M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR. He triumphs over the <i>Ligures</i> .	<i>Prætors.</i> Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR. Q. MARCIUS REX. P. PORCIUS LÆCA. P. LICINIUS MURENA. C. AFRANIUS STELLIO. SEX. DIGITIUS NEPOS.
<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. C. APUSTIUS FULLO. Q. CATIUS NEPOS. C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.	<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i> L. MUMMIUS NEPOS. L. ATTILIUS REGULUS.
295. <i>Consulship.</i> Year 596.	SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR. L. AURELIUS ORESTES.	<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i> M' ACILIUS BALBUS. L. RUTILIUS FLACCUS.
<i>Prætors.</i>	L. STERTINIUS NEPOS. M. TUCCIUS NEPOS. M. HELVIUS BLASIO. T. ANNIUS LUSCUS. Q. FULCINIUS TRIO. SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.	<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i> Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. M. FUFIVS NEPOS. C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS. C. TITIUS NEPOS. Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS. M. ATTILIUS SERRANUS. C. COSCONIUS NEPOS. M. JUNIUS SILANUS. P. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS. C. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS. SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS MAG- NUS.	
<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	CN. TREMELLIUS FLACCUS. L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSO- NIUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i> CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO. C. LÆLIUS NEPOS. L. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS. C. NIGIDIUS FIGULUS. C. VALERIUS TAPPUS. SER. FABIVS PICTOR. P. CORNELIUS SYLLA. L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.
<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	C. LIVIUS DRUSUS. C. AURELIUS SCAURUS. T. VILLIUS TAPPULUS. C. SILIUS NERVA. C. LÆTORIUS MERGUS. A. GABINIUS NEPOS. M. MINUCIUS THERMUS. L. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS. T. MÆNIUS NEPOS. Q. PAPIRIUS TURDUS.	<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i> Q. FABIVS PICTOR. L. CORNELIUS BLASIO. L. VALERIUS TAPPUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	Q. FABIVS MAXIMUS ÆMI- LIANUS. CLAUDIUS UNIMANUS. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CAL- VUS. Q. FABIVS PICTOR. M. AURELIUS SCAURUS. L. VALERIUS TAPPUS. L. CORNELIUS BLASIO.	297. <i>Consulship.</i> P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO Year 598. NASICA. M. CLAUDIUS MARCEL- LUS, a second time.  The former triumphs over the <i>Dalmatians</i> ; the latter over the <i>Ligures</i> .
<i>Pro-Prætor in</i> <i>Further Spain.</i>	Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.	<i>Prætor in Fur-</i> M' MANILIUS NEPOS. <i>ther Spain.</i>
		<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i> M. PORCIUS CATO. C. SEMPRONIUS RUTILUS. <span style="float: right;"><i>Plebeian</i></span>



<i>Plebeian æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	L. OPPIUS SALINATOR. M. LICINIUS STOLO.	L. CALPURNIUS PISO. L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO. CN. CALPURNIUS PISO. M. POPILIUS LÆNAS. A. LICINIUS NERVA. L. LOLLIUS NEPOS. SEX. ÆLIUS PÆTUS CATUS.
<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. P. JUVENTIUS THALNA. C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS. CN. HELVIUS BLASIO. C. ATINIUS LABEO. A. AURUNCULEIUS COTTA. M. ABURIUS GEMINUS. C. VETURIUS NEPOS. C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS. T. NUMICIUS NEPOS.	<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i> L. CÆCILIUS DENTER. SER. FABIVS PICTOR. L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.
<i>Quæstors.</i>	Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO. AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. Q. POMPEIUS NEPOS. M. TITIVS NEPOS. T. JUVENTIUS THALNA. L. CÆCILIUS DENTER. C. AURUNCULEIUS COTTA.	299. <i>Consulship.</i> Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR. Year 600. T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.
		<i>Prætor in</i> L. MUMMIUS NEPOS. <i>Further Spain.</i>
		<i>Curule æ-</i> C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS. <i>diles.</i> M. FUFIVS NEPOS.
		<i>Plebeian æ-</i> C. TITIVS NEPOS. <i>diles.</i> Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
<i>Pro-Prætor in</i> <i>Sardinia.</i>	P. PORCIUS LÆCA.	<i>Tribunes of the</i> M. JUNIVS BRUTUS. <i>People.</i> C. NUMISIUS NEPOS. CN. SICINIUS NEPOS. C. CLAUDIUS CANINA. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLINUS. Q. COTIVS ACHILLES. Q. NÆVIUS MATHO. Q. CATIVS NEPOS. SEX. TULLIVS NEPOS. C. FLAVIVS FIMBRIA.
<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i>	C. VALERIUS TAPPUS. SER. FABIVS PICTOR. L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.	<i>Quæstors.</i> P. LICINIUS CRASSUS. Q. FABIVS MAXIMUS SERVI- LIANUS. D. JUNIVS BRUTUS. M. PINARIUS POSCA. C. ÆLIUS TUBERO. P. ÆLIUS LIGUS. L. ACILIVS GLABRIO. L. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.
298. <i>Consulship.</i> Year 599.	Q. OPIMIUS NEPOS. L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. The latter died in his Office; and in his room was chosen M' ACILIVS GLABRIO.	<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i> L. CÆCILIUS DENTER. SER. FABIVS PICTOR.
<i>Censors.</i>	M' VALERIUS MESSALA. C. CASSIVS LONGINUS.	300. <i>Consulship.</i> M. CLAUDIUS MARCEL- Year 601. LUS, the third time. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS. He died in his Office.
THE FIFTY FIFTH LUSTRUM.		
<i>Prætor in Fur-</i> <i>ther Spain.</i>	L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSONI- US.	<i>Prætor.</i> MARCUS PORCIUS CATO. He died in his <i>Prætorship</i> .
<i>Curule æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	SER. SULPICIVS GALBA. CN. CORNELIVS LENTULUS.	<i>Prætor in</i> M. ATTILIVS SERRANUS. <i>Further Spain.</i>
<i>Plebeian æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	C. LIVIVS DRUSUS. A. GABINIUS NEPOS.	<i>Curule æ-</i> Q. FABIVS ÆMILIANUS. <i>diles.</i> Q. FABIVS PICTOR.
<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	L. AURELIUS COTTA. C. PLAUTIVS HYPSEUS. A. TERENTIUS VARRO. C. APUSTIVS FULIO. M. PORCIUS LICINUS. CN. PUPIVS NEPOS. SP. MUMMIUS NEPOS. Q. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS. Q. AULIVS CERRETANUS. SEX. ROSCIUS NEPOS.	<i>Plebeian</i>
<i>Quæstors.</i>	C. TERENTIUS VARRO.	



*Plebeian Æ-* C. VETURIUS NEPOS.  
*diles.* P. JUVENTIUS THALNA.

*Tribunes of the* M. SCATINIUS ARICINUS.  
*People.* M. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.  
CLAUDIUS UNIMANUS.  
L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CAL-  
VUS.  
M. AURELIUS SCAURUS.  
L. VALERIUS TAPPUS.  
TI. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.  
C. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.  
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.  
M. ATILIUS BULBUS.

*Quæstors.* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRICA-  
NUS ÆMILIANUS.  
L. HOSTILIUS TUBULUS.  
M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.  
C. LUTATIUS CERCO.  
C. CLUVIUS SAXULA.  
C. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.  
SEX. ANTISTIUS NEPOS.  
SEX. ALBINUS CARRINAS.

*Pro-Quæstors.* L. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.  
L. CÆCILIUS DENTER.  
L. MUMMIUS. *Appian* only af-  
firms that he triumphed over  
the *Lusitanians*.

301. *Consulship.* L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.  
*Year 602.* A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

*Prætor in* SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.  
*Further Spain.*

*Curule Æ-* Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.  
*diles.* L. AURELIUS COTTA.

*Plebeian Æ-* L. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.  
*diles.* C. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS.

*Tribunes of the* C. LÆLIUS NEPOS.  
*People.* C. NIGIDIUS FIGULUS.  
L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.  
M. FULCINIUS NEPOS.  
M. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.  
M. STATILIUS NEPOS.  
C. VALERIUS TAPPUS.  
M. CINCIUS ALIMENTUS.  
C. MULVIUS NEPOS.  
C. RACILIUS NEPOS.

*Quæstors.* L. FURIUS PHILUS.  
D. JUNIUS SILANUS MANLIA-  
NUS.  
C. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.  
SER. FULVIUS FLACCUS.  
SEX. ATILIUS SERRANUS.  
L. DURONIUS NEPOS.

C. POPILIUS LÆNAS.  
Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.

*Pro-Consul in* C. AURELIUS SCAURUS.  
*Hither Spain.*

*Pro-Quæstors.* C. CLUVIUS SAXULA.  
SEX. ALBINUS CARRINAS.  
SEX. ATTILIUS NEPOS.  
L. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.

302. *Consulship.* T. QUINCTIUS FLAMINI-  
*Year 603.* NUS.  
M' ACILIUS BALBUS.

*Prætors.* C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.  
Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.  
M. ALBINUS GEMINUS.  
M. FUFIUS NEPOS.  
C. TITIUS NEPOS.  
L. AURUNCULEIUS COTTA.

*Curule Æ-* CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.  
*diles.* Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

*Plebeian Æ-* M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.  
*diles.* Q. COTIUS ACHILLES.

*Tribunes of the* Q. POMPEIUS NEPOS.  
*People.* M. FURIUS CRASSIPES.  
C. AURUNCULEIUS COTTA.  
L. CÆCILIUS DENTER.  
C. TREBONIUS ASPER.  
M. TITIUS NEPOS.  
M. TORANIUS NEPOS.  
T. JUVENTIUS THALNA.  
M. TURPILIUS NEPOS.  
A. TREBIUS GALLUS.

*Quæstors.* L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.  
C. TERENTIUS VARRO.  
C. LICINIUS CRASSUS.  
Q. CALPURNIUS PISO.  
P. MANILIUS NEPOS.  
P. GALLONIUS NEPOS.  
M. ATINIUS LABEO.  
Q. STERTINIUS NEPOS.

*Pro-Prætor in* C. COSCONIUS NEPOS.  
*Macedon.*

*Pro-Quæstors.* C. POPILIUS LÆNAS.  
SEX. ALBIUS CARRINAS.  
Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.

The third *Punic* War.

303. *Consulship.* L. MARCIUS CENSORI-  
*Year 604.* NUS.  
M' MANLIUS NEPOS.

*Prætor*



*Prætor in Fur-* C. VETILIUS NEPOS.  
ther Spain.

*Prætor in* P. JUVENTIUS THALNA.  
Macedon.

*Other Prætors.* Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS ÆMILI-  
ANUS.

A. TERENTIUS VARRO.

Q. FABIUS PICTOR.

Q. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

*Curule Æ-* AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.  
*diles.* SER. FABIUS PICTOR.

*Plebeian Æ-* L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.  
*diles.* CLAUDIUS UNIMANUS.

*Tribunes of the* L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.  
*People.* L. CALPURNIUS PISO FRUGI.  
CN. CALPURNIUS PISO.  
A. LICINIUS NERVA.  
SEX. ÆLIUS PÆTUS CATUS.  
SP. MÆCILIUS TULLUS.  
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.  
L. LOLLIUS NEPOS.  
SP. ANTIUS RESTIO.  
C. URBINIUS NEPOS.

*Quæstors.* M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.  
CN. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.  
P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASI-  
CA.  
CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO HIS-  
PALLUS.  
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS PORCI-  
NA.  
P. FURIUS PHILUS.  
C. FULVIUS FLACCUS.  
C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

*Pro-Prætor in* M. ABURIUS GEMINUS.  
Sardinia.

*Pro-Quæstors.* P. MANILIUS NEPOS.  
Q. STERTINIUS NEPOS.  
SEX. ALBIUS CARRINAS.  
P. GALLONIUS NEPOS.  
Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.

The *Secular Games* celebrated  
the fourth time.

304. *Consulship.* SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.  
*Year 605.* L. CALPURNIUS PISO  
CÆSONIUS.

*Prætors.* L. AURELIUS COTTA.  
Q. NÆVIUS MATHO.  
C. NUMISIUS NEPOS.

*Prætor on*  
*Board the* }  
*Fleet ordered* } L. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.  
*for Africa.*

*Prætor in Fur-* C. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS.  
ther Spain.

*Prætor in* Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.  
Macedon.

*Curule Æ-* Q. FABIUS MAX. SERVILIA-  
*diles.* NUS.  
M. PINARIUS POSCA.

*Plebeian Æ-* C. LÆLIUS SAPIENS.  
*diles.* C. NIGIDIUS FIGULUS.

*Tribunes of the* D. JUNIUS BRUTUS.  
*People.* C. ÆLIUS TUBERO.  
L. ACILIUS GLABRIO.  
M. POMPONIUS NEPOS.  
Q. APRONIUS NEPOS.  
P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.  
P. ÆLIUS LIGUS.  
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.  
C. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.  
M. SEXTILIUS NEPOS.

*Quæstors.* SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.  
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.  
P. LICINIUS CRASSUS MUCIA-  
NUS.  
T. DIDIUS NEPOS.  
P. RUPILIUS NEPOS.  
P. POPILIUS LÆNAS.  
AP. CLAUDIUS CENITHO.  
M. SERGIUS SILUS.

*Pro-Consul in* M. MANILIUS NEPOS.  
Africa.

*Pro-Prætors* }  
*in Sicily, and* } Q. FABIUS PICTOR.  
*Hither Spain.* } Q. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

*Pro-Quæstors.* CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO HIS-  
PALLUS.  
P. MANILIUS NEPOS.  
P. FURIUS PHILUS.  
Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.  
P. GALLONIUS NEPOS.  
Q. STERTINIUS NEPOS.

305. *Consulship.* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO A-  
*Year 606.* FRIC. ÆMILIANUS.  
C. LIVIUS MAMILIANUS  
DRUSUS.

*Censors.* L. CORNEL. LENTULUS LUPUS.  
L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.

THE



## THE FIFTY SIXTH LUSTRUM.

*Prætors.* M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.  
L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CAL-  
VUS.  
AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.  
Q. COTIUS ACHILLES.

*Prætor on Board the Fleet design-  
ed for Afri-  
ca.* } M. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

*Prætor in Eur-  
ther Spain.* CLAUDIUS UNIMANUS.

*Curule Æ-  
diles.* SP. MUMMIUS NEPOS.  
Q. POMPEIUS NEPOS.

*Plebeian Æ-  
diles.* M. TITIUS NEPOS.  
M. FURIUS CRASSIPES.

*Tribunes of the  
People.* L. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.  
L. LUTATIUS CERCO.  
C. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.  
C. GENUCIUS NEPOS.  
C. MÆNIUS NEPOS.  
L. HOSTILIUS TUBULUS.  
C. CLUVIUS SAXULA.  
SEX. ANTISTIUS NEPOS.  
M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.  
TI. MEMMIUS NEPOS.

*Quæstors.* M. COSCONIUS NEPOS.  
C. CORNELIUS SCIPIO HIS-  
PALLUS.  
L. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS.  
P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.  
T. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.  
SER. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS.  
M. TITINIUS CURVUS.  
P. VIRGINIUS RUTILUS.

*Pro-Consul in  
Africa.* L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSONI-  
US.

*Pro-Prætor  
on Board the  
Fleet in Afri-  
ca.* } L. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.

*Pro-Prætor in  
Macedon.* Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

*Pro-Prætor in  
Sardinia.* Q. NÆVIUS MATHO.

*Pro-Quæstors.* SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.  
P. RUPILIUS NEPOS.  
AP. CLAUDIUS CENITHO.  
M. SERGIUS SILUS.

P. MANILIUS NEPOS.  
Q. STERTINIUS NEPOS.

306. *Consulship.* CN. CORNELIUS LENTU-  
Year 607. LUS.  
L. MUMMIUS ACHAICUS.  
He triumphs over the *Achai-  
ans*, and *Corinthians*.

*Prætor in Hi-  
ther Spain.* C. NIGIDIUS FIGULUS.

*Prætors in se-  
veral other  
Places.* Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS SERVI-  
LIANUS.  
CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.  
C. VALERIUS TAPPUS.  
SER. FABIUS PICTOR.  
L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.

*Curule Æ-  
diles.* M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.  
A. LICINIUS NERVA.

*Plebeian Æ-  
diles.* L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.  
CN. CALPURNIUS PISO.

*Tribunes of the  
People.* SEX. ATILIUS SERRANUS.  
C. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.  
SEX. ALBIUS CARRINAS.  
C. POPILIUS LÆNAS.  
M. FURIUS LUSCUS.  
SER. FULVIUS FLACCUS.  
D. JUNIUS SILANUS MANLIA-  
NUS.  
L. DURONIUS NEPOS.  
A. VIRGINIUS NEPOS.  
C. FURIUS ACULEO.

*Quæstors.* C. ATILIUS SERRANUS.  
L. RUPILIUS NEPOS.  
P. MUCIUS SCI VOLA.  
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.  
L. CORNELIUS SULLA.  
L. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.  
M. TITINIUS NEPOS.  
C. LICINIUS NERVA.

*Pro-Consul in  
Africa.* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRI-  
CANUS ÆMILIANUS. He  
triumphs over *Africa*, *Car-  
thage*, and *Asdrubal*.

*Pro-Prætor  
on Board the  
Fleet in A-  
frica.* } M. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

*Pro-Prætor in  
Macedon.* Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS MA-  
CEDONICUS. He triumphs  
over *Macedon*, and the false  
*Philip*.

*Pro-*



*Pro-Prætor in* L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CAL-  
Sicily. vus.

*Pro-Quæstors.* SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.  
L. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS.  
T. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.

M. SERGIUS SILUS.  
AP. CLAUDIUS CENTHO.  
P. VIRGINIUS RUTILUS.

*Carthage and Corinth destroy-*  
*ed by the Romans*

The End of the *FASTI CONSULARES*, to the Year of *Rome* 607, inclusive.

